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1600 TO 2000

COMPILED BY WM. THEODORE DE BARY, CAROL GLUCK, AND ARTHUR E. TIEDEMANN

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Dedicated to the memory of
Marius Jansen
(1922–2000)

In appreciation of his distinguished contributions to Japanese studies
and of his early collaboration with this project.

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PREFACE

Sources of Japanese Tradition is part of a series introducing the civilizations of India, China, Korea, and Japan to general education, through source readings that tell us what these peoples have thought about themselves, the world they lived in, and the problems they faced living together.

The original *Sources of Japanese Tradition* (1958) was a single volume covering developments from earliest times to the mid-twentieth century. Later this book was divided into two paperback volumes, one from earliest times through the eighteenth century, and the other from the nineteenth to the twentieth century. This division reflected the one prevailing in American education that distinguished modern from traditional primarily on the basis of the encounter with the West in the nineteenth century. The second edition, however, reflects the increasing recognition in both the West and Asia that major factors in the modernization process stemmed from indigenous, pre-nineteenth-century developments. In other words, modernization was not to be understood simply as Westernization. Hence, in their second editions, the Chinese, Korean, and Japanese *Sources* are divided into two volumes, with the second in each case starting from the seventeenth rather than the nineteenth century.

The substantial enlargement of this second volume of the *Japanese Sources* reflects more than just the extended time span from 1600 to 2000. Rather, in this second edition—in both volume 1 and volume 2—educational works have been given particular attention. Instead of focusing on leading thinkers who

represented new trends in intellectual or doctrinal thought, we have included basic instructional texts and curricula that helped establish the common terms of educated discourse. Volume 2 also reflects our greater attention to education in both the Tokugawa and Meiji periods as a major factor in the modernization process. Other new developments are found in the so-called new religions bridging the dichotomy between traditional and modern.

Even though the early modern period was dominated by Neo-Confucian scholarship and schooling, the warrior ethic continued to play a major role under the military regime of the Tokugawa shogunate, even while the leadership class was being "civilized" by Neo-Confucianism. Buddhism, too, although rejected on intellectual and moral grounds by the Neo-Confucians, persisted on a religious level in ways represented here by a special chapter on the subject. Finally, women's issues (especially education) are included here, as they have been in all volumes of the second edition of the East Asian *Sources*.

Since the original edition of *Sources of Japanese Tradition* was published more than forty years ago, many aspects of Japanese (and, indeed, East Asian) studies have undergone substantial development, and we have tried to draw on new studies and expertise wherever possible. Accordingly, the list of collaborators and contributors has expanded greatly, and the compilers are indebted to many distinguished colleagues for their cooperation with this project, a public-service contribution to general education not often recognized.

Marius Jansen was among those collaborators who helped in the planning of this volume, but his untimely death prevented him from contributing to it. This volume is therefore dedicated to him in recognition of his outstanding leadership in Japanese studies and his generous help with both the first and the second editions.

In the final editing of this volume, we have benefited from the extraordinary competence and generous help of Miwa Kai, former curator of the Japanese collection at Columbia University. Others to whom we are indebted for their assistance in producing this volume include Marianna Stiles, Martin Amster, Josephine Vining, and Yuan Zheng. Among our contributors, Tetsuo Najita wishes to acknowledge the collegial assistance of Katsuya Hirano and Yasuko Satō; and Andrew Gordon wishes to thank John Campbell, Sheldon Garon, Timothy Gordon, Laura Hein, Simon Partner, Robert Pekkanen, Ken Ruoff, Mark Selden, M. William Steele, William Tsutsui, and Professors Nakamura Masanori and Hashizume Daizaburō.

EXPLANATORY NOTE

The consonants of Japanese words or names are read as they are in English (with *g* always hard) and the vowels as in Italian. There are no silent letters. The name Abe, for instance, is pronounced "Ah-bay." The long vowels *ō* and *ū* are indicated except in the names of cities already well known in the West, such as Tokyo and Kyoto, and in the words familiar enough to be included in *Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*. All romanized terms have been standardized according to the Hepburn system. Chinese philosophical terms used in Japanese texts are given in their Japanese readings (e.g., *ri* instead of *li* for "principle," "reason") except where attention is specifically drawn to the Chinese original, in which case the *pin-yin* system is followed. Sanskrit words appearing in italics follow the standard system of transliteration found in Louis Renou's *Grammair sanskrite* (Paris: Adrien-Maisoneuve, 1930), pp. xi–xiii. Sanskrit terms and names appearing in roman letters follow *Webster's New International Dictionary*, second edition unabridged, except that a macron is used to indicate long vowels and the Sanskrit symbols for *ś* (ç) are uniformly transcribed as *sh* in the text itself. Personal names also are spelled in this manner except when they occur in the titles of works.

Japanese names are given in their Japanese order, with the family name first and the personal name last. The dates given after personal names are those of birth and death except in the case of rulers, whose reign dates are preceded by "r." Generally, the name by which a person was most commonly known in

Japanese tradition is the one used in the text. Since this book is intended for general readers rather than specialists, we have not burdened the text with the alternative names or titles usually accompanying biographical references to a scholar that are found in Chinese or Japanese historical works. For the same reason, the sources of translations given at the end of each selection are as concise as possible. There is a complete bibliography at the end of the book.

The name following the chapter title in the table of contents refers to the writer of all the introductory material in that chapter unless otherwise noted. The initials following the source at the end of each selection are those of the translator or compiler. Excerpts from existing translations have often been adapted and edited to suit our purposes. In particular, we have removed unnecessary brackets and footnotes and have inserted essential commentary in the text whenever possible instead of putting it in a footnote. Those interested in the full text and annotations may, of course, refer to the original translation cited with each excerpt. As sources for our own translations, we have tried to use standard editions that would be available to other scholars.

W. T. de B.

CHRONOLOGY

Tokugawa Period (1600–1867)

1600	Ieyasu is victorious at Sekigahara, and the Tokugawa shogunate begins.
1603	Tokugawa shogunate is established.
1608	Hayashi Razan becomes Confucian tutor to the shogun.
1615	Code for the Warrior Households (Buke shohatto) is promulgated. Osaka Castle is destroyed, and Hideyoshi's heirs are defeated.
1616	Ieyasu (1543–1616) dies.
1617	Christians are again persecuted.
1624	Spaniards are expelled.
1637–1638	Shimabara revolt takes place. Japanese are forbidden to leave Japan.
1639	Portuguese are expelled.
1640	Other Europeans are excluded.
1647	Kumazawa Banzan, having studied Ōyōmei philosophy under Nakae Tōju, enters the service of Lord Ikeda of Okayama.
1648	Nakae Tōju (1608–1648) dies.
1657	Great fire breaks out in Edo. *History of Great Japan* (*Dai-Nihon-shi*) is begun.
1665	Chinese émigré Zhu Shunshui settles in Mito as an adviser to the Mito school.

1670	*General History of Our State* (*Honchō tsugan*) is completed by the Hayashi school.
1682	Yamazaki Ansai (1618–1682) dies.
1685	Yamaga Sokō (1622–1685), an early proponent of the Way of the warrior (*bushidō*), dies.
1687	Reform program of Kumazawa Banzan (1619–1691) arouses the shogunate's wrath.
1688–1704	Genroku period, during which the novels of Saikaku, the plays of Chikamatsu, the poems of Bashō, and *ukiyo* prints are created.
1691	Hayashi Hōkō is named hereditary head of the state university.
1703	Incident of the forty-seven *rōnin* takes place.
1705	Itō Jinsai (1627–1705), a proponent of "ancient studies," dies.
1709	Arai Hakuseki (1657–1725) becomes Confucian adviser to the shogunate.
1714	Kaibara Ekken (1630–1714) dies.
1715	Yoshimune becomes shogun. Arai Hakuseki is dismissed as Confucian adviser.
1716	Relaxation of edicts against foreign learning gives rise to Dutch studies.
1728	Ogyū Sorai (1666–1728) dies at the high tide of Chinese studies. Kada Azumamaro (1669–1736) petitions the shogunate to establish a school of national (Shinto) learning.
1732	Great famine devastates the country.
1734	Muro Kyūsō (1658–1734) dies.
1746	Tominaga Nakamoto (1715–1746), a rationalist philosopher, dies.
1769	Kamo Mabuchi (1697–1769), a National Learning scholar, dies.
1783–1786	Serious famines and epidemics plague the country.
1787	Matsudaira Sadanobu institutes various fiscal and social reforms in the shogun's administration.
1789	Miura Baien (1723–1789), a rationalist philosopher, dies.
1790	Shogunate issues an edict suppressing heterodox learning.
1791–1792	American and Russian ships visit Japan, followed by repeated attempts to open relations with Japan.
1801	Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801), a National Learning scholar, dies.
1817	Kaiho Seiryō (1755–1817), a rationalist thinker, dies.
1821	Honda Toshiaki (1744–1821), an economic and political thinker, dies.
1825	Aizawa Seishisai (1792–1863) writes *New Proposals* (*Shinron*).
1842	Opium War ends.
1843	Hirata Atsutane (1776–1843), a National Learning scholar,dies.
1846	James Biddle, commanding American warships at Uraga, requests Japan to open to trade.

1850 Satō Nobuhiro (1769–1850), a political thinker, dies.
1853 Commodore Matthew Perry's "black ships" arrive in Edo Bay.
1854 Perry returns and negotiates the Treaty of Kanagawa. Yoshida Shōin, with Sakuma Shōzan's encouragement, tries to stow away on a ship to America.
1856 Townsend Harris, the first American minister to Japan, arrives. Ninomiya Sontoku (1787–1856), an agrarian reformer, dies.
1858 Commercial treaty between Japan and the United States is signed.
1859 Yoshida Shōin (1830–1859) is executed.
1860 First Japanese mission is sent to the United States.
1863 British bomb Kagoshima in retaliation for antiforeign outbursts.
1867 Keiki, the last Tokugawa shogun, resigns, ending the Tokugawa shogunate.

Meiji Period (1868–1911)

1868 Meiji Restoration begins, and the Charter Oath is written. Edo is renamed Tokyo.
1869 Tokugawa status hierarchy is abolished, and Tokyo becomes the capital of Japan.
1871 Feudal domains are abolished by imperial decree, and prefectures are established. Former outcasts are emancipated. Samuel Smiles's *Self-Help* is published in Japanese translation. The Iwakura Mission departs for the West.
1872 Conscription ordinance and Fundamental Code of Education (Gakusei) are proclaimed.
1873 Land tax reforms are passed. A forceful "opening" of Korea (Seikanron) is debated. The ban against Christianity is lifted.
1877 Satsuma Rebellion takes place.
1881 Ōkuma Shigenobu memorializes the throne, demanding a national assembly; a parliament is promised for 1890.
1882 Fukuzawa Yukichi founds the newspaper *Jiji shinpō*.
1885 Japan's first cabinet is formed, with Itō Hirobumi as prime minister.
1889 Meiji constitution is promulgated.
1890 First Diet is convened. The Imperial Rescript on Education (Kyōiku chokugo) is issued.
1894–1895 Sino-Japanese War is fought.
1898 Meiji Civil Code is written, legally redefining gender and family roles.
1900 Imperial ordnance is passed, stipulating that war and navy ministers be generals or admirals on the active list. The Boxer Rebellion takes place.
1902 Anglo-Japanese Alliance is signed.

1904–1905	Russo-Japanese War is fought.
1910	Korea is annexed. Kōtoku Shūsui allegedly plots to assassinate the emperor.
1911	*Bluestocking* magazine is founded: "In the beginning, woman was the sun."

Taishō Period (1912–1926)

1912	Emperor Meiji (1852–1912) dies.
1914–1918	World War I is fought.
1915	Twenty-one Demands are issued to China.
1918	Siberian expedition takes place. Japan's first party cabinet, with Hara Takashi as premier, is formed.
1921	Hara Takashi (1856–1921) is assassinated.
1923	Great Kantō Earthquake shakes Japan.

Shōwa Period (1926–1989)

1925	Universal manhood suffrage is passed.
1930	London Naval Treaty is signed.
1931	Manchurian "incident" takes place.
1932	Manchukuo is formed.
1936	Rightist coup d'état is attempted on February 26 (February 26 incident).
1927	China "incident" commences total war against China.
1940	Axis alliance among Rome, Berlin, and Tokyo is formed.
1941–1945	Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, in 1941 leads to Pacific War (World War II).
1945	United States drops atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, leading to Japan's unconditional surrender. Allied Occupation begins.
1947	"Peace constitution" goes into effect.
1946–1947, 1948–1954	Yoshida Shigeru serves as prime minister.
1948	Verdicts of Tokyo war crimes tribunal are handed down.
1950–1953	Korean War is fought.
1951	San Francisco peace treaty and U.S.–Japanese security treaty are signed.
1952	Japan regains its independence, and military occupation by Allied forces ends.
1953	Japan's Self-Defense Forces are established.
1959	Crown Prince Akihito marries a commoner.
1960	Demonstrations are held against the renewal of the U.S.–Japanese security treaty.
1960s	Era of "high growth" commences.

1964	Summer Olympics are held in Tokyo.
1965	Korea–Japan treaty is concluded.
1968	Japan's GDP is the world's third highest, after those of the United States and the Soviet Union. Kawabata Yasunari receives Japan's first Nobel Prize in Literature. Centennial of the Meiji Restoration is celebrated.
1971–1973	Japan experiences the "Nixon shock" and the first oil shock. Minamata and other pollution tragedies are uncovered.
1972	Okinawa is returned to Japan, and diplomatic relations are established with China.
1982–1987	Nakasone Yasuhiro serves as prime minister. Japan is first labeled an "economic superpower," leading to frictions with the United States.
1989	Emperor Hirohito (1901–1989) dies, and Emperor Akihito (b. 1933) succeeds him.

Heisei Period (1989–)

1990–1992	Japan's "bubble economy" bursts.
1993	Liberal Democratic Party ends thirty-eight-year monopoly of power.
1994	Ōe Kenzaburō receives Nobel Prize in Literature.
1995	Big earthquake shakes Kobe. Aum shinrikyō cult attacks Tokyo subway with sarin gas. Fiftieth anniversary of the end of the Pacific War is commemorated.
1996	Liberal Democratic Party regains power in coalition government.

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Sources of Japanese Tradition

SECOND EDITION

VOLUME 2

PART IV

The Tokugawa Peace

Modern Japan began to take shape in the Tokugawa period (1603–1868), after the military reunification of the country in the late sixteenth century. Accordingly, many historians have been tempted to mark the beginning of the modern era in Japan with the founding of the Tokugawa regime. True, there is some incongruity in calling "modern" a period during which the feudal system and military government inherited from medieval times were perpetuated. We might also ask why, with the drastic changes made after Japan's opening to the West, it still should have needed modernizing. But we would have even more difficulty explaining the country's success in undertaking such a comprehensive reorganization of its national life and assuming an active role in the modern world, if during the preceding centuries Japan had not already been traveling, though perhaps more slowly and unevenly, in the direction of its subsequent rapid progress.

Among the changes in Japanese society that helped prepare it for this role, we may point to significant trends in thought that were already well established in the Tokugawa period—which was known also as the Edo period after the location of the shogunate's capital at Edo (modern Tokyo). The first of these changes was a marked shift in attention from religious questions—from the Buddhist search for release from the bonds of this world—to more mundane problems. This is not to suggest that Buddhism suddenly went into eclipse or that its light ceased to shine among the Japanese people as a whole but that

the intellectual world responded almost immediately to the ruling class's need for a secular ideology that, after centuries of violence and disorder, would maintain some semblance of order and stability. Whatever else Buddhism had done for the soul in the anguished medieval period, it did not propose a public philosophy or provide for a civil society. Privatization of religious experience was paralleled by privatization of power and internecine warfare.

The late medieval period had been dominated by the great houses of the *daimyō*—literally, "great names"—a term that itself betrays the privatization of power and its loss by the imperial court. The court's loss of power had long since been identified with a court aristocracy, known as *kuge*, a word signifying the privatization of state power (*kō*) largely by the Fujiwara clan (*ge*). In his drive to reunify the country, Toyotomi Hideyoshi had arrogated to himself the title of *kanpaku*, translated as "imperial regent" or "civil dictator," both terms ironically reminiscent of the imperial house's original claim to represent a unified civil state.

By the time of Japan's unification under Tokugawa Ieyasu, the tradition of feudal military rule had become so strongly embedded in Japanese life that Ieyasu's attempt to superimpose a higher authority naturally came about through the enactment of legislation modeled on the medieval house laws. Mostly this confirmed local decentralized rule but also was aimed to prevent any agglomeration of power that could challenge the shogun's control. Even the imperial court was treated by the new regulations as a private household confined within its own courtly rituals.

This was true as well for the principal religious communities, both Buddhist and Shinto. Even the great religious movements in Japanese Mahayana Buddhism, often thought "popular" in the sense that they had broken out of the old Heian mold and, in some cases, formed new lay communities, were seen as essentially sectarian: universalist in theory but competitive in practice. Their "expedient means"—a key feature of Mahayana universalism—had adapted itself so well to the medieval landscape that Oda Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and Ieyasu (though their tactics differed) regarded Buddhist communities as rival sects, allied when convenient with one or another feudal power and sometimes a potential threat to their own position.

Japanese Buddhism, both early and late, had adhered to the idea of religion and the state as mutually supportive and protective, but implicit in this relationship was respect for their complementary spheres of authority. Power holders generally refrained from interposing themselves in sectarian issues, while Buddhist sects in privatized lineages and those that emphasized personal intuition more than doctrine had almost no public philosophy or program to offer.

True, the Ashikaga shoguns and the leading daimyo had had Zen advisers, but their advice was largely prudential and tactical, not based on any political philosophy or ideology. To justify or dress up their seizure of power, the Ashikaga had legitimized themselves by patronizing Zen temples, landscape gar-

dening, the tea ceremony, and nō drama; that is, they had identified themselves with the contemporary high culture of the capital, just as the rulers of the Heian period had done when they could no longer lay claim to governing a universal state in the name of "all-under-Heaven."

In his turn, Nobunaga had overruled the Ashikaga precisely on the ground that they had forfeited any moral claim to acting on behalf of "all-under-Heaven."[1] Hideyoshi, a foot soldier from out of nowhere with no aristocratic pedigree, tried to legitimize his assumption of supreme authority by assuming the old title of civil dictator (reminiscent of the Fujiwaras), by constructing a new Great Buddha image in Kyoto (in imitation of Shōmu's Daibutsu in Nara), by playing the Ashikaga game as patron of the tea ceremony on a grand scale, and by having himself deified in a new Shinto shrine.

Although such ritual ploys had largely lost their currency by Ieyasu's time, he had no less need of legitimization, especially since he had forsworn his guardianship of Hideyoshi's son and designated successor, Hideyori. Like the Ashikaga and the leading daimyo, Ieyasu had a retinue of Buddhist advisers, but, again, they provided no public philosophy or civil ideology. Their influence in practical matters, therefore, did not prevent Ieyasu and his successors from turning to the new Neo-Confucian secular culture that was developing in East Asia.

In the seventeenth century, what Japan's leaders sought was less peace of mind than the peace of the country, and it was natural that they should turn for this to Confucianism, the philosophy devoted to achieving social peace and order. Hence the new "this-worldliness" of the Tokugawa era did not directly concern the material or physical world so much as the personal world of intellectual and moral cultivation in the context of social relations. It was in this domain that Neo-Confucianism, from its beginnings in China and passage through Korea, made its greatest impact. In addition, other elements of Neo-Confucian culture spread from China and Korea and commanded attention on their own merits apart from any official sponsorship, nourishing and invigorating Japanese life even more widely in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

What was "new" in sixteenth-century Japanese Neo-Confucianism had arisen in eleventh-century China and fourteenth-century Korea as a reaction to an earlier age dominated by the military and by Buddhism. The Song Neo-Confucians' new philosophical formulations were a response to the fundamental challenge of Buddhist philosophy, rejecting Buddhist skepticism of the world in order to provide a positive metaphysical basis for a new humanistic culture and civil society. As the product of a rising civil, scholar-official class, the Neo-Confucian philosophy at first was a challenge to the establishment and later

1. See de Bary et al., eds., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, chap. 19.

was adopted by dynastic rulers who could not stabilize their rule without that class's support and active involvement. But its adoption by the ruling powers and their subsequent incorporation of Neo-Confucianism into the official ideologies should not obscure the fact that Neo-Confucianism spoke more broadly for a whole new cultural movement that, just as it had first developed independently of the ruling ideology, continued much of its growth in areas beyond official control.

This Neo-Confucian teaching, based mainly on the system of Zhu Xi, had been available to the Japanese earlier when Zen monks, heavily engaged in the China trade, brought Neo-Confucian texts back to the leading Zen monasteries. Zen advisers to the Ashikaga, however, had done little to promote them. Tending to be dismissive of the Neo-Confucian philosophy as simply mundane, they did not recognize its "Learning of the Mind-and-Heart" as a spiritual discipline on the same plane as their own.

With the establishment of a unified military regime under Ieyasu, a new, coherent ideology was needed, along with secular learning that would serve a more centralized system, albeit in many aspects still "feudal." Answering to both purposes, centrality and feudalism, was the key concept of Neo-Confucian teaching: "self-cultivation (i.e., discipline) for the governance of men," based on the cultivation by ruler and ruled alike of man's morally responsible self and socially responsive nature.

Meanwhile, the Neo-Confucian learning itself had developed and spread since Zhu Xi's time. It was no longer just the Song learning of the twelfth century that had been known to Zen monks but a political doctrine that had been adapted first by the Mongols in Yuan China, then by the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), and next by the Chosŏn dynasty in Korea (1398–1910). In late-sixteenth-century Korea, Japanese expeditionary forces returned with the texts and artifacts of a whole new culture, bringing with them libraries covering a range of Neo-Confucian scholarship and secular literature. These were accompanied by Korean scholars, nominally prisoners of war, who quickly became advisers to the Tokugawa and their branch houses.

In its earlier forms, Neo-Confucianism was closely identified with a Chinese-style civil bureaucratic state, the like of which was not found in Tokugawa Japan. Many of Confucianism's meritocratic features, especially those of the civil service examination system, contrasted sharply with the aristocratic, hereditary features of the Tokugawa shogunate. Nevertheless, Neo-Confucianism itself was a broader intellectual and educational movement than the institutional forms adapted to the dynastic state. It had spread through local academies in Song China, and then into Mongol Korea, China, and Chosŏn Korea. Even in Korea, it was sustained by the relatively independent local academies of the Yangban elite. Thus, even allowing for the major differences between Chinese and Korean bureaucracy and Japanese feudalism, it is not surprising that Neo-Confucian culture bridged the two and flourished in both the domain and the

private schools of Tokugawa-period Japan, developing diverse forms in the process. Thus we can speak of official schools maintained by the shogunate or its branches and also of relatively independent individual schools. Together they produced a prolific, wide-ranging intellectual life, with orthodoxy a contested issue.

Compared with Buddhism's emphasis on the evanescence of this world, Neo-Confucianism stressed the substantiality, orderliness, and intelligibility of "Heaven-and-earth and all things." In the minds of a significant few Tokugawa thinkers, this attitude eventually helped foster a new interest in the study of both nature and human society. More immediately, however, it was expressed in a typical Confucian concern for the study of human history as revealing the constant laws of human behavior and political morality. As applied to Japan, this study took forms that had no precedent in China's experience. For instance, it focused on the question of legitimate shogunal and imperial rule and on the unbroken succession of the reigning house, which later fed into the imperial restoration movement. This, in turn, abetted the rise of a new nativism: the National Learning movement, which contributed to the study of Japanese literature and the revival of Shinto. In time, both these trends fused into an intense nationalism, which consciously rejected Chinese influences while incorporating essential elements from the great residue of Confucian intellectual and moral cultivation. Perhaps the most striking example of this was the development of *bushidō*, the "Way of the warrior," which joined Japanese feudal traditions and some Buddhist influences with elements adapted from Confucian ethics to form a new military cult.

New developments in the Tokugawa period benefited from the relative stability of Japanese domestic life, the growth of the economy, and the adaptation of Neo-Confucian teachings, especially to the townspeople in the burgeoning urban areas. The "seclusion" policy (*sakoku*), aimed primarily at protecting Japan from foreign intrusion and incursion, kept foreign trade largely under shogunal control but did not isolate the Japanese from all Western learning. Pursuing the Neo-Confucian instinct for "the investigation of things," the Japanese took up Dutch studies, so called because Western learning came through the Dutch at Nagasaki.

Although rapid economic growth and an expanding population in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries put great pressure on the means of subsistence, on Japan's limited natural resources, and especially on the limited capabilities of the feudal system, the concurrent spread of schooling, both elite and popular, meant that by the nineteenth century, Japan had the human resources needed to meet the challenge of the West.

If Confucianism inadvertently contributed to a growing sense of nationalism, Confucian rationalism, along with some exposure to Western science through the Dutch at Nagasaki, helped keep that nationalism from ignoring Japan's own limitations. We are speaking here of a much less pervasive force in the nation's

life: a critical consciousness found mostly in individuals of the educated class. Nonetheless, it was the same class that produced the leaders of Japan's eventual modernization, and we cannot help but be impressed that by the end of the Tokugawa period, many members of the samurai, whose qualifications to rule had once been strictly martial, had become competent in other fields of leadership, intellectual as well as political. The example of Yoshida Shōin—a great hero of the Restoration movement who combined nationalism, Confucian moral discipline, and an intense awareness of the need to learn from the West—was an exception. Even before Yoshida, other educated Japanese, most of them samurai, already had been grappling with some of the greatest problems, mainly economic, of their own society and with some questions that became pressing only when Japan's doors were forcibly opened. Although these thinkers may not have had any direct influence on their own age, they showed that despite the anachronisms of the shogunate itself and the entrenched feudal system, other forces were at work that would better prepare Japan to take its place in the new world.

Chapter 20

IEYASU AND THE FOUNDING OF THE TOKUGAWA SHOGUNATE

Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543–1616) was the third of Japan's three unifiers and succeeded where his predecessors Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582) and Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537–1598) had failed. Ieyasu managed to establish a stable regime that gave peace to the Japanese islands for 250 years. The form he chose for his government was that of a warrior regime, a *bakufu* (military headquarters), after the precedents of the earlier Kamakura and Muromachi *bakufu*. Although aware of these precedents, Ieyasu put in place a government that was by no means an exact copy of the earlier warrior regimes. Under his system, the centralization of feudal state and society went much further than it had in either of the earlier periods. The whole of Japan was ruled by the shogun and approximately 260 feudal lords, called *daimyō*, who were appointed by the shogun. As a rule, their positions were hereditary, in the sense that a daimyo would be succeeded by one of his sons or adoptive sons and this succession would be confirmed by the shogun. However, the shogun had the right, which he often used, to assign daimyo to new fiefs, to give them greater or smaller fiefs, or to dismiss them. The shogun himself, the apex of the feudal pyramid, was nominally appointed by the emperor, who thus fulfilled his usual role as the final legitimizing authority in Japan.

In the system that Ieyasu established, however, the emperor had no political influence or administrative responsibility; together with his courtiers, he led a secluded life in an imperial compound in Kyoto. The country, ruled by warriors,

can best be conceived as a country under martial law, enforced by a standing army. The daimyo were military commanders, assigned a specific territory in which they had to maintain order and from which they collected income needed to feed and equip their troops. The number of troops they had to maintain was calculated according to the estimated average yield of their domain, expressed in measures of rice (*koku*), the so-called total of rice (*kokudaka*). As long as the daimyos kept their domain quiet and their army operational, they had a more or less free hand in running it. The shogun and his *bakufu* were responsible for overall coordination, for foreign relations, for relations with the imperial court, and for administration of the lands that belonged directly to the shogun, which included such major commercial centers as Osaka, Sakai, and Nagasaki.

It is noteworthy that Ieyasu did not have a blueprint ready at the beginning of his reign in which all these features were spelled out. One of the standard complaints of scholars of the Tokugawa period was that the Tokugawa "did not have a system," by which they meant anything comparable to the Chinese imperial system (or its copy, the ancient Japanese *ritsuryō* system), with its elaborate bureaucracy and all-encompassing law codes and ritual manuals. What came closest to these were two codes that the *bakufu* promulgated in the seventh month of 1615, the Code for the Warrior Households (Buke shohatto) and the Code for the Imperial Court and Court Nobility (Kinchū narabi ni kuge shohatto). These, however, fell far short of what East Asian scholars of Confucianism had come to expect.

It is more realistic to see the Tokugawa system as the result of improvisation in the face of ever-changing political opportunities and internal and external pressures. Of course, it is possible to formulate a number of maxims and guiding concepts at some level of aggregation, but typically such abstractions were never alluded to or invoked when the *bakufu* was formulating its policy. True to its military background, the *bakufu* issued orders: specific ad hoc commands that were intended to settle a certain issue or to attain a concrete objective. It did not reflect on the reasons for choosing a certain policy and did not try to defend its choices in general, moral, or rational terms.

Much of the structure that eventually emerged (indeed all of it, according to the claims of later generations of Tokugawa officials) was due to its founder, Tokugawa Ieyasu, the great ancestor, the deity venerated in the Tōshōgū temple in Nikkō and its branches everywhere in Japan. References to decisions or intentions of the great founder were stock arguments in policy discussions within the *bakufu*, and once an institution had been labeled as "initiated by Ieyasu," it could be changed only with great difficulty. This meant that the life and deeds of the great man were constantly in the minds of later generations of *bakufu* vassals. Not only was Ieyasu's life an important item in Tokugawa propaganda, but it also had precedential value.

Actually, Ieyasu's life did have much to recommend it to his future admirers

and hagiographers. He was the only son of a small and struggling warlord in the province of Mikawa, somewhat to the north of present-day Nagoya. From his seventh until his eighteenth year, he lived as a hostage in Sunpu (present-day Shizuoka), as surety for the behavior of his vassals. When at last, in 1560, the daimyo who held him hostage, Imagawa Yoshimoto, was defeated and killed, Ieyasu was free to return home and try to put new life into his flagging band of retainers. He made his peace with Oda Nobunaga in 1561 and became Nobunaga's henchman in eastern Japan, his task being to keep at bay the powerful daimyo Takeda Shingen (1521–1573) and Shingen's successor while Nobunaga was doing battle in the area of the capital and the adjacent areas to the north and west.

Ieyasu narrowly escaped being caught in the chaos that resulted from Nobunaga's murder in 1582. He had been traveling in the Kansai with only a small retinue when Nobunaga's sudden demise forced him to make a difficult journey through the mountains of Iga and Kōga to regain his own domain. The journey itself became a favorite item in later stories and biographies, but in the short run, it prevented Ieyasu from making his mark in avenging Nobunaga's murder. By the time Ieyasu had organized again, Toyotomi Hideyoshi had already killed the assassin, Akechi Mitsuhide, and was in the process of taking over Oda Nobunaga's coalition.

In this process, Ieyasu emerged as Hideyoshi's main opponent. Both were careful to maintain the legality of their cause by backing a member of Nobunaga's family: Hideyoshi, the infant son of Nobunaga's eldest son, and Ieyasu, one of Nobunaga's younger sons, Nobukatsu. On the battlefield, Hideyoshi proved unable to subdue Ieyasu (the battles of Komaki and Nagakute in 1584), but he did manage to persuade Nobukatsu to give up the fight and return to the fold. Finding himself without legitimation, Ieyasu had no choice but to become Hideyoshi's wary but loyal ally (1585).

After the successful conclusion of his campaign against the Hōjō in Odawara (1590), Hideyoshi requested Ieyasu to exchange his present possessions along the eastern seaboard for the Hōjō territory in the Kantō region. Ieyasu accepted, and several months later, still in the same year, he entered the small fishing village of Edo, lying in the marshy coastland of the next bay north of Kamakura, where he decided to build his capital. Thanks to this move, Ieyasu's total *kokudaka* had risen to 2.5 million *koku*, which made him the second largest warlord in Japan, after Hideyoshi himself. As such, he was appointed by Hideyoshi to be the leader of the Council of the Five Elders (Go-tairō), which was composed of Japan's five (in terms of *kokudaka*) strongest warlords. The council was supposed to act as the highest ruling body during the minority of Hideyoshi's son Hideyori (1593–1615). Under the Five Elders, Hideyoshi created a second body, the Five Commissioners (Go-bugyō), whose leading member was Ishida Mitsunari (1560–1600). It was a delicate balance of power that Hideyoshi had instituted, and it did not last; before long, things came to a head, and in the

battle of Sekigahara (1600) Ieyasu and his allies prevailed over a coalition put together by Mitsunari.

Although his victory at Sekigahara gave Ieyasu a preponderant position, he still had his allies to consider and a few powerful enemies to deal with. Above all, for the legitimation of his acts he still depended on his position as Hideyori's regent. Most of the warlords who had opposed him at Sekigahara were expropriated and banished or killed, but Ieyasu had to distribute most of the confiscated territories among his allies in order to reward them for their services. Ieyasu did not reign supreme, as is shown, for instance, by the fact that it took more than two years of negotiations to reach an agreement with the ancient and powerful daimyo family Shimazu, who were entrenched in Satsuma at the southern end of Kyushu. Only after this last obstacle to peace had been removed did the court appoint Ieyasu as shogun (Keichō 8/2/12, or 1603).

It is after this turn in his life that Ieyasu's motivation becomes a problem. The sources allow us to confirm what Ieyasu did, but they are silent on his reasons for doing them. It was left to his later biographers and hagiographers to supply these motives, and they were only too glad to jump into the breach. The result is that we have as many Ieyasus as we have biographies, ranging from the dashing and impulsive commander projected in *Mikawa monogatari* (1622), written by his retainer Ōkubo Tadanori, through the wise, warmhearted ruler of Asaka Tanpaku's *Resso seiseki* (1722), to the venerated ancestor of the official chronicle of the Tokugawa *bakufu*, *Tokugawa jikki* (1849). In between are many stories and anecdotes, the best known of which is the anecdote of the nightingale, intended to show the differences in character among Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and Ieyasu: The three of them sat watching a nightingale, which refused to sing. "If it does not sing, I will kill it," said Nobunaga. "Let us make it sing," said Hideyoshi. "No," said Ieyasu, "let us wait until it starts singing on its own." All Japanese children are told this story, and Ieyasu as the patient planner (or schemer) is still the most popular characterization of him in present-day Japan. It is not necessarily correct, however.

The case most discussed in this connection is Ieyasu's relation to Toyotomi Hideyori, Hideyoshi's heir and Ieyasu's ward. With his appointment as shogun, Ieyasu finally obtained an independent source of legitimacy. Nevertheless, Hideyori still was a power to be reckoned with. This, at least, seems to be the only reasonable explanation of Ieyasu's decision, made a few months after his appointment, to marry his granddaughter, Princess Sen, to Hideyori. Otherwise, an imperial prince would have been a more likely match for her, as indeed happened after the Toyotomi family had finally been eliminated, when in 1620 a second granddaughter of Ieyasu was married to Emperor Go-Mizunoo. The question at issue is whether Ieyasu had been doing his best to accommodate Hideyori and only at the very end had to conclude that accommodation was no longer possible or whether he had laid a trap and was waiting patiently for Hideyori to ensnare himself. Several other questions arise on the same issue:

Did Ieyasu consciously defer his final move on the Toyotomi until the old generation of daimyo, who had known Hideyoshi personally, had died out? Did he try to wean the daimyo away from Osaka and make them come to Edo? Did he step down as shogun after less than two years in office and have himself succeeded by his son Hidetada in order to be free to deal with these major issues of policy, or did he do so because he felt that he could afford to retire and that it would be good for Hidetada to make his own mark? The sources can be read in several ways, with none being definitive.

What we do know, however, is what happened. Hideyori and Ieyasu met for the first time in several years on the occasion of Emperor Go-Mizunoo's accession to the throne in 1611. Apparently that interview went well, for Ieyasu returned to Sunpu without taking any measures against Hideyori. Three years later, however, in 1614 Ieyasu raised a number of problems in connection with the dedication of the statue of the Great Buddha in the Hōkōji in Kyoto that Hideyori had decided to restore. But Hideyori refused to comply and took up arms against Ieyasu. In 1615, after a two-stage campaign, Osaka Castle fell and went up in flames, and Hideyori perished with it.

This incident is more than accidental history. Upon its interpretation hinges the debate about the legitimacy of the Tokugawa regime. According to some scholars, the initiative was taken by Ieyasu himself when he decided to settle the matter of Osaka once and for all and wanted to put himself in the clear. Vestiges of this debate can be found in Hayashi Razan's *Bakufu mondō*, and after the Meiji Restoration it came up again. In this way, it became a favorite subject of Japanese historiography.

Another subject, which disappeared in the Meiji period but was much elaborated in Tokugawa sources, was Ieyasu's frugality. Again, this is not merely factual biographical information. Ieyasu may well have been frugal, parsimonious, or even miserly, and it is a fact that he amassed an enormous hoard of gold and silver that kept the *bakufu* solvent for six decades. But this character trait also had an ideological aspect, for some schools of thought considered frugality to be an important virtue in its own right. More specifically, in the context of the Way of Heaven (*tendō*) lore, it was also a virtue related to the length of dynasties, in the sense that the frugality of their founders explained why certain Chinese dynasties lasted as long as they did.

The final and, for Ieyasu, logical step to ensure the continued fortune of his house was to have himself deified. In this he followed a precedent set by Hideyoshi, who had been deified posthumously as Hōkoku daimyojin. The initiative was taken by Ieyasu himself when on his deathbed, two weeks before his death, he declared on several occasions that after his death he would manifest himself as a god. There was some dispute among the ecclesiastics about the rites that should be used to deify Ieyasu. The victory went to the head of the Tendai sect in eastern Japan, Tenkai (d. 1643). It was Tenkai who organized Ieyasu's cult as an avatar of the Yakushi Buddha (Tōshōgū daigongen) and who

installed him in his temple in Nikkō. From this temple, the Tōshōgū, Ieyasu continued to watch over the fortunes of the dynasty he had established.

CODE FOR THE WARRIOR HOUSEHOLDS (BUKE SHOHATTO)

The regulations for warrior households are concerned mainly with military security, the maintenance of a hierarchical order, and the avoidance of material display. Most administration is left to internal, personal "household" management. Note that article 3 asserts that law is not subject to principle, contrary to Neo-Confucian teaching.

1. One must wholly devote oneself to the civil and the military arts and to the Way of the bow and the horse.

To have the civil on the left and the military on the right is the ancient practice. One must be equipped with both. The bow and horse are the most important things for warriors. Weapons are called dismal instruments, but [sometimes] one cannot avoid using them. "In times of order, do not forget turmoil." How could one not exert oneself in training and perfecting oneself [in the use of arms]?

2. Drinking parties and idle, wanton amusements should be restricted.

The rigorous restrictions that codes of law placed [on this behavior] are especially strict. States have been lost because their rulers were infatuated with sex or made gambling their chief occupation.

3. Those who have defied the laws shall not be given sanctuary in any of the provinces.

Law is the root of ritual and decorum. Principle can be violated in the name of the law, but the law cannot be violated in the name of principle. Those who defy the laws will not be punished lightly.

4. The greater and lesser lords of all the provinces and all their stipended officials must speedily expel any soldiers in their service who have been accused of rebellion or murder.

Those who harbor untoward ambitions are the sharp instruments that overturn the state, the dart and sword that cut off people [from their livelihood]. How could one condone them?

5. From now on, no one who is not from that province shall be allowed to live there [freely] among [the inhabitants of that province].

Generally speaking, each province has its own, different customs. If someone either reported abroad the secrets of his own province or reported in his own province the secrets of other provinces, it would be the beginning of fawning and flattering.

6. Any repairs of the castles in the provinces must certainly be reported [to the *bakufu*]—as well as new construction, which is strictly forbidden!

Walls extending more than one hundred *chi* [a measure for city walls: thirty feet long by ten feet high] are a peril to the state. High fortresses and well-dredged moats are the origin of great turmoil.

7. If new [construction] is planned or bands are formed in a neighboring province, you must speedily inform [the *bakufu*].

"All men are given to factionalism, and wise men are few. For this reason they sometimes do not obey their lords or fathers, or they feud with neighboring villages."[1] Why do they plan new things instead of abiding by the old institutions?

8. One must not contract marriages privately.

The bonds of marriage are the way of yin and yang's mutual harmony. One should not enter them lightly. [The explanation of the diagram] *kui* [in the *Yijing*] says: "Marriage should not be contracted out of enmity [against others]. Marriages intended to effect an alliance with enemies [of the state] will turn out badly." The ode "Peach Blossoms" [in the *Shijing*] says: "When men and women behave correctly and marriages are arranged in the proper season, then throughout the land there will be no unmarried men."[2] To use one's marriage relations in order to establish factions is at the root of evil schemes.

9. How the daimyo should report for duty.

Chronicles of Japan, Continued[3] contains a regulation saying: "If one is not engaged in official duties, one should not at will assemble one's clansmen. One cannot move through the capital with a retinue of more than twenty horsemen." Therefore, one should not bring with oneself great masses of soldiers. Daimyo with an estate of 1 million to 200,000 *koku* should not be escorted by more than twenty mounted warriors; those with an estate of less than [1?]100,000 [*sic*] *koku* should reduce their escort proportionally. However, when a daimyo is performing his official tasks, he may be followed by as many men as his rank entitles him to.

10. Restrictions on the type and quality of clothing should not be transgressed.

One should be able to distinguish between lord and retainer, high and low. Ordinary people who have not been authorized to wear them cannot wear white robes with narrow sleeves (*kosode*) of white damask, *kosode* made of glossed unpatterned silk and dyed purple inside, or purple-lined robes (*awase*). It is against all ancient law that nowadays vassals and soldiers are wearing gaudy clothes of damask, gauze, or embroidered silk. This must be strictly regulated.

11. Ordinary people should not ride indiscriminately in palanquins.

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1. See de Bary et al., eds., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, p. 51, article I.

2. Neither the *Yijng* nor the *Shijing* is quoted or interpreted correctly here.

3. *Shoku Nihongi* is the second of the Six National Histories (Rikkokushi). It was finished in 797 and covers the years from 697 to 791.

In the past, depending on the person, some families rode in palanquins without [the need to obtain a special] permission, and some did so after they had obtained permission. Recently, however, even vassals and soldiers ride in palanquins. This is really the extreme of presumption. Henceforth, a lord of a province and the senior members of his house may ride [in palanquins] without first needing to ask for permission. In addition to them, attendants of nobles, members of the two professions of physicians and astrologers, people sixty years and older, and sick people will be allowed to ride [in a palanquin] after they have applied for permission. The master of vassals and soldiers who willfully ride [in palanquins] should be held to blame.

12. Warriors in the provinces should practice frugality.

The rich will flaunt their wealth more and more, and the poor will be ashamed because they cannot measure up to the average. Nothing is more demoralizing than this. It is something that should be strictly regulated.

13. The lord of a province should select those who have talent and abilities for the tasks of government.

Generally speaking, the way of ruling a state is a matter of getting the [right] men. Merit and faults should be clearly examined, and rewards and punishments should always be appropriate. When a state has good men, that state will flourish more and more; when a state does not, it will certainly perish. This is the clear admonition of the wise men of old.

The preceding [code] must be complied with.

Dated: 7th month of Keichō 20 [1615]

[*Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 12, pt. 22, pp. 19–22; WB]

CODE FOR THE IMPERIAL COURT AND COURT NOBILITY (KINCHŪ NARABI NI KUGE SHOHATTO)

This code does not hesitate to prescribe proper conduct for the emperor and court nobility, and it even censures the emperor's failure to observe court precedents. In addition, the official Buddhist hierarchy is treated as subordinate to the court and is seen as corrupted by it.[4]

1. Of all the emperor's various accomplishments, learning is the most important. If an emperor does not study, he will not clearly know the ancient way; [never yet has such an emperor] been able to establish great peace through his

4. Lee A. Butler, "Tokugawa Ieyasu's Regulation for the Court: A Reappraisal," *Harvard Journal of Asian Studies* 54 (1994): 532–36.

rule. *Jōgan seiyō*[5] is a clear text, and although *Kanpyō yuikai*[6] does not plumb the full depth of the classics and histories, it [should be read and memorized, as should] *Gunsho chiyō*.[7] Ever since Emperor Kōkō, [our country has known] a continuous tradition of *waka* (thirty-one-syllable verse) [composition]. Although *waka* are a matter of fine words,[8] composing them is a custom of our country that should not be abandoned. As it says in *Kinpi-shō*,[9] [the emperor] should exclusively concentrate on learning.

2. The three dukes (*sankō*)[10] take precedence over the imperial princes (*shinnō*). The reason is that the great minister of the right, Fujiwara no Fuhito, was ranked above Prince Toneri.[11] Specifically, Prince Toneri and Prince Nakano[12] were posthumously appointed prime minister, and Prince Hozumi[13] was given the same privileges (*jun*) as those of a great minister of the right. All of them already were princes of the first rank and were appointed great minister only afterward. Is this not indisputable [proof] that [imperial princes] rank below the three dukes? After the imperial princes come the former great ministers. The three dukes who are in office rank above the imperial princes, but

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5. *Jōgan seiyō* (Ch. *Zhenguan zhengyao*), 10 *kan*, was composed during the Tang dynasty by Wu Jing. It purports to contain the discussions that the second emperor of the Tang, Taizong, had with his ministers. These discussions are arranged in forty different categories.

6. *Kanpyō yuikai* is a set of instructions and admonitions written by Emperor Uda for his successor, Emperor Go-Daigo, and given by him to the latter when he abdicated in his favor. The text is in *Gunsho ruijū* 475.

7. *Gunsho chiyō* (Ch. *Chunshu zhiyao*), 50 *kan*, was composed during the Tang dynasty by Wei Zheng and others, on imperial command. It consists of excerpts from the classics and works on government of later writers.

8. Fine, beautiful words but also, in a Buddhist context, "lying words"!

9. *Kinpi-shō*, 3 *kan*, was composed by Emperor Juntoku. The book treats all aspects of the life at court: buildings, utensils, rituals and ceremonies, styles of letter writing, subjects of study, and the like. The text is in *Gunsho ruijū*, *zatsubu*, and in *Ressei zenshū*, *Gosenshū* 6.

10. The term *sankō* (Ch. *sangong*) dates back to the kingdom of Zhou and denotes the three highest dignitaries at the royal, later the imperial, court. In Japan, this word denotes the prime minister (*dajō daijin*), the great minister of the left (*sadaijin*), and the great minister of the right (*udaijin*).

11. Toneri-shinnō (675–735), the third son of Emperor Tenmu and a daughter of Emperor Tenji, and the father of Emperor Junnin. He was appointed to oversee the compilation of *Nihon shoki* and, after Fujiwara no Fuhito died (720), was named acting prime minister (*chidajōkanji*). He was appointed as prime minister posthumously (735).

12. Nakano-shinnō (792–867), the twelfth son of Emperor Kanmu. He was appointed as the governor of Dazaifu (Kyushu) in 830. Both his promotion to the first princely rank (*ippon*) and his appointment as prime minister were posthumous, based on the fact that through his daughter he had become the grandfather of Emperor Uda.

13. Hozumi-shinnō (d. 715), the fifth son of Emperor Tenmu. He became acting prime minister (*chidajō kanji*) in 705. He was promoted to the first princely rank (*ippon*) in the first month of 715, half a year before his death.

those who have resigned their office should be seated behind them; they follow after the imperial princes. However, the crown prince is an exception.

When former great ministers or retired regents assume office again, the regent houses (*sekkanke*)[14] may decide on the ranking order among themselves.

3. After a great minister of one of the "Pure and Flowery" houses[15] resigns his office, he should be seated behind the imperial princes.

4. Those who belong to the regent houses but do not possess the requisite talents and abilities—let alone anyone from outside [those houses]—must not be appointed as one of the three dukes or as imperial regent!

5. Those persons who do possess the requisite talents and abilities should not resign their office as one of the three dukes or as imperial regent, even if they have reached a great age. Furthermore, they may be reappointed even after they have resigned their office.

6. Adopted sons continue the family line. However, one must use [i.e., adopt] those of the same clan name. Never has it happened, before or now, that a relative through the female line succeeded as the head of a house.

7. Appointments of warriors (*buke*) in functions and ranks of the imperial bureaucracy must be considered separate from those of the court aristocrats who are actually fulfilling such positions.

8. In case of a change in the era-name, one may select an auspicious one from China's era-names. But the next time, if [we have scholars who are] learned in the rites and know them really well, they should [again] follow the procedure laid down in the old regulations of our court.[16]

9. The emperor's ceremonial robes (*raifuku*) consist of [an outer garment with] wide sleeves (*ōsode*), [an inner garment with] narrow sleeves (*kosode*), and a skirt (*mo*). They are decorated with the twelve symbols.[17] [The ministers' ceremonial robes are different.] Their coats (*hō*) are colored a yellowish green (*kikujin*)[18] or green (*aoiro*); [they are made of] silk. [Or they wear] a coat [whose color] has been decided by the Yin Yang Bureau. Otherwise [they wear] a *nōshi* with a train (*hikinōshi*) or a small *nōshi* (*ko-nōshi*).

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14. The so-called *sekkanke*, or the houses from whose members the imperial regent (*sesshō* or *kanpaku*) was chosen. In the Tokugawa period, these were the five houses of Konoe, Takatsukasa, Kujō, Ichijō, and Nijō.

15. The so-called *seigake*, or the houses whose members could be promoted up to the office of prime minister. In the Tokugawa period, these were the nine houses of Koga, Saionji, Sanjō, Tokudaiji, Imadegawa, Ōimikado, Kazan'in, Daigo, and Hirohata.

16. This article indicates dissatisfaction with the selection of the era-name Genna. This era-name was used two times in China (in the later Han dynasty [84–87] and in the Tang dynasty [806–820]). It is one of the rare instances in which Japan took over a Chinese era-name.

17. For a diagram and a description, see *Dai Kanwa jiten*, vol. 2, p. 2695, no. 376. According to this dictionary, six of the symbols were pictured on the robe, and six on the skirt.

18. *Kikujin* is the color of mildew. See *Dai Kanwa jiten*, vol. 12, pp. 47818–826.

Article 9 continues with minute details of the prescribed dress for retired emperors, as well as the different ranks of the high nobles.

10. Each of the various houses may propose promotions in rank and office [to the emperor], in keeping with the ancient precedents that apply to that house. However, the emperor should appoint those who are diligently studying the Chinese corpus of courtly lore and precedents or *waka* composition, and also those who have accumulated merit through their exertions for their lord, to higher functions or advance them in rank, even if that would mean a promotion above their [hereditary] rank. Although Shimotsumichi no Mabi [Kibi no Makibi (693–775)] [originally] held [only] the junior eighth rank low, he was appointed great minister of the right because of his talents, wisdom, and reputation; he is an excellent example. The efforts of [studying in the light reflected by the] snow or [projected by] fireflies should not be scorned.

11. Anyone who disobeys orders given by the imperial regent (*kanpaku*) and the military liaison officers (*buke tensō*), and also those given by the intendants (*bugyō*) and private secretaries of the emperor (*shikiji*), must be banished, whether or not he has the status of *tenjōbito*.

12. In determining the gravity of a crime, the ancient law codes should be followed.[19]

13. The abbots of the regent houses (*sekke monzeki*) must be seated behind the imperial abbots (*shinnō monzeki*). But when they are in office as regent or as one of the three dukes, members of the regent houses are higher than the imperial princes, and former great ministers are seated behind them. Since this has been so decided [for imperial princes and members of the regent houses], [the abbots] should be treated correspondingly. However, except for imperial offspring, no *monzeki* should be appointed an imperial prince by edict. The ranking of the retinue of the imperial abbots should be based on the individual background of its members.

Judging by the ancient regulations, it was rare for anyone who had already entered Buddhist orders to be appointed an imperial prince. In recent reigns they have become quite numerous. There is no good reason for this. *Monzeki* other than those born in the regent houses and the imperial family must be treated as honorary abbots (*junmonzeki*).

14. Abbots (*monzeki*) and *inge*[20] may be appointed as high priests [great,

19. Actually, the article mentions three categories of ancient Chinese law: the "names" of punishments (*mei*), the "examples" of the application of the punishments (*rei*), and "general rules" (*ritsu*). See *Dai Kanwa jiten*, vol. 2, pp. 3297–331.

20. *Inge* were monks of noble descent who lived in temples subordinate to the *monzeki* temples.

regular, and provisional; i.e., *dai-*, *shō*, and *gonsōjō*] in conformity with the precedents. In those rare cases when someone of the common people (*heimin*) is appointed because of his extraordinary ability, he should be made an honorary high priest (*jun sōjō*). However, the preceptors (*shihan*) of the emperor and the great ministers are an exception.

15. It goes without saying that *monzeki* may be promoted to assistant high priest [great, regular, and small; i.e., *dai shō* and *shō sōzu*] and to "seal of the law" (*hōin*) and that *inge* may be promoted to assistant high priest [great, regular, small, and provisional] and to Vinaya master (*risshi*), seal of the law, and eye of the law (*hōgen*), according to precedent. However, in the case of a commoner (*heijin*), he will first have to be recommended by his temple. Moreover, when he is selected for his talents, he may be proposed [to the emperor for promotion].

16. The ancient regulations only rarely refer to cases in which abbots of temples were allowed the [privilege of a] purple robe, but in recent years the emperor has granted such permissions indiscriminately. As a result, the order of seniority has been confused, and the official temples have been corrupted. This is not at all as it should be. In future, you will select [candidates for the purple robe] on the basis of their talents and ability and of the number of years they have kept the commandments (*kairō*). [Only those who] have a reputation for wisdom and knowledge may be proposed [to the emperor] for appointment as abbot of a temple.

17. Monks of broad learning (*sekigaku*) who have been selected by their own temple, with a distinction made between regular (*shō*) and provisional (*gon*), and are recommended [to the emperor] may, by imperial permission, be granted the title of "saint" (*shōnin*). However, those who have practiced Buddhism for twenty years or more should be appointed as regular [saint] and those whose years are insufficient, as provisional [saint]. [Those guilty] of disorderly competition and ambitions must be punished by banishment.

The preceding [regulations] must be complied with.

Dated: a certain day, 7th month of Keichō 20 [1615]
Signed: Nijō Akizane,[21] *the shogun [Tokugawa Hidetada], the retired shogun [ōgosho-sama* (Tokugawa Ieyasu)]

[*Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 12, pt. 22, pp. 161–64; WB]

21. Nijō Akizane (1556–1619). He was *kanpaku* for a few months in 1585 until he stepped down in order to allow Toyotomi Hideyoshi to assume this office. One month after the *kuge shohatto* was signed, he was reappointed as *kanpaku*, which he remained until he died.

IEYASU'S REVENGE AND COMPASSION

The following anecdote is told in *Tales from Mikawa* (*Mikawa monogatari*), a book written by one of Ieyasu's old retainers, Ōkubo Tadanori. Its historical accuracy may be doubtful, but it vividly shows what was considered acceptable behavior for lords and vassals as well as the extent to which Ieyasu was still smarting from his years in captivity.

TALES FROM MIKAWA (*MIKAWA MONOGATARI*)

Well then, always be compassionate toward others. Sometimes Ieyasu's falcon would stray into the residence of the Haramiishi *mondo* Motoyasu, and then Ieyasu would go into the woods that lay behind it and make the falcon sit on his hand again. The *mondo* remarked on several occasions that "he was more than fed up with the young lord of Mikawa." Perhaps this had irritated him? After some thirty-seven or thirty-eight years had gone by, Ieyasu attacked the castle of Takatenjin in Tōtōmi that belonged to Takeda Katsuyori of Kai. Ieyasu dug a moat, wove fences, and put up walls and palisades, wanting to subdue the castle by starvation. Haramiishi *mondo* had also sought refuge in this castle. Soon the food ran out, and [Ieyasu's soldiers] caught him alive as he fought his way out of the castle. When they reported this, [Ieyasu said], "The one called Haramiishi is the one who when I was interned in Sunpu, used to say that he was more than fed up with the young lord from Mikawa, whenever I was flying my falcons in Kamihara and one of my falcons strayed into Haramiishi's woods and I went in to retrieve it. I remember him. Haramiishi must also know this. Since he is the Haramiishi who was so completely fed up with me, tell him to cut his belly this instant." Thus he ordered. But Haramiishi's last moments were also fine. "It stands to reason," he said, "and I don't mind." Then he turned to the south and made to cut his belly. One of the bystanders remarked: "Even such an eminent person as Haramiishi apparently does not know about the last hour. Turn to the west and then cut your belly." Haramiishi answered him, saying, "You, you don't know a thing! The Buddha himself taught [in the Lotus Sutra] that 'in the Buddha lands of the ten directions [there is only the Law of the One Vehicle]; there are not two [laws], nor are there three. This does not apply to the teachings of the Buddha on expedient means.'"[22] Do you really think that there is a paradise only in the western direction? How small-minded

22. Lotus Sutra, chap. 2, *Hōbenbon*. See Watson, trans., *The Lotus Sutra*, p. 35.

you are! Why should one prefer one paradise over the other?" With these words, he turned to the south and cut his belly.

[Ōkubo, *Mikawa monogatari*, in *NST*, vol. 26, p. 73; WB]

ACCOUNT OF TOKUGAWA (*TOKUGAWA JIKKI*)

The following anecdote containing Ieyasu's pronouncements on political theory and practice is part of an appendix to the official annals of Ieyasu's reign, based on earlier accounts recorded closer to the events in question.

In the twelfth month of Keichō 7 [1602] the temple of the Great Buddha in the Eastern Mountains of Kyoto burned down. The former regent, Toyotomi [Hideyoshi], had originally erected [in this temple] a clay statue of the Buddha, but in the first year of the Keichō era [1596] a strong earthquake destroyed it. Hideyoshi then sent for the Buddha of the Zenkōji in Shinano and had it installed, but after his death, his wife, Lady Yodo, saw to it that this Buddha statue was returned to its place of origin. This time, orders were given to the metal casters, and a mold was made in order to cast [the statue of the Great Buddha] in copper. However, when the hot copper was poured into this mold, the woodwork underneath caught fire, and everything up to and including the roof of the temple turned into ashes.

[Several years] later, Lady Yodo secretly contacted the shogun's wife, Lady Sōgen'in, in Edo and told her: "The Great Buddha was constructed by His Excellency. It met with this unfortunate accident, and it would be difficult for Hideyori to restore it by himself. I hope that with help from the Kantō, we will be able to rebuild it. Then His Late Excellency's wishes, too, will not have been in vain. That would be a most joyful event." When Lady Sōgen'in inquired [with Ieyasu] through Honda Sado-no-kami Masanobu, [Ieyasu said]: "Lady Yodo is a woman, and the shogun is still young in years, so probably he will not think [about the request] too deeply. You, however, have worked for many years in senior positions. Why do you bring such a preposterous story to me and expect me to discuss it? This is really going too far."

Since Masanobu appeared to be greatly embarrassed, Ieyasu resumed: "You have heard that the Great Buddha in Nara, which was constructed according to a vow made by Emperor Shōmu, was set on fire by the soldiers of Taira no Shigehira and burned to the ground. Two monks, Shunjō and Saigyō, together collected the money and rebuilt [the temple and the statue]. Although the Tōdaiji was a temple built at the behest of an emperor (*chokuganji*), [Minamoto no] Yoritomo made no effort to have it rebuilt. By comparison, the Great Buddha in Kyoto was built on a whim of Hideyoshi. If Hideyori wants to use his

own means to rebuild it, he may do so, but there is no reason why the shogun should come to his aid. How many temples and shrines do you think there are in Japan? If every time someone claimed that we had some sort of a relation to a temple and we paid to have it repaired, how would we ever defray the expense for the whole empire? Such requests have to be carefully considered. In any case, you may be sure that talk of founding both a new temple and a new shrine is foolish. Please tell this to the shogun and talk it over with your colleagues."

Some time later, members of Ieyasu's personal entourage (*godanban*), such as Yamaoka Dōami and Maeba Hannyū, happened to be discussing in Ieyasu's presence the notion that the lord of the empire should do something to leave his name to posterity. They noted that Hideyoshi's name would live on because he had erected the Great Buddha in Kyoto. Ieyasu heard this and remarked, "Hideyoshi loved doing such things, but the only things that I think of constantly are ruling the empire in peace and seeing to it that after several generations, public order and popular customs will be maintained. Aren't those things much more important than constructing a number of Great Buddhas?" His two companions were deeply affected by his penetrating reflections and advice for bringing order to the state. They were ashamed and left his presence, apologizing for their ill-considered remarks.

[*Tokugawa jikki*, vol. 1, pp. 331–32; WB]

LETTER FROM HONDA MASAZUMI AND KONCHIIN SŪDEN TO KATAGIRI KATSUMOTO

As indicated in the previous selection, after the Hōkōji and the statue of the Great Buddha were destroyed by fire, Hideyoshi's son decided to have them rebuilt. Near the time of the dedication ceremony, however, Ieyasu raised a number of problems, which are detailed in a letter that his henchman Honda Masazumi and the Zen monk Konchiin Sūden wrote to Hideyori's guardian, Katagiri Katsumoto (1556–1615). The letter is dated Keichō 19/8/6 (1614).

We bring the following to your attention so that it will be clear [to you]. In regard to the impending inauguration ceremony of the Great Buddha, we disagree with several of the arrangements on which you reported earlier. The other day [when you were here, in Sunpu] Ieyasu happened to see a copy of the inscription of the bell of the Great Buddha in Nara, and he told you that this was how such a text should read. Yet you asked an ignorant country fellow to compose the present inscription, and what he has written is too long and is filled with irrelevant details. More specifically, he has included the taboo name of Ieyasu, which is against the law. Although here, again, ancient custom should be followed, you have written the commemorative ridge plaque in a style of

your own devising; moreover, it fails to mention the name of the master builder. Furthermore, we hear that in the dispute between the Tendai and Shingon sects about the seating order, you have decided on equal seating, even though since [the time of] Emperor Kanmu, the Tendai monastery on Mount Hiei has enjoyed special imperial honor. This, too, Ieyasu finds disconcerting. The inscriptions on the bell and the ridge plaque will exist forever. If [in future reigns] they are ever maligned, people will assert that the laws of the person who ruled the empire in those days must have been in confusion and disarray. Ieyasu is not pleased with this. You must fully comply with the above and report it to Hideyori.

We also have sent messengers to the monks of the five Zen monasteries to show them the inscription of the bell and ask them for their opinion.

[*Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 12, pt. 14, p. 457; WB]

LETTER FROM TOYOTOMI HIDEYORI TO SHIMAZU IEHISA

A second, much more stringent, set of demands is reported in a letter dated one and a half months later in 1614 (Keicho 19/9/23). It is from Toyotomi Hideyori to Shimazu Iehisa, sealed by Hideyori himself, in which he asks Iehisa to help him against the Tokugawa.

I urgently ask your attention to the following: Suruga [Ieyasu] has become ill disposed toward the impending inauguration ceremony of the Great Buddha. Although I tried to reason with him through messengers, I was told to leave the Great Buddha alone for the time being, and through Ichi-no-kami [Katagiri Katsumoto] I was given these three conditions: to give up Osaka Castle or to take a residence and live in Edo, as all the other daimyo do. If neither [condition] is acceptable, then I should hand over my mother as a hostage. I tried to argue with Ichi-no-kami and told him to resign himself to the situation, but he refused to listen to anything I said. Maybe he is colluding with Suruga? He vehemently insisted that if I did not settle on the basis of these three conditions, it was unlikely that I would be able to hold on to Osaka and therefore would never be able to undo the damage. But consider these conditions yourself! I cannot agree with even one of them. Anyway, we have reached our decision, so I will first send Ichi-no-kami as a messenger to Suruga, as he says that the answer to Suruga is urgent.

I entreat you earnestly to come to my aid. However, the road is long, so it is very important to gather all the information you can. I repeat: it is very important to gather information about the conditions in this area. Therefore I send you this letter under my black seal.

[*Kyūki zatsuroku, kōhen*, vol. 4 of *Kagoshima ken shiryō*, p. 550; WB]

THE REASONS FOR IEYASU'S FRUGALITY

One chapter of the appendix to Ieyasu's annals is devoted to anecdotes and incidental remarks about the extent of and reasons for his frugality.

When he was still very young, he [Ieyasu] was taken away from his own province and was made to live [with the Imagawa] in Suruga and [with the Oda] in Owari. He tasted to the full all the bitterness and hardship of this world of man and gained a deep insight into human character and the nature of the world. His experiences taught him the truth that none of the things that come into being between Heaven and earth are to be treated lightly. Until the end of his days, therefore, he made frugality his guiding principle, cut out unnecessary expenses, and applied himself to achieving solid results. Of course, his own sustenance was correspondingly simple, and he also repeatedly lectured on the topic to his men. As a result, they all imitated his manners, and unlike the warriors in the capital, they did not show any taste for luxury and elegance but lived very simply.

Well now, because of its frugal customs, the Zhou dynasty established a rule that lasted eight hundred years. Ever since then, in both Japan and China, founders of dynasties have invariably created their states and brought order to the empire through frugality and simplicity. [However,] when the great peace had lasted for some time, their descendants grew up in wealth and dignity and completely forgot the hardships their ancestor [had suffered]. Because they indulged their own taste for luxury, in the end they lost the great work of many generations.

Long ago someone asked Gamō Ujisato who would become the lord of the empire when its present ruler, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, had died. Ujisato answered, "Lord Tokugawa is well known and highly regarded these days, but he is a miser by nature and is not made of the stuff that rulers of the empire are made of. After [Hideyoshi's death], the empire will probably go to Maeda Toshiie." Apparently Ujisato had grown accustomed to the extravagance of Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi and had mistakenly concluded that this was what rulers of the empire should be like; he did not know that our lord's frugality was ordained by Heaven. It is a pity that Ujisato, great hero though he was, had become stuck in the common vices of his day and had insufficiently reflected on the matter.

[*Tokugawa jikki*, vol. 1, p. 321; WB]

A STORY ILLUSTRATING IEYASU'S FRUGALITY

Another story that illustrates Ieyasu's frugality incidentally mentions the Way of Heaven in this context. Ieyasu's words were reportedly addressed to the women of his court

and concerned the importance of washing clothes. It is included in chapter 20 of the appendixes to Ieyasu's annals.

At one time, Okaji-no-tsubone ordered her women to wash a white *kosode* [belonging to Ieyasu] that had become soiled. The women hurt their fingers, and blood flowed from the wounds; she thought it a very cruel task. Since he [Ieyasu] had so many clothes, she asked whether it would be all right if they did not wash them anymore and if he wore only new clothes. Ieyasu answered, "This is not something that you, foolish women, need to understand, but I will explain it to you nevertheless. Come and listen." He called a great number of the women together and said: "The thing about which I have been most careful all my life is not to offend the Way of Heaven. What the Way of Heaven hates most is extravagance. Having seen all the treasure I have amassed here in Sunpu, you no doubt think that it is a lot?" All of them agreed. "This is not my only treasure-house," Ieyasu resumed. "I also have one in the capital, in Osaka, and in Edo, all filled with gold, silver, cloth, and silk. So even if I wore new clothes every day, how could I ever run short? The reason, however, that I have amassed [all this wealth] is to give it, at certain times, to the people of the empire or, by accumulating it for the future generations of my descendants, to prevent the state from ever being short of funds. Therefore, we should not waste even one robe." Although they were women, they all were [impressed by] the wisdom of his holy teaching and did obeisance to him as one does to a Buddha or a god, with the palms of their hands joined together.

[*Tokugawa jikki*, vol. 1, p. 324; WB]

LETTER FROM KONCHIIN SŪDEN

The following letter was written by one of Ieyasu's principal religious advisers, the Zen master Konchiin Sūden, concerning Ieyasu's last days.

Since I have a good messenger going all the way to the Nanzenji, I am sending you this letter. When the liaison officers (*tensō*) returned to Kyoto, I gave them a written report; that will tell you about the situation here in Sunpu. The illness of the minister (*shōkoku-sama* [Ieyasu]) kept him in bed for several days in a row; he was weak, had hiccups and spat out phlegm, and his fever rose. He suffered extreme pain and distress. In view of his condition, everyone from the shogun down to the lowest vassals thronged into the castle. You can imagine how subdued and gloomy everyone was. After the liaison officers left for the capital, his condition greatly worsened.[23] I, old monk that I am, served day after

23. The liaison officers had come to Sunpu in order to bring Ieyasu the imperial rescript

day in the inner quarters and gratefully [listened to] his every instruction, tears streaming [down my face]. One or two days ago, he summoned Honda Kō[zuke-no-suke Masazumi] [1565–1637], Nankōbō [Tenkai (d. 1643)], and me to his bed and instructed us as follows: Immediately after he died, his body should be interred on Mount Kunō; the Zōjōji[24] should be instructed to hold a funeral ceremony (*sōrei*); his ancestral tablet (*ihai*) should be placed in the Daijuji[25] in Mikawa; [and] after a year has gone by, a small hall should be built on Mount Nikkō, where Ieyasu should be invited to reside as a godhead (*kanjō*). He would become the tutelary deity (*chinjushin*) of the eight provinces of the Kantō. At these words, everyone wept. Yesterday, the third, there has been a change from the past few days. He [Ieyasu] is clear and utters one golden word after the other, on all kinds of subjects. All here say that this is no longer a human feat. I hope to send you the joyful tiding that he has recovered even more than this. [Your son] Naizen-[no-kami Shigemasa] [1588–1638] will send you word. In fear and reverence.

Dated: 4th day of the 4th month [of Genna 2]
Signed: Konchiin Sūden
Addressed to: Itakura Iga-no-kami Katsushige [1545–1624]

[*Shintei honkō kokushi nikki*, vol. 3, p. 382a; WB]

THE STORY OF THE MIIKE SWORD

A different aspect of Ieyasu is shown in the story of the Miike sword. Here we see him not as the benevolent lord but as the warrior he was, with blood on his hands. The story tells how one of the heirlooms kept in the Tōshōgū shrine in Sunpu, Ieyasu's Miike sword, was selected. Other versions of the story stress Ieyasu's insistence on trying the sword on a convicted felon as a sign of his humaneness. The story also indicates the private fears and worries that may have inspired his decision to have himself deified.

On the sixteenth of the fourth month, [Ieyasu] summoned his valet Tsuzuki Kyōdaiyu Kagetada and told him to find the Miike sword that he had always secretly treasured and to hand it over to the magistrate [of Sunpu], Hikosaka Kyōbei Mitsumasa. If there was [a prisoner] who had been condemned to death,

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appointing him prime minister. Ieyasu and Hidetada received them on Genna 2/3/27 (1617) and entertained the officers on the twenty-ninth. In view of Ieyasu's condition, however, on the same day all *kuge* and daimyo were ordered to leave Sunpu and go home. The liaison officers eventually left Sunpu on the fifth day of the fourth month.

24. Zōjōji is a temple of the Pure Land sect in Edo that was patronized by the Tokugawa and where many later Tokugawa shoguns, beginning with Hidetada, were buried.

25. Daijuji is a temple in Mikawa, the province of the origin of the Tokugawa, where Ieyasu's ancestors were buried.

then [Mitsumasa] had to try this blade; if there was no such person, it would not be necessary to try it. Thus Ieyasu ordered. Mitsumasa and Kyōdaiyu went together to the execution ground, and after some time [Kyōdaiyu] reported back to Ieyasu and said that as instructed, they had tried the blade on a felon and that it had cut through him all the way down to the block without a problem. Ieyasu then told him to exchange it with the sword that was lying at his bedside, [took it out of its scabbard,] swung it two times, three times, and said that with the power of this sword he would protect his descendants of all generations to come. He instructed Sakakibara *naiki* Teruhisa [1584–1643] to preserve it in the [shrine on] Mount Kunō. On the seventeenth, the hour of Ieyasu's death was drawing near. Honda Kōzuke-no-suke Masazumi summoned [a servant] and ordered him to tell the shogun to come over quickly, but Ieyasu said that that would not be necessary. "Tell him," he said, "that after I am gone, he must never forget the Way of the warrior, even in the least." These were his last words before he expired,[26] cradling his head on Teruhisa's knees.

This Teruhisa was the third son of Sakakibara Genshichirō'emon Kiyomasa. He had attended Ieyasu from an early age, and Ieyasu had treated him with great affection. Also during his illness, he had waited on Ieyasu day and night and had received any number of commissions of things to do after Ieyasu's death. "After I have died, my remains must be buried on Mount Kunō; the shrine precinct must be done in such-and-such a manner; you must protect this site for the rest of your days and serve me as you have served me during my lifetime," he told him. He [Ieyasu] also said, "Because the eastern provinces are mainly ruled by our direct vassals (*fudai*), I do not think that they will have any plans to rebel. But I feel less confident about the western provinces. Therefore, you must place my statue [in the shrine] with its face to the west." It is said that also the Miike sword was placed with its point to the west.

[*Tokugawa jikki*, vol. 1, p. 285; WB]

THE REIGN OF EMPEROR GO-DAIGO

The "accepted version" of Ieyasu's life was the annals and appendixes in the official history of the Tokugawa dynasty, the *Tokugawa jikki*. Ieyasu's annals conclude with a magnificent finale, an elaborate effort of Japanese literary prose by the compilers. It may not be the most correct description of his life, but it indicates what the *bakufu* wanted Ieyasu to be remembered for, two centuries after his death. We take up the story—which begins with the creation of Heaven and earth—with the reign of Emperor Go-Daigo.

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26. The word used is *kakuresasetamaishi*, from *kakureru* (to hide), which is the same word used for gods and emperors.

In the Genkō and Kenmu eras, Emperor Go-Daigo employed the military power of the Nitta and Ashikaga in order to punish [Hōjō] Takatoki, and as he had planned in his wisdom, he succeeded in executing the Hōjō and restoring imperial rule. However, the imperial family split into south and north, and in the end the Ashikaga unified the empire. Because Takauji, with his deceitful stratagems and devious intellect, had beguiled those above and deluded the masses of the people, his rule was flawed from the outset. Therefore, those below him followed his example, and while the fifteen reigns of the Ashikaga passed, close relatives harmed one another, and fathers, sons, and brothers were at one another's throats. The strong suppressed the weak, and the many molested the few. After the Ōnin War, the empire was shattered to pieces like a roof tile; rebels arose like [swarms of] bees; human relations ordained by the Way of Heaven were discontinued; and for more than a hundred years, myriad people suffered extreme hardship. Hardly had Oda Nobunaga, valorous and sharp, supported Ashikaga Yoshiaki to become shogun than he expelled him. Then he, too, was killed by a rebellious vassal. Then came the time of the regent Toyotomi's grandiose schemes. Although he had come up from the grass roots, had avenged his former lord, and finally unified the empire, he gave himself up to luxury and extravagance and organized foreign campaigns. He paid no attention to the distress of the myriad people and so was unable to pass on his authority to the next generation.

At this time, "a god was sent down from the sacred mountain,"[27] and a true lord was born. He was compassionate and magnanimous; as a military man, he was able to suppress the troubles, and as a civil ruler, he was able to establish order. He finally calmed the waves that for more than a hundred years had raged between the Four Seas and succeeded in unifying the empire. We can forget about the ignorant lords and lying ministers of the Ashikaga, and even the violent Oda and the arrogant Toyotomi both belonged to the kind of people who catch fish for [stocking] their pools and pursue peacocks for [adorning] their shrubbery. It is obvious that for a true lord, Heaven provides all this. We will scrupulously refrain from mentioning even for the briefest moment the merit of having laid the fundament of [the imperial dynasty that will last for] myriad generations without end, but [ever since] the rule of the emperor came under the control of the military, one does not hear of even one lord who truly revered the Way of Yao and Shun and studied the traces of the sages.

Only the heroic ancestor (*resso* [Ieyasu])—who grew to manhood amid the din of arms, who often experienced the misery of drenching rain and tearing winds [when he was on campaign], and who tasted to the full the hardship of [operating in] rough mountain territory—only he, notwithstanding all this bitterness and hardship, knew that there was no other way than the Way of the

27. *Shijing*, ode 259.

sages when he began to order the world and bring peace to the realm. He summoned the Confucian scholars of that time—Fujiwara Seika, Hayashi Razan, and others—and listened to them reading the *Great Learning*, the *Analects*, and the *Zhenguan zhengyao*.[28] Besides them, he [Ieyasu] summoned such learned monks as [Saishō] Jōtai, [Konchiin] Sūden, and [Nankōbō] Tenkai and asked them about the annals and biographies of Japan and China. After he had retired to Sunpu, he still had Razan give lectures on the Four Books and Six Classics and the Seven Military Classics, and he kept him with him day and night as his adviser.

After his triumph at Sekigahara, Ieyasu concentrated all the more on the many affairs of state; his only thought was to give the country peace and the people wealth. He began the work [of establishing his dynasty] for the empire and his descendants and passed on his unifying rule to them. Grandly he established great principles and great laws. He handed down his great rule of endless peace to his saintly sons and divine grandsons for many, many generations. Reverently they have accepted his teaching that their spiritual lifeline must exclusively be his godly preference for the civil arts. In this way, the splendor of the sun on Mount Futara [Nikkō] shines everywhere, even farther than Korea and China, and there is no region on Japan's many isles that has not been moistened by the blessings of the dew in the Field of Musashi. Could there be anyone with hair on his head and teeth in his mouth who would not reverently venerate and fearfully worship the virtue and meritorious deeds of this swift-acting god?

[*Tokugawa jikki*, vol. 1, pp. 131–32; WB]

28. Concerning the governance of the early Tang dynasty, see de Bary et al., eds., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, pp. 84–88.

Chapter 21

CONFUCIANISM IN THE EARLY TOKUGAWA PERIOD

Confucianism first came to Japan along with the importation of Chinese culture sponsored by Prince Shōtoku and the Chinese administrative and political model implemented through the so-called Taika Reforms during the second half of the seventh century. The Confucian classics were taught at the Court Academy (Daigakuryō) from the beginning of the eighth century onward. Basic Confucian ideas, such as the importance of rites and decorum (J. *rei*, *rai*, Ch. *li*) for the ordering of society, seeped into the common intellectual heritage of the Japanese court, and it was in the same court circles that Neo-Confucianism later became known. Although developments in Japan lagged behind those in China, by the end of the Kamakura period (1185–1333), Japanese court intellectuals were aware that something new had started in Song China. In the following centuries, basic Neo-Confucian texts, such as Zhu Xi's *Collected Commentaries on the Four Books*, were imported and studied.

The most important locus of these studies was the Kiyowara family, who had begun as one of the "families [in charge of] explaining the classics" (*myōgyōke*) in the Court Academy and remained active in the field of Confucian studies until well into the seventeenth century. A second locus of Neo-Confucian studies was the Zen monasteries. Through their frequent contacts with the Chinese, the Zen monks recognized the importance of the Neo-Confucian commentaries for the study of the classics. They therefore studied and taught these com-

mentaries and other texts by Neo-Confucian masters and integrated them into their practice of Chinese literature.

Then, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, things changed. The change may have been less abrupt than the later, Confucian-dominated historiography has often claimed, but in any case, the intellectual atmosphere of the early Tokugawa period was quite different from that of the late Middle Ages. This change was mainly a matter of a new secular attitude: specifically, a denial of the fundamental compatibility of Confucianism and Buddhism, which until then had been commonly accepted.

The change was pioneered by a number of young Kyoto intellectuals, who in the first years of the seventeenth century gathered around Fujiwara Seika (1561–1619).[1] They tried to re-create in Kyoto what they fondly believed was the lifestyle of Chinese literati, and their program can best be characterized as both anticlerical and antimilitary. Although they were loud in their condemnation of Buddhism, as their collected poems and letters show, this did not prevent them from cultivating friendly relations with individual Buddhist monks. These young intellectuals were, of necessity, less open in their condemnation of the Tokugawa *bakufu* or of individual daimyo. Their values differed, however, from those of the warrior class, and if an opportunity presented itself, they did not hesitate to present their dissenting views.

Their central preoccupation was what—for want of a more adequate translation of the Chinese word *wen* (J. *bun*)—may best be rendered as "literary culture or civil culture." This "literature" did not exclude literature written in Japanese but was heavily biased toward literature written in Chinese, Chinese literature, and, above all, the Chinese classics. As Hayashi Razan, looking back on the course that his own studies had taken, wrote,

> When I was a child, I sometimes read modern stories [e.g., the *Taiheiki*]. The person who explained them to me [told me that he] thought that such-and-such a word came from Su Dongpo [1037–1101] or from Huang Tingqian [1045–1105] and that such-and-such a phrase came from Li Bo [701–762], Du Fu [712–770], Han Yu [768–824], or Liu Zongyuan [773–819]. When I read the collected works of Li, Du, Han, Liu, Su, and Huang, I noticed that very often what they were based on was the *Wenxuan* (*Literary Anthology*), the *Shiji* (*Records of the Historian*), or the

1. Among them we find Hayashi Razan (1583–1657) and his brother Eiki (1585–1638), Hori Kyōan (1585–1642), Kan Tokuan (1581–1628), Matsunaga Sekigo (1592–1657), and Nawa Kassho (1595–1648). This group also had connections with such literary figures as Matsunaga Teitoku (1571–1653) and Kinoshita Katsutoshi (Chōshōshi [1569–1649]) and with the merchant Yoshida (Suminokura) Soan (1571–1632).

> *Hanshu* (*History of the Former Han Dynasty*). When I read the *Shiji* and the *Hanshu*, I saw that they followed the texts of the ancient period. I then read the Five Classics and saw that before them there was nothing from which they derived. Thereupon I clearly realized that these classics constituted the foundation of all later theories, and in this broad perspective I understood what the Way was based on. I cherished only the extra teachings added to the classics by the Chengs and Zhu Xi and looked up to the abundant relics of Confucius and Mencius.[2]

To limit either the ambitions or the historical importance of these intellectuals simply to the study of Confucianism—that is, to the Neo-Confucian commentaries on the Chinese classics— would be doing them an injustice. Their activities included much more, ranging from historiography and medicine to poetry, in both Chinese and Japanese, and the classical Japanese corpus. Hayashi Razan, for one, wrote an extensive commentary on Kenkō's "Essays in Idleness" (Tsurezuregusa). It also would be misleading to identify them simply with the school of Neo-Confucianism that is connected with the Cheng brothers, Mingdao and Yichuan, and with Zhu Xi and that had become the orthodox school in China and Korea. Both Seika and Razan were well aware of later developments during the Ming dynasty, and if Razan opted for the Cheng–Zhu school, he did so for specific reasons and in full awareness that the Confucian tradition had more to offer. The fact that his teacher, Seika, did not make the same choice is in itself proof that the choice for Cheng–Zhu Confucianism was by no means necessary or preordained.

The group around Seika and Razan had no monopoly on Chinese and Confucian studies. Throughout Japan, the basic texts and basic instruction in Chinese were available. No doubt, the capital area was the main center of intellectual activity, but it remained in constant contact with several regional centers. One such center, regarded by Jesuit missionaries for some time as Japan's "university," was the Ashikaga school (established in Ashikaga, in the Kantō region), which was affiliated with the Zen sect and whose curriculum included basic instruction in the Chinese classics. Several of Tokugawa Ieyasu's advisers were Zen monks affiliated with this school.

The flow of information was maintained by monks, who used to study for at least a few years in the principal monasteries in Kyoto, and by samurai, who traveled with their lords to Osaka and Fushimi and spent part of their lives in the capital area. Other contributing factors relevant to the availability of texts were a lively book trade with China, carried on through Nagasaki; the loot from the Korean wars, which included many Neo-Confucian texts by both Chinese

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2. Razan, *Shishū*, vol. 2, app. 3, p. 37a.

and Koreans; and indigenous Japanese efforts at printing. At least some knowledge was available throughout the country and to all who were interested enough to look for it, as did Neo-Confucians like Nakae Tōju (1608–1648), Yamazaki Ansai (1618–1682), and Kumazawa Banzan (1619–1691), all of whom had been educated in the provinces and had "found the Way" without having been exposed directly to the intellectual milieu of the capital, let alone studied under Seika or any of his disciples.

Not only was this knowledge available, but apparently there also was a new interest in it in all classes of society, ranging from daimyo who went to hear lectures by Seika and who hired his disciples, to the readers of such popular works written in the vernacular as *Gion monogatari*, *Shimizu monogatari*, and the treatises associated with teaching the Way of Heaven.

The skills and knowledge that the Confucian intellectuals offered were their superior command of the Chinese language and the teachings of the Chinese classics. A necessary premise for their activities was, therefore, the general consensus in Japan that some knowledge of Chinese was an asset and that the classics had important things to teach. Whether the Confucian intellectuals subscribed to orthodox or heterodox principles was not an issue in their clients' minds.

In the fluid situation of the seventeenth century, "unattached" intellectuals, who were neither monks nor members of the court aristocracy, were a new breed. They had to live by their wits and to fight for their own niche, their own position in society. For their livelihood, they depended on pupils or patronage, but the market for their skills and knowledge was limited and competition was fierce. They not only had to contend with Zen monks and court nobles, but also had to compete among themselves or form what today would be called networks. The wiser (or less self-assured) among them pursued medicine as a second profession that they could teach as well as practice. Those who did not had to be extraordinarily gifted and lucky (as in the case of Razan) or resign themselves to a life lived in relative poverty (as did Seika and Tōju).

The debates in which these intellectuals engaged did not arise so much from their adherence to different schools as from their attempts to draw attention to their own person and ideas, from their struggle for pupils and patrons. A case in point is Nakae Tōju, who really did not need to wait until he had read Wang Yangming before he could disagree vehemently with Razan. By the same token, the scholarly lineages and affiliations that were recorded so meticulously during the Tokugawa period did not certify doctrinal purity as much as they provided qualifications for employment and patronage. In this period, Japan was an aristocratic, feudal country; purity of ideas may not have been a prime consideration, but purity of lineage, even of scholarly lineage, was. It always was important to know whose son and whose disciple somebody was. Adding to this, as a continuing legacy from the medieval period, was the key role that lineages played in certifying Buddhist monks, especially in Zen.

FUJIWARA SEIKA AND THE RISE OF NEO-CONFUCIANISM

Fujiwara Seika came from an ancient and noble family, the Reizei branch of the Fujiwara clan, and he was a tenth-generation descendant of the famous poet Fujiwara Teika (1162–1241). Seika was born on the estate of his family in Miki (Harima) and, as a younger son, was destined for an ecclesiastical career. When his father and older brother were killed by a local warlord, Bessho Nagaharu (d. 1580), and the family estate was seized (1578), Seika went to the capital to live with his uncle Jusen Seishuku (dates unknown), who was abbot of the Fukōin, one of the subsidiary temples of the Shōkokuji, a major Zen monastery in Kyoto, and Seika himself became a monk at the Shōkokuji.

During his training, Seika came into contact with Chinese and Confucian studies, and apparently Confucianism appealed to him. Nevertheless, the Koreans with whom he sought contact—that is, the members of the Korean embassy of 1590 and the Korean prisoner of war Kang Hang (1567–1618)—consistently refer to him as a monk (Shun of the Myōjuin). The sources are not clear on this point, but shortly before or after 1600, Seika seems to have renounced Buddhism. Thereafter he lived as a layman and apparently even married and fathered or adopted a son. In any event, the second version of his *Collected Works*, the *Seika sensei bunshū* (preface of 1651; printed in 1717), was compiled by Fujiwara Tametsune, who is described as his great-grandson.

Before 1600, Seika was a great traveler who followed Toyotomi Hidetsugu to the base camp for the first Korean expedition in Nagoya (Kyushu), and in the following year, 1593, he went to Edo to visit Tokugawa Ieyasu, who recently had established his headquarters there. In 1596 he even boarded a ship in order to travel to China, but his attempt failed. After 1600, however, aside from visits to Wakayama, where he stayed with Asano Yoshinaga (1576–1613), he lived in Kyoto in semiretirement, either in his house near the Shōkokuji or in the cottage he built in Ichihara, north of Kyoto, in 1605. Seika was supported by such warrior patrons as Akamatsu Hiromichi (1562–1600), Asano Yoshinaga, and Kinoshita Katsutoshi; by the merchants Suminokura Ryōi and his son Soan; and, no doubt, by his pupils. He also gave occasional lectures to interested daimyo. One such lecture, on the *Great Learning*, was written down and still survives as *Digest of the Great Learning* (*Daigaku yōryaku*).

Seika's main contributions to Confucian and Chinese studies in Japan were his editions of the Four Books and the Five Classics and his ambitious compilation of exemplary Chinese prose and poetry in the various genres, the *Bunshō tattokuroku*. These editions of the classics, and of other Chinese Confucian texts, were made at the request of Akamatsu Hiromichi. The actual writing was by Kang Hang and other Korean captives; Seika's role was restricted to supervision and to the addition of Japanese reading marks. The importance of the

exercise was that Seika added these marks according to the Neo-Confucian commentaries. This was a departure from the traditional reading marks used by the Kiyowara, which were based on the older Han commentaries. Seika's collaborator in the literary project was Yoshida Soan, who seems to have done most of the actual work. But this project was never completed. At least, what was printed (in or shortly after 1639) under the name *Bunshō tattokuroku kōryō* was the first six, introductory, chapters, which contained excerpts and quotations relevant to Chinese literary theory.

"THE FOUR LANDSCAPES ARE MINE"

In 1592 Fujiwara Seika traveled to the base camp at Nagoya (Kyushu) as a member of the entourage of Toyotomi Hidetsugu. There he met Ieyasu, who invited him to visit him in Edo. Because Seika had managed to get into Hidetsugu's bad graces, he thought it wise to accept Ieyasu's invitation, and he stayed in Edo for several months. There he lectured to Ieyasu and made a number of friends and useful acquaintances among Ieyasu's vassals, but Seika and Ieyasu themselves apparently did not get along very well. The exposition "The Four Landscapes Are Mine" is a declaration of independence by Seika, and he never tried to get into Ieyasu's good graces again. The basic topoi of the text, that things in nature have no lord and belong to those who enjoy them, have much in common with the first of the "Fu on the Red Cliff" by the Song poet Su Dongpo, but an aesthetic orientation and holism with nature was also a significant aspect of the Neo-Confucian spiritual cultivation of the "humaneness that forms one body with Heaven-and-earth and all things."

Which land does not have mountains? If these mountains have no colors, it is because the mind is lazy. Which land does not have water? If the water is not clear, it is because the heart is busy. These expressions "If the mind is lazy, the mountains have no colors" and "If the heart is busy, the water will not be clear" were used by the ancients, and I also use them. In the sixty provinces of our Japan, you will find the most beautiful places for wandering through and admiring in the eight provinces east of the barrier, and within the eight provinces the crown is held by the four landscapes of Mount Fuji, the Field of Musashi, the Sumida River, and Tsukuba Mountains. Whoever has not seen these has been called less than human. I, too, had long intended to make this trip, for I had once heard that the appreciation of mountains and water inspires you to open your heart to the Way. When Confucius climbed Taishan [mountain] and lingered on the bank of the river, did he not do so for this reason?

In Bunroku 2 [1593] I received a gracious invitation from the lord of the eight provinces, the *asomi* Lord Minamoto, and I visited the castle of Edo in Musashi and remained there until the following year. In my little room of ten feet square in the inn I hung up the two characters *ga-yū* (I have). A guest came

by, laughed, and said: "You are lonely and broke. You do not own even one square foot of land, not even the smallest house. You do not own anything! What, then, do you mean by 'I have'?" I answered, "How terribly conventional you are! How boorishly narrow in your views! I possess a spacious house and do not need carpenters, nor do I need to pay for repairs. . . . You cannot say that I do not possess anything! Take the snow in winter: it may be fresh, but that is not enough to make it special. But white, pure snow on a summer morning as it lies high on Mount Fuji's lofty top! Looking up to it, I wear it like a hat from Wu, and it is not at all heavy! Take flowers in spring: they may be beautiful, but that is not enough to make them special. But riotously blooming flowers on an autumn day as they are spread across the several hundreds of *li* of the Field of Musashi! Stooping down to them, I put them on like sandals from Chu, and how good they smell! The water of the swiftly flowing Sumida River, in which the moon is stored, is something you can put into your calabash gourd. The mountains of Tsukuba, which tumble over one another and erase the clouds, are the stuff of poetry. But how could these be the only things? I have the myriad phenomena under my roof. I cannot give them away to others."

The guest replied, "Huh? What you say sounds like Yangzi's egoism. A gentleman should not subscribe to that creed." I answered, "Correct. All men live under the same roof with me, so I can share everything with them." The guest said, "What you are saying now sounds like Mozi's universal love. A gentleman should not talk that way." I answered, "Right again."

[He said,] "But where does that leave you?" I answered, "All things have a master. How could they not have one? If you want them for yourself, you cannot have them, and if you want to give them to others, that is not possible. All things have a master, and to him they belong." He asked, "Who is this master?" I answered, "The lord of this province [Ieyasu], but when I . . . asked this lord, he did not own them; when I asked the ordinary people, they did not possess them. Alas! What others want I do not possess, and what I possess others do not want. Therefore, my house is empty, but in my heart I travel through heaven. I put the Sumida River into my calabash, fold the mountains of Tsukuba inside a poem. My hat of Mount Fuji, my sandals of the Field of Musashi! My sandals and socks came from here, here I drink from my gourd, and yonder I am inspired to write poetry. Since I live this life of rapture, left to my own devices, it is not only the four landscapes, not only the eight provinces, not only the sixty provinces of Japan—all the beauty one can admire within the four extremities and the eight directions is present in my body. The colors of any mountain under Heaven need not have entered my eye for my eye to be filled with them. I need not have washed myself with the water of any clear stream under Heaven for my ears to become cleansed. I have obtained the highest principles under Heaven in my heart without needing to think. My heart is expansive and my body at ease, and for the first time I have become human. How enjoyable this traveling is! Isn't my land wide? Isn't my house huge? Isn't it well equipped?

Isn't this travel a pleasure? Isn't it enjoyable? In truth, 'military might will not be able to cow me,' nor 'will wealth and rank be able to sweep me off my feet, or poverty, make me budge.'[3] Since I am free of any opinions, obsessions, obstinancy, and ego,[4] how superior I feel, how free to travel! I am sure those things belong to me!"

The guest suddenly rose to his feet, straightened his clothes, and thanked me, saying, "Through your studies you have climbed high and you have come to consider the empire small. 'Looking down, you grieve for others, [enmeshed] in [the cycle] of day and night.'[5] You are no Yang, no Mo."

[Fujiwara Seika, *Seika sensei bunshū*, in *NST*, vol. 28, pp. 80–82; WB]

LETTER TO THE KOREAN SCHOLAR KANG HANG

Late in 1598 or early in 1599, Seika asked the Korean scholar Kang Hang on behalf of Akamatsu Hiromichi to add a postface to their newly finished edition of the Four Books and the Five Classics, based on the Neo-Confucian commentaries of the Song. Seika's language is typical of the Neo-Confucian depreciation of Han Confucian scholarship as well as of Zhu Xi's claim to repossess the long-lost Way of the sages, as represented by his Four Books. In Seika's view, Japanese Confucianism was still dominated by the old learning of the Han and Tang, introduced in the Nara period, and the new interpretations of the Song philosophers (the "original" teachings of Confucius and Mencius lost in the Han and Tang but now rediscovered) were still largely unknown in Japan. Hence the need for this new edition to proclaim the new dispensation.

Our lord Akamatsu wants me to transmit to you the following: the various houses that in Japan lecture on Confucianism from olden times until now have transmitted only the learning of the Confucians of the Han period and do not yet know the philosophy of principle (*ri*) of the Confucian scholars of the Song. For four hundred years they have not been able to remedy the defects of their inveterate tradition. Quite the contrary: they say that the Confucians of the Han are right and those of the Song are wrong. In truth, one can only smile pityingly on them. . . .

From my youth onward I never had a teacher. I read books on my own and told myself: the Confucians of the Han and Tang never rose above memorizing and reciting words and phrases. They hardly did more than offer explanatory notes on pronunciation and add remarks in the upper margin in order to draw attention to certain facts. They certainly did not have an inkling of the utter

3. Reference to *Analects* 8:13.
4. *Analects* 9:14.
5. *Mencius* 7A:24.

truth of the sages' learning. During the Tang dynasty the only one to rise above this level was Han Yu. But he, too, was not without shortcomings. If it were not for the Song Confucians, how could we ever have resumed the broken strands of the sages' learning?

In Japan, however, because the whole country is like this, one man cannot turn back the raging waves that have already toppled or send back the setting sun when it is already falling. I have felt full of pent-up anger and only held the zither and did not play the flute [i.e., I kept my opinions to myself]. For this reason our lord Akamatsu has just now made a new copy of the text of the Four Books and the Five Classics, and he has asked me to add Japanese reading marks to the side of the characters according to the interpretation of the Song Confucians, for the sake of posterity. Whoever in Japan will want to champion the interpretation of the Song Confucians shall have to take these volumes as his basic source. . . .

Please relate these facts, confirm their truth, and write a postface at the end of these works. This has been our lord Akamatsu's long-cherished desire and would please me very much. Do consider it!

[Fujiwara Seika, *Seika sensei bunshū*, in *NST*, vol. 28, pp. 95–96; WB]

FUJIWARA SEIKA'S NEW/OLD LEARNING

Although Seika's critical anthology of Chinese prose and poetry (the *Bunshō tattoku-roku*) was far from finished at the time, Kang Hang wrote a preface for this work, dated 1599, in which he extols Seika's learning and gives insight into the sources of his erudition, which included scholars of the Yuan and Ming who contributed to the later development of Neo-Confucian thought. Kang's point is that Seika is thoroughly up-to-date, compared with the old-fashioned Kiyowara school.

As far as his learning is concerned, Seika is not narrowly confined to one tradition. He did not receive the transmission from a teacher. He has based himself on the classics left over from a thousand years ago and rejoined the strands that had been broken off for a thousand years. He has progressed far, and on his own. Widely he searched, and he resumed the learning from the distant past. From what was represented by the knotted strings, what was borne by the dragon horse and carried by the divine tortoise or stored in the walls of Confucius's [house], up to [the writings of] Zhou Dunyi [1017–1073], the Chengs, Zhang Zai [1020–1077] and Zhu Xi, and Lu Xiangshan [1139–1193], Xu Heng [1209–1281] and Wu Cheng [1249–1333], Xue Xuan [1392–1464], Hu Juren [1434–1484], Chen Xianzhang [1428–1500], and Wang Yangming [1472–1529], and so on, he studied all the books about the philosophy of human nature and principle thoroughly and widely; he has thought them through and analyzed them clearly. In everything he makes it the basis of his learning to extend heavenly

principles and to restrain the unruly heart. . . . Japanese scholars everywhere in the country knew only that there existed a learning [that consisted of] memorizing and reciting words and phrases; they did not yet know that the learning of the sages existed: a [Neo-Confucian] learning of human nature and principle, of preserving [one's mind and heart] and of scrutinizing oneself, of knowledge and action being one . . . Seika was born in a country far from China, cut off by the sea, and yet he rescued this one region from its blindness and deafness.

[*Fujiwara Seika shū*, vol. 2, pp. 1–3; WB]

LETTER TO THE HEAD OF ANNAM

On whose behalf Seika wrote this letter is not clear from the letter itself. In the extant printed version(s), both the name of the sender and the date have been suppressed. If the letter can be read in conjunction with the ship's oath that follows it, the sender was Seika's patron, the Kyoto merchant Suminokura (Yoshida) Soan. Each year between 1604 and 1613, the Suminokura sent one officially licensed trading vessel, or "vermilion seal ship," to trade in Southeast Asian waters. Others maintain, however, that it was Tokugawa Ieyasu himself who commissioned the letter. Whatever the case, it undoubtedly dates from 1604 and illustrates to what extent commerce and diplomacy were intertwined and to what extent Chinese culture was the commonly shared frame of reference throughout this whole area. The "poetry and history" mentioned in the letter, are, of course, the two Chinese classics: the *Classic of Odes* and the *Classic of Documents*. Rites and Rightness are two of the Five Constant Virtues.

____ of Japan addresses this letter to Lord Huang, chief of Annam. In recent years, ships, like pigeons, have come from and gone to your country, from which we may deduce the good state of our mutual relations. This is a source of deep satisfaction. In the sixth month of the year 1604, our ship and crew returned home safely. I was put to shame by your answer to my letter and by the number of exquisite gifts you sent with it. [Six mother-of-pearl shells, five rolls of high-quality white silk, two tusk fans, one flask of aromatic wax, one flask of perfume.] I have no words to describe your generosity.

In your letter you quote from the *Great Learning* and say that it is all a matter of "abiding in trustworthiness." This one word truly expresses the essence of governing one's house and teaching the country. Trust is an inherent part of our human nature. It moves heaven and earth, penetrates metal and stone, and is present everywhere. How could its value be limited only to diplomatic relations and trade between neighboring countries? Is not this why all men everywhere are the same, even though customs may differ when we travel a thousand leagues? If we look at things from this perspective, what is different are secondary things like clothing and language. However, even at a distance of one thousand or ten thousand leagues and even though clothes and speech may differ,

there is something that is not far off and does not differ. This is, I think, trust, which is one and universal.

My earlier emissaries behaved badly. As they traveled to and from your country and Japan, their actions belied their words, and often they mistook the situation. Therefore I have punished them according to the law of the land. I assume that in your country you would do the same? As a rule, a ship's crew is recruited from the lads of the market and shop assistants, and when they see even the slightest chance of gain, they forget the shame of the death penalty. They talk too much and in their joy or anger say whatever comes to their mouths; hence, they cannot be trusted. From now on, reliable communications between our two countries will take the form of letters, and the reliability of these letters will be established by their seals. These seals will prove that they are genuine. Therefore I have given the present crew your answering letter of this summer. Please examine it carefully. I also send you a few of our local products as complimentary presents.

In your letter, you say that "our country is a country of poetry and history, of rites and rightness, and not a place of market goods and traders' congregations." Indeed, when one has to handle market goods and trade, if one works only for gain and profit, it is really despicable. However, if one discusses this in more general terms, are not all four classes part of the people (even the despicable merchants)? Are not all eight responsibilities of the state of equal necessity (even trade)? Beyond giving peace to the people and governing them, poetry, history, rites, and rightness make no sense, and without poetry, history, rites, and rightness, it is impossible to give peace to the people or to govern. This also is the fixed, inherent nature of the five quarters: the nature that has trust as one of its principal constituents. What your country is warning against is simply that we might lose this trust, which may bring various unfortunate results. But so long as our two countries have not lost this trust, one single small-minded individual should not be able to cause such an unfortunate outcome. Even so, we should be on our guard. If something like this should happen, both countries have their codes of punishment.

Ship Compact (Soan was sending a ship to Annam; therefore I wrote this at his request)

1. Speaking generally, the purpose of trade is to bring a surplus [in one area] to scarcity [in another] in order to bring profit to both others and oneself. Trade is not harming others while bringing profit to oneself. Even a small profit that is shared by both parties is actually great, and a profit that may seem large but is not shared is in reality small. What one calls profit is the happy result when duties coincide. Therefore it is said that the avaricious merchant gives [only] three, whereas the decent merchant gives five. Keep this in mind.

2. Compared with our country, other countries may differ in customs and speech, but the heavenly endowed principle is always the same. Do not forget what is common; do not be suspicious of what is strange; and do not ever lie or brag. Even if the foreigners are not aware of it, we should be. "Trust reaches even to pigs and fish, and trickery shows itself even to the seagulls." Heaven does not tolerate deception; you should not disgrace the manners of our country. If you meet a humane person or a noble person (*junzi*) in that country, respect him as you would your father or your teacher. Ask about the prohibitions and taboos of that country, and adapt to its customs.

3. Between heaven that covers and earth that bears us up, all peoples are brothers and all things are in common, and all should be seen as one in their right to humane treatment. How much more does this apply to people from the same country? To people of the same ship? If there is trouble, sickness, cold, or hunger, then all should be helped equally; do not even think of wanting to escape alone.

4. Raging waters and angry waves may be dangerous, but one still runs the greatest risk of drowning from human greed. Human greed takes many forms, but the greatest risk of drowning is from liquor and sex. Since you will be traveling together wherever you go, correct one another and admonish one another. The old adage says, "The most dangerous road lies between the bedroom and the dining room." This is quite true. How could one not be careful?

5. Minor matters are treated in the appendices. Keep this [compact] next to your seat day and night, and reflect on it as in a mirror.

In the year Keichō, signed Tei Shigen, officer in charge of trade affairs.

[Fujiwara Seika, *Seika sensei bunshū*, in *NST*, vol. 28, pp. 88–90; WB]

THE MEETING OF MINDS

On the most poetic of all nights, the fifteenth day of the eighth month, in the year Keichō 11 (1606), Seika visited his friend and patron Kinoshita Chōshōshi. The occasion may have been Seika's imminent departure for Wakayama, where he was going to stay, for the first time, with his patron Asano Yoshinaga. The meeting was described by Hayashi Razan, who had not attended it himself, in his "Postface to the Chinese and Japanese Poems Exchanged Between Guest and Host on the Eastern Mountain" (Tōzan hinshu shiika batsu). It is an archetypal and idealized description of the kind of meeting that Seika and his disciples aspired to as civil and cultured persons, showing that Seika and Chōshōshi knew the rites, knew the classics, could compose poetry, and knew how to get drunk in style. The piece is filled with references to the *Liji*, the *Analects*, and other classics, and with reminiscences of Su Dongpo's poem "Fu on the Red Cliff" and of poems by Li Bo. Seika loudly praised Razan's elegy when he read

it. It is a typical example of the ritualized, aestheticized lifestyle of the literati associated with Neo-Confucian civil culture (*bun*).

The guest climbed the Eastern Mountain, and the capital looked small [beneath him]. The host came out and welcomed him, saying, "It shames me that you have come." The guest answered, "I had the time to spare." The host begged the guest to go through the gate first, but the guest insisted that his host precede him. Eventually, though, he accepted with a bow, entered on the right side of the host, and climbed the eastern stairs while the host turned left and climbed the western stairs. Their inviting and refusing, their climbing and descending was a model of decorous behavior. When the guest first sat down on his mat, exquisite wine cups and choice fruits had already been served. The host asked [questions], and the guest responded. Their words were heartfelt and sincere. Their expressions were genial and relaxed. After some time, pure and plentiful, a sumptuous feast was brought in, with choice chestnuts and delicious wine. The guest rose to his feet and the host entreated him, and the guest declined. Finally they were satisfied, even though they had not eaten much; then they were drunk, but they kept their composure.

The guest said, "It says in the *Changes* (*Yijing*) that 'waiting amid wine and food, there will be good fortune through being firm and correct, because one is in the central and correct place.'" The host responded, "Does it not say so in the *Classic of Odes* (*Shijing*)? 'I have a fine guest, his reputation is very brilliant.' It is in the second couplet of the 'Crying Deer.'" The guest thereupon recited the poem "They Cut Down the Trees" [*Shijing* 165]. The host declined to respond.

The sun had already gone down, and then night fell. The wind blew and it rained hard. Clouds filled the sky and the mountains were dark; the lights went out and the hour was late. Still the conversation of guest and host had not ended. When the day was about to dawn, the wind died down, the clouds disappeared, and the moon appeared. Together guest and host climbed to the [roof of the] hall above the grotto. The hall was high and the moon seemed close. The sky was dark, and when they looked up, it was as if they could climb up and reach it, as if they rode a whirling wind and were carried off far away where their eyesight would fail them. The guest felt in his heart the endlessness of space, but the host seemed not to notice this, so the guest also acted as if he had not, either. The guest composed a poem, and the host recited a *waka* [poem]. Then atop the hall, wine was offered. The guest poured and they drank; then the host poured and they drank. They rinsed their cups and exchanged toasts. Exhilarated by their drunkenness they asked the moon, but what could the moon say? It was only the guest and the host who spoke. What could the moon say?

[Hayashi Razan, *Razan sensei bunshū* 51, vol. 2, pp. 156–58; WB]

TEACHINGS OF ZHU XI BROUGHT TO JAPAN

Much of the impression made on seventeenth-century Japanese by Zhu Xi (1130–1200) lay in his remarkable capacity to adapt and enfold in one system of thought the individual contributions of his Song predecessors. For this task he was well equipped by his breadth and subtlety of mind, and by powers of analysis and synthesis which enabled him, while putting ideas together, to articulate each of them with greater clarity and coherence than their originators had done. In this way Zhu defined more precisely such concepts as the Supreme Ultimate (Supreme Pole or Polarity, *taiji*), principle (*li*), material force (*qi*), human nature (*xing*), and the mind-and-heart (*xin*). Of his predecessors it was Cheng Yi upon whose philosophy Zhu mostly built. Consequently his school of thought is often identified as the Cheng–Zhu school, and the doctrine of principle (*li*) is the most characteristic feature of their common teaching.

Zhu Xi likened principle in things to a seed of grain, each seed having its own particularity but also manifesting generic, organic elements of structure, growth pattern, direction, and functional use, whereby each partakes of both unity (commonality) and diversity. Unlike the analogy of the Buddha-nature to the moon and its innumerable reflections in water (in which the latter are understood to be insubstantial, passing phenomena), principle for Zhu was real in both its substantial unity and its functional diversity. Hence he called the study of principle in all things, under both aspects, "real," "solid," "substantial" learning (*shi xue*).

In humankind this principle is one's moral nature, which is fundamentally good. The human mind, moreover, is in essence one with the mind of the universe, capable of entering into all things and understanding their principles. Zhu Xi believed in human perfectibility, in the overcoming of those limitations or weaknesses which arise from an imbalance in one's psychophysical endowment. His method was the "investigation of things" as taught in the *Great Learning*—that is, the study of principles and also self-cultivation to bring one's conduct into conformity with the principles that should govern it.

In this type of self-cultivation, broad learning went hand in hand with moral discipline. The "things" that Zhu Xi had in mind to investigate may be primarily understood as "affairs," including matters of conduct, human relations, political problems, etc. To understand them fully required of the individual both a knowledge of the literature in which such principles are revealed (the classics and histories) and an active cultivation of the Five Human Relationships—parent/child, ruler/minister, husband/wife, older and younger siblings, and friends—through which one could develop to the fullest the virtue of humaneness (*ren*, J. *jin*). It is through humaneness that one overcomes all selfishness and partiality, enters into all things in such a way as to identify oneself fully

with them and thus unite oneself with the mind-and-heart of the universe, which is love and creativity itself. *Ren* is the essence of being human, one's "humanity," but it is also the cosmic principle that produces and embraces all things.

At the same time Zhu spoke of this teaching as "real" or "practical" learning (*shixue*, J. *jitsugaku*) because it was based on natural human sentiments and could be practiced in daily life through normal intellectual and moral faculties. These were to be developed through what Confucius, and now Zhu Xi, called "learning for one's self" (meaning for one's own self-development and self-fulfillment), a learning Zhu Xi urged on all, ruler and subject alike.

In contrast to Buddhism there is in Zhu Xi a kind of positivism that affirms the reality of things and the validity of objective study. His approach is plainly intellectual, reinforcing the traditional Confucian emphasis upon scholarship. Zhu Xi himself is probably the most stupendous example of such scholarly endeavor in the Chinese tradition. He wrote commentaries on almost all the Confucian Classics, conceived and supervised the condensation of Sima Guang's monumental history of China, and interested himself in rites, governmental affairs, education, and agriculture. Zhu was a dynamic teacher at the Academy of theWhite Deer Grotto and kept up an active correspondence on a wide variety of subjects. He had less interest, however, in pursuing his "investigation of things" into the realms of what we would call natural or social science. To the last his humanism manifested itself in a primary concern for human values and ends. The kind of objective investigation that set these aside or avoided the ultimate problems of human life would have seemed to him at best secondary and possibly dangerous. Nevertheless, his philosophy, which stressed the order and intelligibility of things, could in a general way be considered conducive to the growth of science in a larger sense.

Zhu's later influence was felt chiefly through his commentaries on the Four Books—the *Great Learning*, the *Mean*, the *Analects*, and the *Mencius*—which he first canonized as basic texts of the Confucian school. In subsequent dynasties these texts, with Zhu Xi's commentaries, became the basis of the civil service examinations and thus, in effect, the official orthodoxy of the empire from the fourteenth century down to the turn of the twentieth century. Though subsequent thinkers arose to dispute his metaphysics, few failed to share in his essential spirit of intellectual inquiry, which involved focusing upon the Classics and reinterpreting them to meet the needs of their own time. Moreover, in Japan and Korea Zhu's writings likewise became accepted as the most complete and authoritative exposition of Confucian teaching. As such, these texts exerted a significant influence on the entire cultural development of East Asia well into modern times.

[de Bary and Bloom, eds., *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, pp. 697–99]

DIGEST OF THE GREAT LEARNING (*DAIGAKU YŌRYAKU*)

As the first text to be read in Zhu Xi's version of the Four Books, the *Great Learning*, originally just a chapter in the *Record of Rites*, was invested with Zhu's philosophy of education through a preface and commentary reflecting Zhu's teachings in general.[6] By Fujiwara Seika's time, this key work had undergone further interpretation by generations of Neo-Confucian scholars in China and Korea who recognized the pivotal character of Zhu's text but worked from it in different directions.

The *Digest of the Great Learning* is the single doctrinal treatise that Seika is known to have written. He composed the work in 1619, shortly before his death, at the request of Asano Nagashige, who was the brother of Seika's patron Asano Yoshinaga and, at the time, the daimyo of Makabe (Hitachi). Most of the text is written in Japanese, in a simple classical style with a few vernacular forms, and was printed once, in 1630. In the first part, Seika discusses the Three Guidelines: to manifest luminous virtue (*ming mingde*), to renew (love) the people (*qin min*), and to rest in the utmost good (*zhi yu zhishan*), and, very briefly, the rest of Confucius's words that constitute the first part of the *Great Learning*. Then, as a kind of appendix, there follow a number of quotations and paraphrases from the works of the maverick Chinese thinker Lin Zhaoen (1517–1598) on the topics of *gewu* (the "investigation of things," but not according to Seika) and "manifesting luminous virtue." The second and third parts of the treatise form a continuous commentary on the whole of the *Great Learning*.

The text that Seika uses is not the new text established by the Cheng brothers and Zhu Xi, but the text as it appears in the *Record of Rites* and was made fashionable again by Wang Yangming. Seika's explanations, too, differ from Zhu Xi's and generally follow those of Lin Zhaoen in his *Sibu biaozhai zhengyi* and *Daxue zhengyi*.

Halfway through the first part of the treatise, after he has finished his explanation of the Three Guidelines, Seika makes the following claim on behalf of the *Great Learning*:

> If one has learned this one book by heart, one will need no other volumes, whether a hundred, a thousand or ten thousand. There is no Confucianism outside this work. Lectures exclusively treating the literary arts, which are so popular nowadays, are of no use to a ruler of men. Anyone who is a ruler of men need practice only the disciplining of his own heart and try to apply the teaching of the *Great Learning*." (p. 44)

One of the distinctive features of the *Daigaku yōryaku* is the distance Seika keeps from Zhu Xi, which is apparent in his conscious preference for the old text of the *Great Learning*.

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6. See de Bary and Bloom, eds., *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, pp. 720–31.

Master Zhu believed that the four characters "This is called knowing the root" were an interpolation. However, as Master Lin says in his commentary, if one reads on, as the old commentaries say one should, it sounds like one continuous passage. Zhu interprets it in the light of the preceding phrase. After all, "to rest in the utmost good" is the root of "manifesting one's luminous virtue and loving the people." "To know where to rest" is the root of "to settle" (*ding*), "to be quiet" (*jing*), "to be at ease" (*an*), "to think" (*lü*), [and] "to obtain" (*de*). *Gewu* (to investigate or to rectify things) is the root of "making one's intention sincere," "rectifying one's heart," "cultivating one's person," "regulating one's family," "governing one's state," and "pacifying all-under-Heaven." To cultivate one's person is the root of "regulating one's family," "governing one's country" and "pacifying all-under-Heaven." "Regulating one's family" is the root of "governing one's country" and "pacifying all-under-Heaven." What one regards as the root thus changes depending on what one is speaking of. Each time, what preceded becomes the root. No mistake was made in binding the bamboo strips. One should reflect especially on this.

"This is called the utmost of wisdom." This phrase interprets *gewu* so as to make it the central focus of the text. Here, too, Master Zhu mentioned in his commentary that part of the text had been lost, but in the old text the passage is understandable as it is. There is no omission. The phrase stresses that *gewu* is the single most important preoccupation of the *Great Learning*. [pp. 56–57]

Seika's interpretation of the Three Guidelines, too, is hardly what we would expect from a follower of Zhu Xi. Seika's main inspiration is again Lin Zhaoen, whose interpretation generally follows Wang Yangming's, which emphasizes "loving the people" rather than "renewing the people" through self-cultivation (as in Zhu Xi).

The meaning of the word "great" in "the Way of the *Great Learning*" is that others and I are one and that the outer and inner coincide. The first two of the Three Guidelines, "to manifest one's luminous virtue" and "to love the people," show that there is no discrimination between others and me; hence, others and I are one. The first two of the Three Guidelines refer to things external, but the third one, "to rest in the utmost good," refers to something internal; hence, outside and inside coincide. Thus when you no longer distinguish between others and yourself and between inner and outer, you will be able to know the meaning of the word "great." [That is,] the word "learning" should not be interpreted exclusively as book learning.

"Luminous virtue," in the first of the Three Guidelines, refers to the Five Human Relationships. When human relationships are not correct, nothing else will be of any use. Therefore we regard it as crucial that the Way of human relationships be made manifest. As the *Classic of Documents* declares: "Heaven has enjoined the luminous courses of duty, of which the several requirements are quite plain."

"Loving the people," in the second of the Three Guidelines, means that high and low are friendly and harmonious now that the human relationships have been made correct. Therefore Mencius said that when those above clarify human relationships, the people below will be affectionate. The word has the meaning of "loving and caring," in other words, the meaning of "to nurture."

To instruct the people in this way and to nurture them is the prime meaning of governing others through self-control. The character *qin* (to be kind) should certainly not be interpreted only in the sense of to be "close and intimate." Lin quotes Mencius to this effect. However, as the character is used in Mencius in the compound *qinmin*, it has the meaning of "to make them become friendly." *Qin* is something that inheres in human relationships, and it has the same meaning as "manifesting virtue." My personal opinion is that while "manifesting [or clarifying] virtue" has the meaning "to instruct," "loving the people" should have the sense of "to nurture the people." This must be why one speaks of "to love and to nurture." Whether later generations condemn me or agree with me, they should do so on this basis.

"The utmost good," in the third of the Three Guidelines ["to rest in the utmost good"], means "the supreme place." The character "to rest" is used in reference to the supreme place in my heart. When I rest in the utmost good, which is the supreme place in my heart, and do not move from there, it will be completely self-evident that according to the *Great Learning* there is no distinction between others and myself, between inner and outer. These three clauses—"to manifest the luminous virtue," " to love the people," and "to rest in the utmost good"—explain the substance starting from the functions. It is not [to be taken as] the order in which one should study. . . .

When you ask to which of the three, "luminous virtue," "loving the people," or "the utmost good," you should apply yourself first, my answer is that our Confucian teaching is a teaching of the "complete substance and great functioning." Therefore, when the substance—that is, the "the utmost good,"—is there, the functions—that is, "luminous virtue" and "loving the people"—will necessarily also be present. You rest in "the utmost good," and the transforming and nurturing of the people will spontaneously be achieved; this is how you "manifest the luminous virtue." The clarification of human relationships, which are the "luminous virtue," begins with "loving the people." Yao's merit reached all bordered by the Four Seas, but that was because he started from "loving the people." In his case, however, we are talking about a sage. Even though an ordinary scholar may do everything he can, he will not be able to enter by practicing this discipline. For ordinary scholars, *gewu* is the discipline to which they should apply themselves and by which means they can enter. [pp. 51–52]

Besides Seika's differences of opinion with Zhu Xi, another striking feature of Digest of the Great Learning *is the* shingaku *that he proposes—that is, his method of disciplining*

the mind-and-heart. The substance of this method appears most clearly in Seika's idiosyncratic interpretation of gewu *(the "investigation of things"), one of the central terms in the* Great Learning. *Seika knows that he is out of line, and, as in the rest of the text, he makes sure he is quoting the right authorities to support his thesis, but the result, if not unique, is certainly not standard.*

Gewu: Master Lin says: "Here the word *wu* does not mean 'things,' as in the compound 'affairs and things' (*shiwu*); it is the *wu* that is used in the *Liji* in the passage 'where a man's likings are not subject to regulation [from within], he is changed into the nature of things as they come before him.' And the word *ge* does not mean 'to impede,' 'to resist' (*gange*); it is the *ge* that is used in the *Shujing* in the phrase 'to expel the evil heart.' The heart has changed into a thing; if one does not call that an evil heart, what then? Therefore, when one expels this evil heart, at the same time one 'expels a thing.' *Ge* has the meaning of 'to remove.'" [p. 44]

In *gewu*, "things" (*wu*) stand for all things. If there is one single calculating thought in your heart, the [natural] spiritual (*shen*) knowledge will not be revealed. This can be compared with a mirror. "Things" are like dust. Inside, the mirror is limpid and clear, so that you only need to remove one speck of dust and instantly you will see clearly. The limpid and clear places in a mirror are called "empty." In the mirror dwells "spirituality," which is also called "the utmost good" or, in the *Mean*, the state of equilibrium in which the passions have not yet stirred or, in the *Analects*, the "[undifferentiated] unity that pervades all." In all the limpid and clear places of the mirror, emptiness and spirituality dwell.

If you apply yourself consciously to "removing things," this application itself also is a thing. If there is only one speck of darkness and turbidity in the heart, all kinds of thoughts will arise. If these thoughts were not there, the heart itself would be empty and spiritual, and clear knowledge would be born. Then the functioning of the mind-and-heart in response to the myriad things would be effortless and appropriate. To think not to have thought, that is thought. It is not that the *Great Learning* dislikes thought; what it says is that thoughts should be clear of themselves. This is called the "complete substance and great functioning." If there were only substance and no functioning, or only functioning and no substance, then we would be uttering heterodox teachings. . . . Some people also think that the real point is to make the heart empty and that emptiness is the same as being completely free from all distracting thoughts, but these are dumb, benighted people. The *Great Learning* does not say that not to know east from west or north from south is emptiness; that would be the same as taking a piece of iron, flattening it out into a disk, and looking into it as if it were a mirror. Even if its form were the same as that of a mirror, it would lack the clarity needed to reflect things. The word "empty" has a deep meaning; further verbal instruction is needed.

The character *zhi* in *zhizhi* [usually interpreted as "to extend," as in "when knowledge has been extended"] has the meaning of "to arrive at," as in the case of someone who has traveled to another province and today, for the first time, arrives in my village. . . . But those who make an effort to attain knowledge will not find it, because instead of knowledge, they are distracted by the effort "to attain it" itself. . . . When you remove things, you thereby attain knowledge instantly, without having even tried to attain it naturally. Knowledge is not attained *after* you have "removed things." People should know that knowledge is being attained even while they are "removing things," without the slightest interval. The word is used in the same sense as it was used by Confucius when he said, "If I want to find humaneness, then humaneness is already there."[7] It is the same as with a mirror, in which clarity originates at the same moment that you wipe off the dust. [pp. 55–56]

The same insistence that the initial step is in itself sufficient and that all the following stages are already contained in the first one, Seika also spells out elsewhere in this treatise. In view of the mirror metaphor that he uses, it is a logical deduction, but the result is different from Zhu Xi's interpretation and closer to Wang Yangming's.

"To know when to stop and then," . . . the *Great Learning* speaks from here on of the order in which the effects appear in the mind-and-heart of those who study. With the six characters "to know" (*zhi*), "to settle" (*ding*), "to be quiet" (*jing*), "to be at ease" (*an*), "to reflect" (*lü*), and "to obtain" (*de*), they can test their hearts and learning in order to see how close they have come. Well now, how does one begin "to know"? "Knowing" begins with *gewu*. The eight stages denoted by the characters "to remove" (*ge*), "to extend" (*zhi*), "to make sincere" (*cheng*), "to rectify" (*zheng*), "to cultivate" (*xiu*), "to regulate" (*qi*), "to govern" (*zhi*), and "to pacify" (*ping*) are finished right away on the basis of *gewu*. When *gewu* has been completed, the other seven stages, too, are done. The text continues with "and then, . . ." but that is merely a matter of relative order. It cannot possibly be that our hearts are made ready in any of the following stages if they are not made ready in the stage of *gewu*. There are some differences here with the theories of the Confucians of the Song, but since it would take too long, I will not write about them here.

Strictly speaking, the discipline prescribed in this work is fully expressed in the third of the Three Guidelines, "to rest in the utmost good." In that case, however, people whose talents are average or below average would find it difficult to start, so for that reason the *Great Learning* says that we must apply ourselves closely to the practice of *gewu* and clarify our mind-and-heart well. When our mind-and-heart is no longer dark and muddy but clear and limpid,

7. *Analects* 7:30.

and when, after that, objects arise spontaneously in our mind-and-heart, we should nurture this clear and limpid mind-and-heart and try not to lose it. When we do this for a long time, the "complete substance and great functioning" (*quanti dayong*) will reveal itself. . . . From this level upward it is no good being taught by others. You have to reach it on your own while finding out for yourself the meaning of the six characters "to know," "to settle," "to be quiet," "to be at ease," "to think," and "to obtain." In this way, by applying yourself to the practice of *gewu*, you will at the same time understand the [meaning of] the eight characters "to remove," "to extend," "to make sincere," "to rectify," "to cultivate," "to regulate," "to govern," and "to pacify." [pp. 43–44]

[Fujiwara Seika, *Daigaku yōryaku*, in *NST*, vol. 28, pp. 43–44, 51–52, 55–57; WB]

HAYASHI RAZAN

Hayashi Razan's career in the service of the *bakufu* began with an interview with Ieyasu. On this occasion, he showed an erudition far surpassing that of the erudites in attendance. As the story is usually told, there was only one interview. However, Razan's *Life Chronology* (*Nenpu*) mentions another audience, which preceded the one described here by Razan himself. The first audience probably took place on the twelfth day, but in any case, it was between the eighth and the fifteenth day of the fourth month of Keichō 10 (between May 25 and June 1, 1605), when Ieyasu had temporarily moved from the castle in Fushimi to Nijō Castle on account of the transfer of the office of shogun to Hidetada. The second audience must have taken place between the twenty-first of the seventh month (September 4, 1605) and the twenty-second of the eighth month (October 4, 1605) of the same year, when Ieyasu was again staying in Nijō Castle. According to a letter from Seika to Razan, a third audience had probably taken place between the other two, at the castle in Fushimi, during the fifth month. In his Commentary on "Tsurezuregusa" (Nozuchi), Razan describes only one interview in such a way that even his own youthful learning is made to show up the Zen monks' virtual illiteracy in Confucian culture.

ON MEETING WITH IEYASU

When I was still young and the prime minister (*daishōkoku* [Ieyasu]) was still the great minister of the center (*naidaijin*) (i.e., *before* Keichō 8/2/12, or March 24, 1603), I had an audience with him at his Nijō palace. The Zen fathers Shōtai and Sanyō Gankichi and Funabashi (Kiyohara) Hidekata also were in attendance at the time. Ieyasu asked how many generations there had been between Han Gaozu and Emperor Guangwu. Because nobody could remember, he asked me whether I knew. I answered that in the annals of the *History*

of the Latter Han (*Hou-Han shu*) it was written that Emperor Guangwu was a descendant of Gaozu in the ninth generation. When again he asked in which book something was written about the "spirit-recalling incense," all said that they were not sure, and I answered that the "spirit-recalling incense" does not appear in the main text of the *Records of the Historian* (*Shiji*) or the *History of the Former Han Dynasty* (*Hanshu*) but that in the "Yuefu of Lady Li" in the *Collected Works of Bo Juyi* and in the notes to the poems of Su Dongpo, it was written that Emperor Wu burned such incense and summoned the spirit of his wife. Again Ieyasu asked, "What is meant by 'the orchids of Qu Yuan'?" I answered: "According to the notes to the *Chuci* of Zhu Xi, it was the marsh orchid." The prime minister looked left and right and expressed his amazement, saying, "This youngster knows a lot." This was in Keichō 10 [1605].

[*Hayashi Razan bunshū*, vol. 1, pp. 25f–28a; WB]

THE INVESTIGATION OF THINGS

The following colloquy between Hayashi Razan and Fujiwara Seika (as recorded by Razan) explains the two senses in which the "investigation of things" is to be understood—that is, the recognition of tangible objects and the deeper understanding of the intangible values attached to them. Fathoming these principles requires the full employment of the capacities of the mind-and-heart for entering into things empathetically.

I [Razan] asked, "The expressions 'the extension of knowledge' (*zhizhi*) and 'the investigation of things' (*gewu*) were first commented on by Zheng Xuan and later explained by Sima Guang. When we come to the Cheng brothers and Zhu Xi, they also gave explanations of these phrases that were brilliant and clear. But Wang Yangming again offered a different opinion. What do you think of that?"

The Master said, "It is not easy as yet to tell you that. You must first read more closely and get the taste of it, immerse yourself in it, and take your time with it. The important thing is to understand it in silence. When you have reached the stage [spoken of by Zhu Xi as] 'all at once achieving integral comprehension,' in which you penetrate it suddenly and clearly, then the similarities and differences among the Confucians will be resolved, and they all will be [seen as] essentially one." [p. 201]

Dōshun [Razan] once asked the meaning of "the investigation of things." Master Seika answered, "The Cheng brothers and Zhu Xi explained it as 'to fathom principle exhaustively' (*qiongli*). Let us take it from there. What is the reason that heaven and earth are heaven and earth? What is above and consists of piled-up *qi* is heaven; what is below and in massive form is earth. What makes fire into fire and water into water? Even though someone may be a

thousand, ten thousand miles, or more away, if something blazes and flares up, it is surely fire even if it is not called fire. Even though a thousand, ten thousand, or more years ago, if something was liquid and flowed down, that was surely water even if it was not called water. With cold, heat, day, and night, it is the same. Every plant and every tree, the smallest birds and insects, each has its principle (*li*). How much more [this is true of] man! In regard to the human body, if we enumerate those principles (*li*) that man possesses, then we will call the *li* of the eye 'sight and clearness,' those of the ear 'hearing and acuteness,' those of the mouth 'speech and reverence,' and those of the mind-and-heart 'thought and sagacity.' Therefore it is said, 'Man is the most spiritual part of heaven and earth.'[8] The day that one suddenly penetrates this heart, these *li*, and understands them clearly is called 'the investigation of things.'"

I [Razan] said: "'Things' (*wu*) means 'affairs' (*shi*). Now, if there is a 'thing,' there is also an 'affair' (something that matters). When one talks of 'affairs,' however, one is talking about something intangible, and when one talks about 'things,' one is talking about something solid. Parent and child, lord and retainer, all are 'things.' The existence of parental love or of rightness are 'affairs.' Principle is what makes them such [i.e., makes love, love, and fathers, fathers]. Proceeding analogically in all similar cases and thus reaching the inner meaning exhausts the full capacity [for understanding] of the mind-and-heart. Doesn't what one calls 'the investigation of things' (*gewu*) mean reaching things?" Seika replied, "Yes."

Again I [Razan] asked, "In the *Shuogua*, the fifth appendix of the *Yijing*, it says 'to fathom principle exhaustively' (*qiongli*),[9] and in the *Daxue* it says go to things (*gewu*). Why do they phrase it differently?"

Seika answered, "With their thousands of words and myriads of utterances the sages and worthies wanted people to recognize principle. How they express it is not the same, but what they enter into is [the same]. Moreover, all the men of former times had their own method of entry. Zhou Dunyi had his 'giving primacy to quiescence' (*zhujing*); the Chengs had their 'holding to reverent seriousness' (*zhijing*); Zhu Xi his 'fathoming of principle' (*qiongli*); Lu Xiangshan had his 'easy simplicity' (*yijian*); Chen Bosha [had] his 'tranquillity and completeness' (*jingyan*); and Wang Yangming [had] his 'innate knowledge' (*liangzhi*). Their words may seem to differ, but what they enter into is the same."

I said, "If one talks only of principle and not of 'things,' one gallops through a void, and if one talks of 'things' and not of principle, one remains stuck in

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8. *Shujing*, "T'ai-shih"; Legge translated this as "Heaven and earth is the parent of all creatures; and of all creatures man is the most highly endowed" (*The Shoo king*, p. 113). *Liji*, "Li yun": "Man is made of the most refined parts of the five elements"; Legge translated this as "The finest subtle matter of the five elements" (*Li Chi*, vol. 1, p. 381).

9. Legge translates this as "They (thus) made an exhaustive discrimination of what was right, and effected the complete development of (every) nature, till they arrived" (*I ching*, p. 442).

the phenomenal world. This phenomenal world has form; [whereas] principles are formless. Loyalty and filial piety cannot be discarded unilaterally, depending on whether one's lord or father still lives or has died. 'Things' and principle are naturally one; the Way and the phenomenal world in which the principles are embedded are not two. This is called 'investigating things and fathoming their principles' (*gewu qiongli*)." Seika declared, "So it is."

Master Seika once asked, "What is the most important point of the *Great Learning*?" Dōshun answered, "To make one's intentions sincere (*chengyi*)?" Seika remarked, "Although 'to make one's intentions sincere' is an important point of the *Great Learning*, nevertheless for those who pursue learning 'to go to things and exhaustively fathom their principles' comes first. This is the most urgent task." [p. 204]

[Hayashi Razan, *Razan sensei bunshū*, in *NST*, vol. 28, pp. 201, 204; WB]

THE SAGELY IDEAL VERSUS PRACTICAL COMPROMISE

The following excerpts are from a letter written in June or July 1611 by Razan, then at Ieyasu's headquarters in Sunpu, to his teacher Fujiwara Seika in Kyoto. It reveals the conflict that Razan felt between his commitment to pursue the Neo-Confucian ideal of sagehood and the realities of his service to his military lord. Expressed in a multitude of literary and philosophical allusions, the main points may be summed up as follows:

> Although as to outward circumstance, I have no cause for complaint (who, at my age has seen so much of the world and has such an excellent library at his disposal?), yet I feel lonely and misunderstood. I am urged to conform to people who have no understanding of my skills and aspirations; what is worse, I do conform. Great literary figures of former times maybe felt the same and perhaps turned Daoist precisely for that reason. However, I do not want to follow their path. I want to follow the Confucian sages. But that course implies an obligation to act according to my convictions, and that I find myself unable to do. The strain caused by this conflict is showing in me and affecting even my literary talents.

In other words, Razan felt that the work and atmosphere in Sunpu were not congenial and that the life he was being forced to live there endangered his personal commitment to sagely purity and led him to compromise his Confucian aspirations.

Last time, when I was about to leave Kyoto, you sent me a beautiful *jueju* [four-line poem]. . . . That night I stayed in Minakuchi in Ō mi. There I wrote my answering poem, using the same rhymes, to offer to you. This journey was very hectic, and as it turned out, I had no opportunity to visit you. Some days after I had left Kyoto, I suddenly felt mortified and disturbed; I did not feel at all content. The whole way up here I was kept busy. Since then I have used a

messenger two or three times to send you word, but I do not yet know whether these [letters] reached you.

How are you doing these days? Here in Sunpu, there is nothing out of the ordinary. . . . I feel as if I were opting more and more for fame and profit, as if I were hastening to get myself a flying [*sic*] neck shackle. It is shameful. It is terrible. However, I hold the keys of the library in Sunpu. I try one of the buildings, and the boxes are filled with books. I leave it to my hand which one to pick up. The happiness of reading a book I have not yet read! . . . My only pleasure is books. I never tire of reading them, reverently and at ease. When I enter this building, I sometimes forget to leave and do not notice that the sun is setting. This is a favor from my lord and one thing that I have gained. Is it not also a reason to be glad? . . .

When I was about twenty years old, I read the books by the Cheng brothers, Zhu Xi, and other Confucians. This was the first time I knew that the learning of human nature and principle existed. And when I was twenty-two, I arranged a meeting with you. I heard your arguments and luxuriated in your bountiful kindness. And then I thought that all the virtue and literature of our country lay in you.

The following year I met our lord in Kyoto. In this connection I went to Edo in Musashi. . . . And now I am in Suruga. Every morning and every night, when I look up, I see Mount Fuji rising above the clouds. How can this not be happiness? . . .

However, I am now twenty-nine years old. When I want to tell someone what I am studying all day, I feel useless, like somebody who is skilled in carving up dragons, like someone who is selling ceremonial caps to the people of Yue [where the people cut off their hair and tattoo their bodies].

I "agree with the current customs and consent with an impure age"[10] and pretend that I do this for the sake of harmony. How could I pretend that I learned this from Hui of Liuxia, who "was wanting in self-respect"[11] and "the most accommodating one under the sages?"[12] My present self is not my former self, and yet I am like that man. How could I say that I try to emulate Qu Boyu, who was in office when good government prevailed and who could roll up his principles and keep them to himself when the government was bad?[13] My spirit is wilting, and the same thing is happening to my literary talents. . . .

Confucius said, "Your good, careful people of the villages are the thieves of virtue."[14] Acting the way I do, if I were to say that I am not one of these good, careful persons of the villages, it would be as if I were holding a net, had waded

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10. *Mencius* 7B:37.
11. *Mencius* 2A:9.
12. *Mencius* 5B:1.
13. *Analects* 15:7.
14. *Analects* 17:11.

into a river or lake, and were saying to others, "I am not a fisherman." Would it not be better to throw away the net and have people believe me of their own accord?

I have read the books by the sages and worthies. I know that such is their intent; it is something I cannot endure. My ambition, however, to provide for my parents, and the obligations I have to my friends and brothers, do not leave me any choice. To this state things have come. . . .

One more thing I will add. You exhorted me to write *waka* (poetry). Since this is our national custom, you were sure that I would have such an inclination. . . . I have written five rustic poems like the following. My only reason for adding this poem at the end of this letter is to give you something to laugh at. I hope you will not read it to strangers. Twice bowing, I have spoken respectfully

ikuchiyo to	Feeling like wishing
iwau kokoro o	You many thousands of years
Suruga naru	I want to search Mount Fuji
Fuji no kusuri o	That lies in Suruga
motomemakuhoshi	For immortality's drug.

[*Hayashi Razan bunshū*, vol. 1, pp. 25b–28a; WB]

RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS BY IEYASU

The following excerpts are from *Bakufu mondō* (*Answers to Questions by the Bakufu* [Ieyasu]). These deal with key issues of Neo-Confucian doctrine—for example, the underlying unity of Confucian teaching and the age-old question of whether it is legitimate to overthrow a ruler.

Razan is referred to here by his original Buddhist name, Dōshun, because his position as adviser to the shogun had, by long shogunal custom, been filled by Zen monks. Since Razan had already renounced Buddhism, he was accused by some scholars of insincerity and expediency in accepting such a role. Thus it was not surprising that the question arose of what legitimate discretion was and what mere expediency was in the practical implementation of the Way. Indeed, is the Confucian Way practicable at all without compromising it? Razan asserted that it was and offered a somewhat idealized Ming China as a model.

Ieyasu asked Dōshun [Razan]: "Is the Way still practiced in Ming China? What do you think?" I said that it was. "Although I have not yet seen it with my own eyes, I know it from books. Now, the Way is not something obscure and secluded; it exists between ruler and minister, father and son, man and wife, old and young, and in the intercourse between friends. At this time there are schools in China in each and every place, from the villages and country districts up to

the prefectural capitals. All of them teach human relations. Their main objective is to correct the hearts of men and to improve the customs of the people. Do they not then indeed practice the Way?" Thereupon the *bakufu* changed his countenance and spoke of other things. Dōshun, too, did not talk about it anymore.

Ieyasu said to Dōshun: "The Way has never been practiced, neither now nor earlier. Therefore, [in the *Zhongyong* it says] 'The course of the Mean cannot be attained' and 'The path of the Mean is untrodden.' What do you think of this?" Dōshun answered, "The Way can be practiced. What the *Zhongyong* says is, I think, something that Confucius said when he was complaining that the Way was not being practiced. This does not mean that the Way cannot actually be practiced. In the Six Classics there are many lamentations like this. It is not only in the *Zhongyong*."

Ieyasu asked what was meant by "the Mean" (J. *chū*, Ch. *zhong*). I answered, "The Mean [or Middle] is difficult to grasp. The middle of one foot is not the middle of one *jō* [ten feet]. The middle of a room is not the middle of a house. The middle of a province is not the middle of the empire. All things have their own middle. Only when you have found their principle can you say that you have found their middle [mean]. However much they want to know the Mean, those who have only just begun their studies never find it, precisely because they do not know the principles. For this reason we have the maxim, valid now and earlier, that 'the Mean is nothing but principle.'"

In the following passage, Ieyasu proposes a relativistic standard of good and evil, citing the Madhyamika Buddhist doctrine that the Middle Way of Supreme Wisdom lies in adhering to neither good nor evil.[15] *Razan responds that the Confucian Mean, in contrast to the Buddhist Middle Way of nondiscrimination, consists of making value judgments and acting on behalf of the common good, by which one achieves unity with the Way. Ieyasu cites the historic examples of Cheng Tang overthrowing the last king of Xia, and King Wu of Zhou overthrowing the last ruler of Shang, as cases comparable to the "expedient means" of Mahayana Buddhism. Razan views these as cases of legitimate discretion in acting for the Way. Thus the argument here hinges on the double meaning of the term (J.* ken, *Ch.* quan*), understood by Ieyasu as "expediency" and by Razan as the legitimate exercise of discretion. The former emphasizes moral ambiguity; the latter, the need to resolve the ambiguity by judgments on behalf of the common good.*

Ieyasu said, "In both the Middle [Path] and Expediency there can be good or bad. Tang [in overthrowing the last king of Xia] and Wu [in overthrowing

15. See de Bary et al., eds., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, chaps. 3, 5.

the last king of Shang] were vassals who overthrew their lords. Their actions, though bad, were good. As the phrase goes, 'In taking the empire they went against the Way, and in keeping it, they followed the Way.' Therefore, 'neither good nor bad' is the ultimate truth of the Middle [Way]." I answered, "My opinion is different from this. May I be allowed to speak my mind? I think that the Mean is good, that it does not have one speck of evil. The Mean means that you grasp the principles of all things and that your every action accords with the standard of rightness [fitness]. If you regard the good as good and use it and regard evil as evil and shun it, that is also the Mean. If you know what is correct and incorrect and distinguish between what is heterodox and orthodox, this is also the Mean. Tang and Wu followed Heaven and reacted to the wishes of mankind. They never had one particle of egoistic desires. On behalf of the people of the empire, they removed a great evil. How can that be 'good, though bad'? The actions of Tang and Wu were in accord with the Mean; they are instances of [legitimate] discretion. The case is quite different from that of the usurper Wang Mang [33 B.C.E.–23 C.E.], who overthrew the Former Han dynasty, or of Cao Cao [155–220], who was responsible for the fall of the Later Han dynasty. They were nothing but brigands. As for the phrase 'In taking the empire they went against the Way, and in keeping it they followed the Way'—this [moral relativism] is applicable only to actions like lies, deceit, and opportunistic plotting.". . .

On the twenty-fifth day of the sixth month the *bakufu* said to Dōshun, . . . "What is that so-called unity that pervades all?" Dōshun answered, "The heart of the sage is nothing but principle. Now, always and everywhere, principle runs through all things and all actions in the world; the sage reacts to them and acts on them according to this one principle. Therefore it never happens that he goes and does not obtain his proper place. To give an example, it is like the movement of spring, summer, fall, and winter, of warm and cold, day and night: though they are not identical, yet they are a cyclical stream of one and the same original matter that is not disrupted for a single moment. For that reason, actions in the world may be [repeated] ten-, hundred-, thousand- or ten-myriad-fold, but that with which the heart reacts to them is only the one, uniting, principle. With one's lord it is loyalty; with one's father, filial piety; with one's friends, trust; but none of these principles is different in origin." . . .

The *bakufu* again asked, "Were the wars of Tang and Wu instances of discretion or expedience?" Dōshun answered, ". . . The purpose of the actions of Tang and Wu was not to acquire the empire for themselves but only to save the people. . . . If those above are not a [wicked] Jie or Zhou and those below [are] not a [virtuous] Tang or Wu, then one will commit the great sin of regicide; Heaven and earth will not condone this. . . . It is only a matter of the hearts of the people of the empire. If they turn to him, he will become a ruler, and if not, he will be a 'mere fellow' [and killing him will not be regicide]."

[Hayashi Razan, *Razan sensei bunshū*, in *NST*, vol. 28, pp. 205–8; WB]

"THE THREE VIRTUES" (SANTOKUSHŌ)

This essay, attributed to Hayashi Razan by his son Gahō, is a concise and coherent summation of the principles of Neo-Confucian self-cultivation, drawn mostly from Zhu Xi's version of the *Great Learning* (*Daigaku*). The text, however, superimposes on that structure a concept of the Three Virtues taken from the *Mean* (*Chūyō*): wisdom, humaneness, and courage. For Razan, these constituted a triad of irreducible, interdependent values governing all human affairs, but with some priority given to intellectual virtue over moral sentiment.

The actual title, "Selections Concerning the Three Virtues" (Santokushō), refers to passages from authoritative texts, with commentary, under subheadings, that is mostly from the *Great Learning*. The contents draw heavily on earlier Neo-Confucians, frequent references to whom—especially the Cheng brothers, Zhu Xi, Chen Chun, Lo Qinshun, and the Korean Yi T'oegye—help locate Razan in one line of "orthodox" Neo-Confucian thinkers. Although Razan is critical of Lu Xiangshan, in this work he quotes Wang Yangming without critical comment.

1. The Three Virtues

1.1. Wisdom means having no doubts in one's mind. Humaneness refers to having no regrets after making judgments or decisions. Being of firm mind and strong determination refers to courage. Wisdom, humaneness, and courage are the sages' three virtues.[16] Referring to these three virtues, Confucius states in the *Analects* that "the wise have no perplexities; the humane have no worries; the courageous have no fears.[17] . . .

Although distinguishable as three virtues, the three are present in man's mind, and thus wisdom embraces humaneness and courage. Without humaneness and courage, great wisdom would be impossible to achieve. Similarly, humaneness includes both wisdom and courage.[18] Without the latter two virtues, perfect humaneness would not be possible. Thus when analyzed, they are three; yet when synthesized, they constitute a unified moral mind.

The Way of learning begins with completely comprehending principle and thereby attaining wisdom. What is consistent with principle is morally good, whereas evil invariably violates principle. Understanding the difference between good and evil gives one certainty. . . . If one has doubts, one should clear them away by inquiry. By overcoming doubts, one proceeds to a trust that harbors no doubts. . . .

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16. *Mean* 20: "Wisdom, humanity and courage, these three are the universal virtues. The Way by which they are practiced is one" (Chan, *Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, p. 105).

17. *Analects* 9:27: "One who knows [not "the wise"] is not perplexed."

18. Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi yulei*, chap. 6, p. 172.

Without pursuing learning, one will be unable to have doubts about anything. Relative to understanding principles completely, having doubts signifies the advancement of learning (*gakumon no susumu*). With doubts and misgivings resolved, one's mind naturally becomes clear, and moral principles are unobscured. Unless one resolves these doubts, however, one will never be able to discern matters with certainty. . . .

If today one principle is investigated, and tomorrow one more principle is inquired into,[19] soon one will be free of doubts. If one can thoroughly penetrate one principle, all principles will be clear, even though one has not investigated a great many matters. Within a single principle, one can progress from one matter to ten others. When these are investigated so that one completely comprehends both the internal and external, as well as the beginning and end of the matter, then one's understanding will actually apply to many principles.

In doing this, one moves from the outside inward, from the surface to the interior, from the beginning to the ending, from shallow ground to deeper, and from rough outlines to more detailed particulars. When all the mind's principles have been investigated, one will have thoroughly exhausted the limits of wisdom.

2. The Five Relationships (*Gorin*)

2.1. Throughout history the Five Relationships—those between ruler and minister [lord and retainer], parent and child, husband and wife, older and younger brother, and friends—have existed. Since the five Ways have continued unaltered, they are called "universal Ways" (J. *tatsudō*, Ch. *dadao*). . . .

Rulers should love their people; ministers should serve their rulers; fathers should be compassionate toward their sons; husbands should manage external matters, while wives should handle the family's internal affairs; elder brothers should teach their younger brothers, and younger brothers should follow their elder brother's instructions; friends should associate with one another on the basis of rites and justice. Such behavior is entirely within the sphere of wisdom, humaneness, and courage. . . .

2.2. Wisdom refers to understanding the principles of things. . . .

2.3. Humaneness refers to loving things. If one does this as one would if thinking of oneself, then one's humaneness will necessarily be genuine and sincere, devoid of selfishness. . . . Humaneness is, furthermore, life-giving.[20] Eliminating evil is rightness (J. *gi*, Ch. *yi*). Deliberations as to whether one should kill a thing or help it should address matters of humaneness and rightness. If one eliminates evil by killing, then there is humaneness within the right

19. Zhu Xi, *Daxue huowen*.

20. Zhu Xi, *Ren shuo*, chap. 67, pp. 20a–21b.

act of killing. If that is so, killing a rat is humane. If one kills thieves to admonish others against doing evil, that too expresses this same mind. To think that humaneness consists only of compassion is to think simply of "small humaneness." To admonish one evil person and thus provide for the goodness of several others is "great humaneness." Thus, while humaneness is love, one is not being humane by loving evil persons. Rather, humaneness is loving what is good and detesting what is evil. If one acts in this way, how could one be selfish?

2.4. Courage refers to stoutheartedness that conforms to rightness. Acting immediately when one perceives what is morally good is courage. Being hesitant, lazy, or unsure whether or not one should do something, even when one knows what is right, is not courage. . . . Wisdom is understanding humaneness and courage. Humaneness consists of not casting off wisdom and of preserving courage. Courage is practicing both wisdom and humaneness. Of the three virtues—wisdom, humaneness, and courage—not one should be omitted! From the beginning, they have constituted the sincerity of man's whole mind.

3. A Discussion of Principle and Material Force

Razan's discussion of this topic and, later, of the related one of the Four Beginnings and Seven Emotions reflects his familiarity with the views of Lo Qinshun and Yi T'oegye.

3.1. The successive alternation of yin and yang is called the Way. What issues from the Way is morally good, and what completes the Way is called the nature.[21]

Both before and after Heaven and earth opened up, principle always denoted the great Supreme Ultimate. When the Supreme Ultimate moves, it produces yang; when it is still, it produces yin. Together, yin and yang make up the "one, originating material force." Once they have divided, they become two. When they have divided again, they become the five processes (J. *gogyō*, Ch. *wuxing*). The five processes are (1) wood, (2) fire, (3) earth, (4) metal, and (5) water. These five processes create everything.

When they combine and form things, man is one of their products. Skin comes from earth; hair comes from wood; the vital fluids come from water; man's skeleton and muscles come from metal; and man's energy comes from fire. In regard to man's five organs, the essence of fire, wood, earth, metal, and water form, respectively, his heart, liver, spleen, lungs, and kidneys. Thus do the five processes join to create the human body. The active, animated aspect of man is referred to as "material force." Principle refers to what is naturally

21. *Classic of Changes* (*Yijing*, *Xici zhuan*); *Concordance to Yi Ching* [*Yijing*], p. 40; Legge, trans., *I ching*, pp. 355–56.

replete with material force. This principle is the Supreme Ultimate. It is called the Way.

The master of the physical form created by the intermingling of principle and material force is called the "mind."[22] Since this mind contains the original principles of the great ultimate, it is empty and open (J. *kokū*, Ch. *xukung*) like Heaven. Lacking both shape and sound,[23] it consists simply of moral goodness and is devoid of any evil.

Yet in material force, both purity and pollutants, good and evil, coexist. Because of the heterogeneous nature of material force, when people are created, selfishness, excessive desires, and evil emerge as well. For example, when the eyes see beautiful forms, the mind might think of evil. Or when the mouth says something or the hands and feet touch something, it is much the same. Always, selfishness and excessive desires arise from material force. . . .

3.2. The four beginnings come out of our principle, whereas the seven emotions come from material force.[24]

The four beginnings are the first manifestations of humaneness, rightness, ritual decorum, and wisdom. The seven emotions refer to the feelings of pleasure, anger, sorrow, joy, love, hate, and desires. Since man's mind-and-heart is simply moral principle (*dōri*), humaneness, rightness, ritual decorum, and wisdom emerge from it. Because material force consists of both good and evil, the seven emotions emerge from them. Thus the seven emotions are both good and evil, but the four beginnings are purely good, without any evil. If the seven emotions arise in conformity with moral principles, then they are consistent with humaneness and rightness. When influenced by one's ever fluctuating material endowment, the seven emotions arise in accord with selfish desires and may violate moral principles. Because of this evil tendency, one must discern the manner in which they arise. If the seven emotions violate moral principle, they will inevitably lead to evil.

By itself, moral principle could hardly produce activity. If it is combined with material force to form the mind-and-heart, principle is capable of motion and activity. . . .

Although moral principle and material force are two aspects of being, whenever material force exists, moral principle also exists. Since moral principle in itself is formless, it has no place to dwell unless material force exists. Moral principles do not exist apart from material force. It is not that today material force exists and tomorrow moral principle comes into being. When either exists,

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22. Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi quanshu*, in *SBBY* 45:4a–b; Chan, *Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, p. 631.

23. *Mean* 33.

24. Yi T'oegye, *Chŏn-myŏngdo*, in *Ritaikei zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 233; Yi T'oegye, "Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate,"in *To Become a Sage*, trans. Kalton, pp. 37–50.

the other exists simultaneously. Material force is what capably moves moral principle, and moral principle is what preserves the order within material force. When one understands that the mind-and-heart is formed from these two, one can manage one's material force with one's mind.

3A.3. It would not be enough to talk about the nature of man and things without including material force. Similarly, it would be inconceivable to talk about material force without including nature. It is a mistake to consider them as two different things.[25]

Accounting for the endowment of moral principle in man is problematic if one discusses moral principle without discerning its relation to material force. Conversely, the myriad things will be hardly discernible if one simply discusses material force without acknowledging moral principle. Nature is principle.[26] Nature should be discussed in conjunction with material force. It is a mistake to divide them.

Man's nature is originally good. In reply to the question of where evil comes from, one should reply that human nature is like water.[27] It is clear. . . .

Material force is also comparable to water. Although originally calm, water forms waves when blown by the wind. Depending on an area's topography, water can turn into a flood. Although it originally tends to flow downward, water can be lifted upward by water carts. Although originally clear, when water flows into mud and mire, it becomes dirty. And although water is able to support boats, it can also sink them. Despite all this, when it returns to its original state, water's fundamental nature is to be clean and calm.

Thus there are disparities in material force. "Disposition of the material force" (J. *kishitsu*, Ch. *qishi*) refers to that part of the omnipresent material force that people receive as their physical form. There are disparities among "dispositions of material force," too. . . .

By studying and learning, however, one can reform one's disposition of the material force and change it from evil to good.[28] While the disposition of the material force with which one is born is fixed, one should not abandon it, leaving it as it is. Rather, if one studies, even the foul parts will become clear, just as water returns to its original nature. Likewise in man, dullness becomes bright, ignorance becomes wisdom, weakness becomes strength, and evil becomes good, all through learning. . . .

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25. Cheng Hao and Cheng Yi, *Er Cheng yishu*, in *Er Cheng quanshu*, in *SBBY* 6:2a; Chan, *Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, p. 536, n. 92.

26. Zhu Xi, *Mengzi jizhu*, in *Shushigaku taikei*, vol. 8, p. 339 (528).

27. Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi quanshu*, in *SBBY* 43:7a–b; Chan, *Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, p. 625.

28. Cheng Yi, *Yichuan wenji*, in *Er Cheng quanshu*, in *SBBY* 4:1a; Chan, *Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, p. 550.

3.8. The human mind is precarious, but the mind of the Way is subtle. Be discriminating, be unified, and hold fast to the Mean.[29]

These are words from "The Counsels of Great Yu." While the mind is essentially one, its active, moving aspect is called "the human mind" (*jin no kokoro*), and its moral aspect is called "the mind of the Way" (*dō no kokoro*). When cold, one thinks of warm clothing; when hungry, one thinks of food. Eyes long to see beauty; ears long to hear interesting sounds; noses long to smell pleasant odors. All desires are produced by "the mind of man." "The mind of man" has many selfish tendencies yet harbors few concerned for the common good (*ōyake*). Since it easily tends toward evil, the preceding passage states that "the human mind is precarious." "Precarious" refers to the real insecurities that confront the mind when faced with choices between good and evil, right and wrong.

When moral principles prevail in the mind, even though one may think of food and warm clothing, one might still be willing to endure hunger and cold and refuse food and clothing if they are not obtained in a moral way. . . .

"Being discriminating" means discerning and manifesting "the mind of the Way" so that selfishness is not mixed in at all. "Being unified" means preserving and correcting the mind at all times. If by being discriminating and unified, one can make "the mind of the Way" the master and make "the mind of man" follow it, then even precarious situations will become simple, subtleties will become manifest, and all matters will naturally accord with moral principle. Preserving and not losing "the mind of the Way" refers to "holding fast to the Mean." The "Mean" is another term denoting the moral principles that are provided in both the substance and functioning of man's original mind.

The preceding passage was a teaching that Shun gave to Yu when he yielded his position [as ruler] to him. A discussion of it is also found in Zhu Xi's preface to the *Mean*.[30] . . .

3.11. From the Great Vacuity (*taixu*) comes the concept (*mei*) of Heaven. From the transformation of material force comes the concept of the Way. From the unity of the Great Vacuity and material force comes the concept of the nature. From the union of the nature with consciousness comes the concept of the mind.[31]

The Great Vacuity is Heaven. Because of its limitlessness and infinitude, it is called the "Great Vacuity." From it, both moral principle and material force emerge. Because this occurs naturally, the "Great Vacuity" also is referred to as Heaven. Heaven consists of the material force of yin and yang. It brings cold

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29. Legge, trans., *Book of Documents*, "Counsels of the Great Yü," p. 125; Legge, *The Shoo king*, pp. 62–63.

30. Zhu Xi, *Zhongyong zhangzhu*, in *Shushigaku taikei*, ed., vol. 7, pp. 11–12 (451).

31. *Correcting Youthful Ignorance*, in Zhang Zai, *Chengmeng*, *Taike*; Chan, *Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, p. 504.

and hot, night and day, wind and rain. It creates man and the myriad things. Although Heaven is entirely principle, because it is not separated from the material force of yin and yang, it is referred to as "material force."

From the transformation of material force comes the concept of the Way. The concept of nature comes from the process in which the Great Vacuity and material force unite to create man's form. The concept of the mind comes from the motion and activity of man's form, which is endowed with this nature. These four concepts, the Great Vacuity, the Way, and the nature and the mind, originally were one principle.

4. The *Great Learning*

The following, based on Zhu Xi's preface, emphasizes the importance of universal schooling.[32]

4.1. In the past, during the flourishing of the Tang dynasty [618–907], "great learning" and "elementary learning" (J. *shōgaku*, Ch. *xiaoxue*) referred to two places for education, one for adults and the other for children. From age eight until fifteen, children attended to elementary learning, learning to sweep and clean, ask and answer questions, discipline themselves, read and write, calculate, shoot a bow, ride a horse, and perform rites and music. Such was the method of elementary learning.

At age fifteen, students entered higher school (*daigaku*) and began to study the Way of the sages and worthies. Places for "elementary learning" and "higher learning" existed in the capital city, as well as in the counties, towns, and villages of the countryside. Depending on what was appropriate to each area, similar schools with similar curricula were established to give instruction to people. . . .

If things are done in this way, people will do good and refrain from evil; they will be correct, not wicked. They will be conscientious toward their ruler, and they will be filial toward their parents. Naturally they will avoid partiality. The state will thus be governed, and the world will be at peace. . . .

5. Three Guiding Principles

5.1. The Way of learning to be great consists of manifesting one's luminous virtue, loving the people, and adhering to the utmost good.

Significantly, the text indicates no source for this quotation. Razan's rendering follows the old version, "loving the people" (qinmin)*, not the Cheng–Zhu "renewing the peo-*

32. Zhu Xi, *Daxue zhangju*, in *Shushigaku taikei*, vol. 7, p. 351 (443).

*ple" (*xinmin*). In the following discussion, Razan tries to synthesize the two rather than adhere strictly to Zhu Xi.*

Luminous virtue (*meitoku*) refers to one's original mind-and-heart. It is naturally endowed in man from birth by Heaven. . . .

The example of a bright mirror may clarify this. . . . Just as a mirror receives all forms, so man's mind is endowed with the principles of all things.

5.2. Humaneness, rightness, ritual decorum, wisdom, trustworthiness, conscientiousness, and filial piety all are completely endowed in man's mind. Since their principles are extremely clear, the mind is referred to as "luminous virtue.". . .

5.3. Pleasure, anger, sorrow, fear, love, hate, and desire are the seven emotions, or the seven feelings. While these seven are present in the one mind from the beginning, one must be very clear about the thoughts that give rise to them. One should be pleased when pleasure conforms to moral principles. Similarly, one should be angry when one should be angry; sad when one should be sad; frightened when one should be frightened. One should detest what one should detest; hate what one should hate; and desire what one should desire. . . . One should express one's feelings in accord with the principles for their expression.

The peacefulness and clarity of the mind before the seven feelings arise are comparable to a clear blue sky's emptiness (*kokū*). Although "emptiness" means "having nothing," the very same sky still produces wind and rain, clouds and mist, thunder and lightning. These phenomena are comparable to the seven feelings. When the sky clears, it returns to its original blueness and appears empty. Likewise, when the seven feelings are properly controlled, the mind returns to its usual state of quietness and calm. . . . Unless this method is followed, selfishness grows, desires dominate, and one becomes pleased, angry, sad, frightened, loving, hateful, and desirous when one should not. The mind becomes ill because it violates moral principle. Since their expression is skewed toward evil, the seven feelings become vile. . . .

5.4. Of all living creatures, none is more respectable than man. Thus, his mind is endowed with the myriad principles of Heaven-and-earth. The material force of Heaven-and-earth is his material force, and the mind of Heaven-and-earth is his mind. Invariably, moral principles constitute the unity of man's mind. Manifesting this mind in thought, speech, and action so that it never darkens is called "manifesting luminous virtue." . . .

Whether luminous virtue is manifested or obscured rests solely with man; thus, no faults come from luminous virtue itself. . . . If desires arise when one sees, if the sounds that one hears confuse the mind, if one longs for delicious tastes or seeks sweet odors, or if one is attached to one's body or follows blindly the motion of physical forms in violation of moral principles, one will inevitably obscure one's luminous virtue.

"Loving the people" refers to manifesting one's luminous virtue with the

wish that people be instructed and enlightened by it. "Renewing the people"[33] refers to cleansing them anew by washing away the foulness and dirtiness of selfish human desires that have soiled them for a long time. . . . One should strive to illuminate those who do not yet understand their luminous virtue so that they too can manifest it. . . . This is the meaning of "loving the people."

Manifesting luminous virtue means governing (*osamuru*) oneself. Loving the people means governing (*osamuru*) others. . . . The process of loving the people means leading others to filial piety by being filial to one's parents, leading others to their public duties by being conscientious to one's ruler, and leading others to doing good by personally doing good.

"The utmost good" refers to both manifesting luminous virtue and loving the people so that matters are settled naturally in accordance with principle. . . . Among the many matters of daily practicality, whether they be great or trivial, are none not governed by moral principles. In dressing, eating, speaking, behaving, standing, and sitting, day and night, morning and evening, all matters are invested with moral principles. "Adhering to the utmost good" refers to fulfilling these principles. . . .

Luminous virtue, loving the people, and the utmost good express "the three guiding principles of the *Great Learning*." . . .

6. The Five Constants

6.1. Regarding humaneness, rightness, ritual decorum, and trustworthiness, humaneness is the virtue innate in man's mind-and-heart and the principle of its love for things.[34] . . .

Upon seeing a child about to fall into a well, anyone will feel compassion for him, regardless of whether one knows the child or his parents. . . . In this case, one's mind instantly feels compassion and love for the child, without thought of selfishness.

Also, upon seeing grasses and trees growing luxuriantly, one thinks them interesting; and when finding them withered or broken, one feels sorry. Or seeing birds flying and bustling about, one is amused by them; yet on discovering them dead, one feels grief. This is due to humaneness. By extending this mind-and-heart to all things, one comes to love everything, without exception. . . .

Although the mind itself is not visible, when one sees the birth of everything in the beginning of spring, one can understand the mind of Heaven-and-earth. When man's mind and the mind of Heaven-and-earth become one, their creativity expands, excluding selfishness and greed, so that neither harm nor injury

33. Zhu Xi, *Daxue zhangju*, in *Shushigaku taikei*, vol. 7, p. 351 (443).

34. Zhu Xi, *Lunyu jiju*, in *Shushigaku taikei*, vol. 7, p. 36 (396).

is done to things. This unified mind, then, embodies the way of humaneness (*jin no michi*).

6.2. Rightness (*gi*) is the basis of the mind's decisions. Following the times and circumstances refers to doing what is appropriate. Although life is precious, if our minds do not consent [to what is wrong], we will not accept food and will die. Or we will not accept clothing and die. When deciding whether to accept them and live or refuse them and die—more than just calculating whether one will live by accepting these things—one asks whether if it [is not in] accord with principle one should decline them and die. . . .

Rightness, too, resides in detesting, rejecting, and discarding the evil found in others. Serving one's ruler conscientiously involves rightness as well. . . . Once this sense of rightness is extended to everyone, all people will do good and refrain from evil. . . .

6.3. Ritual decorum refers to being careful when dealing with others so as not to disorder relationships. Youth should respect the old, and humble persons should revere those of high standing; that is decorum. That various grades of officials wear certain caps and cloaks also is a matter of ritual decorum. Ceremonies for attaining manhood, taking a wife, taking a husband, and manners and etiquette all are matters of ritual decorum. While these examples involve people's actions, their principles emerge from that part of men's minds that preserves order. . . . By extending this mind to all things, one should cause no disorder in relations between ruler and ministers, superior and inferiors, and among people at large. . . .

6.4. While the myriad things are manifold, if they are endowed with principles, one understands that those principles are originally one with the human mind-and-heart. When one comprehends fully the unity of principle, all principles will be understood equally. . . .

6.5. Trustworthiness refers to the fixed principles of man's mind that are wholly without falsehood. While humaneness, rightness, ritual decorum, and wisdom all are genuinely truthful, trustworthiness pertains to being without deception in one's body and mind as one acts. . . .

Is there anywhere in the world that trustworthiness [reliability] does not exist? Three hundred and sixty days make one year. Spring is warm, summer is hot, autumn is cool, and winter is cold. The alternations of the sun and moon, day and night, have not deviated since antiquity. Seeds from grasses and trees produce grasses and trees. Also, birds and beasts give birth to birds and beasts. Humans give birth to humans. Birds fly in the sky; beasts roam in the plains and mountains; fish swim in water. There is no deviance in these things. Examining everything, one sees that none lacks genuine principles (*shinjitsu nori*). These genuine principles are called the "Supreme Ultimate" (Taikyoku). They existed before the beginning of Heaven-and-earth and will exist until the end of Heaven-and-earth. These genuine principles that man receives in his mind and that cannot be lost constitute trustworthiness (reliability).

7. The Seven Feelings

7.1. When distinguishing among pleasure, anger, sorrow, fear, love, hate, and desire, men's minds-and-hearts become limitlessly enlarged. Like Heaven or perhaps the empty sky, the mind can contemplate far into the past, a thousand or even ten thousand years ago. It can imagine a place a thousand or perhaps ten thousand miles away. The mind also can understand the principles of all things. Although it can expand in these ways, the mind exists nowhere outside the body.

Before thoughts arise, the mind is quiet, correct, level, and clear. When something pleasurable appears, the mind is pleased. If something angering arises, it becomes angry. Encountering sorrowful things, the mind is sorrowed. With frightening things, it is frightened. Confronted with something lovable, the mind loves. Presented with something detestable, the mind detests it. And the mind desires what it experiences as something desirable. These are the mind's activities. . . .

> The seven feelings described above are the expressions of the mind. While it is impossible that they be done away with,[35] and while the seven may be seen as one, when one violates principle in the expression of the feelings, the original mind is disturbed, inevitably becoming incorrect. When the mind is incorrect, the self will be disordered, and the country will be ungoverned. When the seven feelings are properly expressed, the original substance of the mind naturally becomes correct and manifest. When the mind is correct, the self is cultivated properly, and the family is ordered. When the family is ordered, the country is well governed. Then the world too will be at peace. Thus the sages' Way makes correcting the mind its foundation. The mind which is corrected and illumined properly is called luminous virtue.

8. Seeing, Hearing, Speech, and Action

8.1. Therefore, the method of the *Great Learning* consists of internally ordering and correcting the mind and its seven feelings. Then externally, one will be minutely respectful in one's appearance, seeing, hearing, speech, and actions. Thus, the learning of the sages and worthies consists of controlling the self, ordering the people, and governing the state.

[Hayashi Razan, "Santokushō," in *NST*, vol. 28, pp. 151–86; JAT]

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35. Chen Qun, "The Feelings"; Chen Beixi, *Neo-Confucian Terms Explained*, trans. and ed. Chan, p. 62.

THE LATER HISTORY OF THE HAYASHI FAMILY SCHOOL

It took father, son, and grandson—three generations of the Hayashi family—to establish its "private school" as the officially recognized school of the Tokugawa shogunate in Edo. Tokugawa Ieyasu was a cautious administrator who, as we have seen, kept in his service Tenkai (1536–1643) of the Tendai sect and Sūden (1569–1633) of the Zen sect. The former became director of the Nikkō shrines, with all esoteric Buddhist temples and syncretic Shinto shrines under his jurisdiction, while the latter was superintendent general of all Zen denominations, with the traditional privilege of drafting government correspondence with foreign countries. Razan objected to the influence of Buddhists in the secular affairs of the government, but without much success. Thus in his time, Razan's Neo-Confucianism was far from establishing itself as a state orthodoxy. While still carrying on the old struggle of the Neo-Confucians against the Buddhists—a rivalry already centuries old in China and Korea—Razan found a natural ally in native Shinto.

With a view to strengthening this alliance by showing the essential unity of the Shinto religion and Confucian ethics, and perhaps also to establish himself at court as an authority on Japanese history and Shinto, Razan undertook extensive research into Shinto, which resulted in his *Study of Our Shinto Shrines* (*Honchō jinja-kō*). He also studied the history of Japan and wrote the *General History of Our State* (*Honchō tsugan*), using Zhu Xi's *Outline and Details of the Comprehensive Mirror* (*Tongjian gangmu*) as his model.

Still, Hayashi Razan was unable by himself to overcome Buddhist influence in the government. In fact, to maintain his own position at court, he was forced to comply with an old custom requiring the Buddhist tonsure of all those entrusted with educational duties. It was fortunate, therefore, that he had worthy successors in his own son, known as both Shunsai and Gahō (1618–1680), and his grandson Hōkō (1644–1732). It was Gahō who completed the aforementioned 310-volume *General History of Our State* by 1670. As a consequence of this great scholarly achievement, the academy gained some measure of official recognition, with the title of Kōbunin, and Gahō was named the first doctor of literature (*kōbunin gakushi*). The awarding of the official title, head of the state college (*daigaku-no-kami*), had to wait for another generation.

In 1691, the fifth shogun, Tsunayoshi, himself an ardent Confucian, conferred on Hōkō that eminent title, which became hereditary in the Hayashi family. At the same time, the academy was renamed the School of Prosperous Peace (Shōhei-kō) and moved to a new site in Yushima, where it remained throughout the long Tokugawa rule as the center of official instruction. It also served as a Confucian religious shrine, for images of Confucius and his disciples were installed in a separate temple that was part of the complex.

But official patronage and its ritual functions did not necessarily confer on the school any authority as a definer of orthodoxy. Although some of the shogunate's prestige obviously did rub off on it and it thus became a model for some of the domains to follow, in a relatively decentralized feudal system and diversified intellectual scene, the school remained open to new influences until late in the eighteenth century, when political and ideological pressures brought the issue of orthodoxy more to the fore.

The following is a list of the Hayashi family leaders, all of whom except Razan and Gahō were head of the state university (*daigaku-no-kami*) under the Tokugawa shogunate:

Razan	1583–1657
Gahō	1618–1680
Hōkō	1644–1732
Ryūkō	1681–1758
Hōkoku	1721–1773
Hōtan	1761–1787
Kinpō	1767–1793
Jussai[36]	1768–1841
Teiu	1791–1844
Sōkan	1828–1853
Fukusai	1800–1859
Gakusai	1833–1906

Despite all this, the Hayashi academy remained in many respects a private school closely associated with the Tokugawa ruling house and responsible for training its family retainers, but not a state university in the Chinese or Korean sense, responsible for directing the state's school system or bureaucratically involved with the kind of civil service examination system that existed in China and Korea and that constituted the institutional base for a state orthodoxy. Hence Neo-Confucianism in the Tokugawa period spread mostly through private channels, which allowed for great intellectual diversity and many independent developments.

THE WAY OF HEAVEN

Concurrent with the spread of Neo-Confucianism in the seventeenth century was a new current of thought in East Asia identified as the Way of Heaven (J. *tentō* or *tendō*, Ch. *tiandao*). Many works and many thinkers at this time reflect

36. Jussai was an heir adopted from the Matsudaira daimyo house of Iwamura (Mino).

both trends. *Tendō* is an ancient term found in the Chinese classics, although not in their most ancient parts, and in the *Daodejing* and *Zhuangzi*. Most likely, it is a combination of the concepts *dao* and *tian*, introduced into Daoist circles in the late Zhou period. The two concepts were in some respects incongruous. *Dao* stood for the autonomous, cyclical processes of nature, the constant behind ever-changing phenomena. *Tian*—that is, heaven and the eponymous deity—was anything but unchanging. *Tian* watched, ruled, punished, walked the earth, begot children, and was worshiped by the early kings of Zhou. The combination of *tian* and *dao*, therefore, tended to slough off some of the anthropopathic, volitional aspects of *tian*, apparently because they had become philosophically less respectable. During its semantic development, the word *tiandao* also came to designate one of the three realms in which the Chinese divided the world: the realms of Heaven, Earth, and Man. Later, when Buddhism had spread, *tiandao* was used to translate the Buddhist concept of Heavens, which were, after all, one of the six realms of incarnation. As a result, the word also has nuances associated with these Buddhist Heavens and heavenly gods. Two other things are important to remember: *tiandao* regularly alternates with *tian* in the same context, and it retains many of its older meanings and associations.

The word *tiandao* (pronounced both *tentō* and *tendō* in Japanese) was exported to Japan together with the classics in which it was used. It first appears in the Japanese anthology *Kaifūsō* (preface dated 751). After that, however, it had a long but inconspicuous existence until the end of the sixteenth century, when it came to be used as a kind of stopgap: if one could not, or did not want to, designate another cause for a disaster, one could attribute it to "Heaven," and if no one else was likely to punish the miscreant, the Heavenly Way might still do so in the end. A contemporary gloss is given in the Jesuit dictionary *Nippo jisho* (159?), in which the word is translated as "the way, order or providence of Heaven. We already employ this name in order to address God, but the heathens never seem to come further than the first of the above-mentioned meanings." It is true that the Jesuits sometimes used *tendō* to translate the Latin words for "god" (*deus*, *superi*, Iupiter), but the transliterated form of Deus was preferred in any kind of doctrinal context.

All interpretations of Tendō based on the early texts remain suspect. There is no definite entity to which the word refers. The Chinese emperor made offerings to Heaven (and earth), but he was the only one allowed to do so, and in Japan, no one offered to or worshiped Tendō. There are no shrines, no temples, no rituals, and no scriptures that give a more solid body to this Tendō. Its main use may well have been to allow one to speak about god, luck, destiny, providence, and the like in nondenominational terms.

This changed in the first half of the seventeenth century, when a more or less integrated body of lore was elaborated in which Tendō, the Way of Heaven, was the central concept. This body of lore was fixed in a number of texts, the

two most important of which were *The Learning of the Mind-and-Heart and the Five Human Relationships* (*Shingaku gorinsho*) and *The Record of Honda Sado-no-kami Masanobu* (*Honsaroku*). *Shingaku gorinsho* was first printed in 1650 and was reprinted at least six times during the next two hundred years, in a number of versions and under various titles. *Honsaroku*, which was ascribed to Honda Sado-no-kami Masanobu (1538–1616), mostly circulated in manuscript, but it also was printed. About thirty printed copies have survived; the oldest one that can be dated was printed in 1787 (Tenmei 7). To judge by the number of surviving copies, it must have been a very popular text.

Both *Shingaku gorinsho* and *Honsaroku* were also popular texts in the sense that they were reprinted and copied for use by a popular audience. This was made clear in various ways: they were written in Japanese, not in *kanbun* (the preferred medium of the intellectual elite); they were anonymous; and some well-known Confucian scholars tried to distance themselves from vulgar notions expressed in these texts.

The basic ideas were basic Confucian doctrines: the Five Human Relationships and the Five Constant Virtues, with a heavy emphasis on sincerity and frugality. Whoever practices these virtues will enjoy the protection of (the Way of) Heaven, and he and his descendants will prosper. The truth of these statements is proved by examples taken from Chinese and Japanese history. Other schools of thought (Buddhism and, to a lesser extent, Confucianism) are criticized, the central point of the criticism being whether these other schools acknowledged the actual existence of the mind-and-heart. Those that did not were wrong and endangered ethical practice, because ethical practice was based on the concept of posthumous retribution. The hearts of those who had been good would rejoin Tendō, and the hearts of the wicked would roam forever and find no rest. Finally, the text addresses the issue of theodicy: Why do the wicked prosper and the good suffer? The answer is that Tendō may decide to do this according to the merit or demerit accumulated by one's ancestors. That is, the evil they did may more than offset the good you are doing yourself, or the good they did may outweigh the evil you are doing. To this ethical doctrine, *Honsaroku* adds several pages of good advice for the ruler (*Honsaroku* is decidedly more Sinophile and oriented toward the ruling class).

These texts were ascribed to famous Confucians, especially Fujiwara Seika and Kumazawa Banzan. If Seika knew of this body of lore, he never acknowledged it, but Banzan went out of his way to deny authorship. Both had reasons to distance themselves from the texts, for from a Confucian perspective, the flaws were all too evident: this Tendō ("not a god, not a Buddha, and the lord of everything between heaven and earth") had far too much freedom. Whether or not in conscious opposition to this body of lore, Seika defined *tendō* as identical with principle (*li*), which was standard Neo-Confucian doctrine. The Way of Heaven also was obsessively ethical. In this respect, it is closely related

to the morality books (J. *zensho*, Ch. *shanshu*) that were popular in East Asia from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century.[37] Both genres have connections to Neo-Confucianism that are at once close and problematic.

Philosophically speaking, the intervention between act and retribution of an anthropopathic entity like Tendō was unnecessary, for every action invited an immediate reaction as part of an automatic, unending chain. Volitional intercession by deities thus had no place here. Since they could do only what was right, it was unnecessary to hypostatize their existence. We can only conclude that the doctrines were aimed at the uneducated, in an attempt to divert them from their mistaken beliefs in gods and magic. Although the doctrines leaned heavily on Confucian notions, they are quite different from the acknowledged vernacular treatises of well-known Confucian scholars.

First-rate intellectuals never stooped to take issue with Tendō thought. For the most part they ignored it, but a minor journeyman of letters, Takigawa Josui (fl. 1648–1684), went out of his way to publish a detailed criticism of *Shingaku gorinsho*. This book, *The Learning of the Mind-and-Heart According to Takigawa* (*Takigawa shingakuron*), was published in 1660. Along with the appearance of the first printing of *Shingaku gorinsho* in 1650, this is another reason to place the formulation of this body of thought around 1630 to 1640, although Kumazawa Banzan asserts that the book already existed before his birth in 1619. However, the *Kiyomizu monogatari*, which dates from 1638, contains a discussion showing how the subject was debated. The authenticity of *Honsaroku* also was under discussion. Considered opinion, however, eventually settled on Masanobu's authorship. The reasons are explained by Muro Kyūsō (1658–1734), a Confucian scholar who worked for the *bakufu*, in his 1725 preface.

Perhaps because its authorship was judged to be authentic, *Honsaroku* retained its mystique and its reputation of being a "secret" book containing useful knowledge for the rulers. In the second half of the eighteenth century, *Shingaku gorinsho* became a book for children, suitably illustrated to capture their attention.

THE LEARNING OF THE MIND-AND-HEART AND THE FIVE HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS (*SHINGAKU GORINSHO*)

The Way of Heaven is the lord between heaven and earth. Because it has no form, it is invisible to the eye. It is, however, the work of Heaven's Way that the four seasons follow one another without fail in the order of spring, summer, fall, and winter, that people are born, that flowers blossom and fruits ripen, and

37. See de Bary and Bloom, eds., *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, p. 899.

that the five grains grow. The human heart, too, has no form, and yet it is the lord of the whole body and reaches everywhere, up to the end of the nails and the very tips of the hairs. This human heart has come down from Heaven and become our heart. Originally, it was one with [the Way of Heaven]. All things that exist between this heaven and earth exist in the belly of Heaven's Way. It is the same as, for instance, the fishes living in the huge sea. The water is everywhere, even inside their fins. Yet the fishes have no idea of getting out of the water and living on the other side of the water. Heaven completely fills the whole of the human heart. For that reason, if you have one compassionate thought, this single thought will communicate itself to Heaven, and if you think ill, this evil will communicate itself to Heaven; for that reason, "the superior man is watchful over himself when alone."

"Luminous virtue" [as in the *Great Learning*] is what has separated itself from Heaven, dwells in our hearts ever so brightly, does not contain even the slightest trace of wicked feelings, and is in accordance with the Way of Heaven. Sages are those in whom this luminous virtue is manifested spontaneously as if they had been born with it from Heaven. Furthermore, after we have been born as humans, we have what is called human desires. Human desires are what we call those deep feelings of greed that are swayed by what we see and hear. If these human desires grow strong, luminous virtue will diminish. Although our appearance will still be human, our hearts will be the same as that of a bird or an animal. Luminous virtue may be compared to the bright body of a mirror, and human desires are what clouds it. If we do not polish this mirror every day and every night, the dirt of human desires will accumulate, and we will lose our original mind-and-heart. Luminous virtue and human desires are our ally and foe, respectively. If human desires are victorious, our ally luminous virtue will not have an easy time of it.

The Five Human Relationships are those between ruler and minister (lord and retainer), parent and child, husband and wife, older and younger brothers, and friends. They are, in other words, what man practices every day and every night. A child serves his parents and does his best to be as filial as possible, and in raising their children, parents teach them the Way and make them learn practical accomplishments. A retainer is single-minded in the service of his lord and does his best to be as loyal as possible, to the extent of offering his life, whereas a lord must feel about his retainers as he feels about his own hands and feet. Since heaven and earth are the beginning of husband and wife, the husband must be compassionate toward her and teach her, and the wife must follow her husband's instructions; the relations between husband and wife should be harmonious, and they should be compassionate and generous toward each other. Younger brothers must respect their elders; they must correct one another's faults and exhort one another to do good. In our dealings with our friends, we must be dependable and careful not to lie. The heart of the Way instructs us to practice these five human relationships. If, however, we do not

do this sincerely and with all our heart but only go through the motions, Heaven will know that we are lying, and what we did will have been in vain. Study will help us practice this Way. If you practice this Way, in the end it will help us demonstrate our luminous virtue. If we polish the luminous virtue of our heart and practice the Five Human Relationships with feeling, we will receive the blessings of Heaven, and our children and grandchildren will assuredly flourish, [and we will] after death return to the original realm of Heaven. Heaven, however, will ruin the children and grandchildren of those who rebel, and after their death, their hearts will not return to Heaven but will wander halfway and become one with the birds and the beasts. Because this is the way it is, in Confucianism they fear Heaven and consider it most important to practice the Way.

A feature of the Way of Heaven, as distinct from its basic Confucian ethics, was its attempt to find common ground with Shinto as an aspect of its popular syncretism. Thus Shinto is identified with the virtues of natural simplicity and honesty, rather than with its theism and supernaturalism.

Amaterasu Ō mikami is the mistress of Japan, but her temple is thatched with no more than miscanthus. Her offerings are unhulled rice. By not embellishing her dwelling and by not taking fancy things for food, she expressed her compassion with the people of the realm, and because he followed her decrees and thus practiced the Way, Emperor Jinmu could hand down the empire to his children and grandchildren from generation to generation, and they flourished for I know not how many thousands of years, until the cloistered emperor Go-Shirakawa.

The emperors of old personally took the hoe into their hands and worshiped Heaven; in the new year, they deigned to begin plowing the sacred rice fields and reciprocated the people for their hardship. The emperor of the Engi period [901–923] took off his clothes on a cold night and lamented how cold the people everywhere in the country must feel.

In Shinto, honesty is everything, and commiserating with the people is regarded as its final intention. When at the top one person is honest, the many people below will be honest, too. When at the top one person is greedy, the many people below will be greedy, too. The poem says, "If only the heart / is in accordance with / the Way of sincerity, / then the gods will protect you, / even if you do not pray." By the "Way of sincerity" is meant the sincerity of the Way of Heaven. To pray for oneself, presenting gold and silver to the gods and Buddhas, is most foolish. Even men who possess only a small part of the mind-and-heart of the Way do not accept dishonest presents and bribes. Will then the gods and Buddhas accept them, if you present such gifts to them? When you are personally honest and practice charity toward others and worship

Heaven according to ritual decorum and in all sincerity, the gods will protect you, even without your prayers.

Go-Shirakawa broke completely with Amaterasu's decrees, and Yoritomo took the empire. Outwardly he behaved as if he were practicing charity and establishing the Way, but in his heart he seized all-under-Heaven and used it for his own pleasure. In retribution, the place where he died is not known with certainty. Moreover, Yoritomo's son Yoriie was killed by his younger brother Sanetomo, and Sanetomo was killed by his nephew. Thus within forty-two years Yoritomo's children had perished and had lost all-under-Heaven. Such is the punishment of Heaven for those who do not know the Way and do not fear the Way of Heaven, who harass the people and glory in their own splendor.

[*Shingaku gorinsho*, text from Yamamoto, *Shingaku gorinsho no kisoteki kenkyū*, pp. 123–38; *NST*, vol. 28, pp. 257–64; WB]

THE WAY OF HEAVEN

Preface to *Honsaroku*

The contents of this book were originally written by Honda Sado-no-kami Masanobu, the councillor of Ieyasu. At one time [Tokugawa] Hidetada asked, "Have you ever reflected on the reason why countries are ordered or in disorder, why lords of men stay in power or perish, and why the myriad people are in straitened circumstances or content?" Masanobu answered, "In these past years, these matters are the only thing I have thought about, day and night. I have inquired about them with wise and talented people and tested [my ideas] on the people of the world, and I have obtained in my heart one principle." When thereupon Hidetada ordered him "to write down this principle and show it to him," Masanobu wrote it in *kana*, so that it would be easy for Hidetada to read, and presented it to him. After he had read it, Hidetada thought it most excellent, put it into his private library, and from time to time consulted it. The draft of this book, however, went to Masanobu's second son, Honda Awa-no-kami Masashige, the councillor of Matsudaira Kaga-no-kami, and no one else ever saw it. Masashige's councillor Toda Yugei-no-suke retired when he was over seventy, took the name of Unsai, and went to live in Kyoto in Zaimoku-chō east, south of Nijō. When he was living there in seclusion, he once happened to talk about this book, at a party, to my friend Miyake Genga [Buddhist name, Keiun], a Buddhist friend. Genga pleaded with him to lend him the book, and he made a copy and sent it to his son Kōhaku. Because I begged him earnestly, he had no words left to refuse and lent me the book. It is, of course, a book that one should not show to just anyone. Honda Sado-no-kami had two sons, the eldest of whom was Kōzuke-no-suke, and the second, Awa-no-kami; Toda Yugei-no-suke was a nephew of Masanobu's wife. The [book] *Honsaroku* was given a title later, by Genga, so when Masanobu presented it to Hidetada, it had no title.

Someone remarked, "Masanobu lived for many years a retired life in Suruga, and originally he was Ieyasu's falconer. Little by little he rose in his lord's service, and eventually he became Ieyasu's councillor."

Understanding the Way of Heaven

The Way of Heaven is not a god, and neither is it a Buddha; it is the lord between Heaven and earth, but it has no body. The mind-and-heart of Heaven fills the myriad things and reaches everywhere. You may compare it to someone's heart that, though invisible to the eye, becomes the lord of the body, and even the rule of the empire and the state originates in this heart. The original heart of the Way of Heaven has as its main purpose to create peace everywhere between Heaven and earth, to bring quiet to the myriad men, and to cause the myriad things to grow. Again, the one who holds the empire is called the son of Heaven. The Way of Heaven has selected someone whose heart and capacities are sufficient to enable him to govern the realm and has made him the lord of Japan. I have asked questions about the principle of the Way of Heaven as well as I could to all erudites in Japan, but the Shinto scholars have combined Tendai and Shingon Buddhism with the Way of Heaven, and Zen scholars have collected the teachings of Bodhidharma and regard those as its essence. Present-day Japanese Confucians denigrate Buddhism, but essentially they have become identical with Zen. In this way I spent several years without understanding the principle of the Way of Heaven any better. When I heard about the government of China, I noticed that in China someone often, without using sword and dagger, brought order to the more than four hundred provinces and passed them on to his sons and grandsons from generation to generation. In Japan, too, from the Age of the Gods onward, the emperors have, from generation to generation, governed the realm and passed it on to their descendants. But I did not understand why during these last years the empire has known no lasting order and the rulers have perished after one or two generations, and it remained unclear to me [until now].

[Hayashi Razan, *Honsaroku*, in *NST*, vol. 28, pp. 275–78; WB]

PRINCIPLES OF HUMAN NATURE, IN VERNACULAR JAPANESE (KANA SHŌRI)

The author of this work is traditionally thought to be Fujiwara Seika, but it is actually a synthetic work, combining several strains of thought current in sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century Japan—Neo-Confucian, Buddhist, Shinto, and even Christian—and incorporating much material from earlier texts, like *The Learning of the Mind-and-Heart and the Five Human Relationships* (*Shingaku gorinsho*). One of *Kana shōri*'s

main elements is the doctrine of the Way of Heaven (*tendō*), which emphasizes that the ruler and his surrogates are answerable to Heaven, here conceived theistically as a judge upholding the moral order, with the surrogates expressed as principles intrinsic to the mind-and-heart of both the natural order and human nature. In this way, the more theistic conception of the lord of Heaven in Tendō thought contributed a religious element to the moral rationalism of Neo-Confucianism expressed as Heaven's principle (*tenri*). Here it takes the form of personal retribution for one's good and bad deeds, as seen in the morality books that circulated in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century East Asia.[38]

The core teaching of the mind-and-heart derives from Zhu Xi's formulation of the sixteen-word method of the mind-and-heart described in his preface to the *Mean* (*Zhongyong zhangzhu*) as a way of governance (legitimate succession) handed down from the sage-kings, Yao and Shun.[39] This "method" had undergone successive adaptations in late Song and Ming China and, as the Way of Heaven, spread to Korea and out through the sea-lanes of East Asia. In sixteenth-century Japan, Zhu's "succession to the Way" coalesced with the Sun Goddess's mandate to the imperial line, emphasized in primal Shinto (*yuiitsu Shintō*).[40]

The Five Human Relationships are those stressed by Zhu Xi as the principal moral obligations (the natural affective response of one's moral nature to the constant universal human relationships) and do not correspond directly to the prevailing political or social relationships in seventeenth- or eighteenth-century Japan. Nevertheless, in different versions and editions, these teachings became widely disseminated during the Tokugawa period, and texts containing them were said to have been found in many peasant households. Moreover, the "learning of the mind-and-heart" later popularized by Ishida Baigan is based on the same Neo-Confucian teaching of Zhu Xi as found here, not on Wang Yangming's teaching (see chap. 22).

Since much of *Kana shōri* is identical to the *Shingaku gorinsho* discussed earlier, the sections dealing with the Way of Heaven, sincerity, the Five Constant Virtues, the Five Human Relationships, and so forth have been omitted. Instead, we have focused on the later portions of the text, mainly the relations among Confucianism, Buddhism, and Shinto and the understanding of the Neo-Confucian learning of the mind-and-heart in the context of Japanese tradition.

13. Emperor Yao

Yao, a sage, was the master of China's four hundred districts. Shun, also a sage, was the son of Heaven. Confucius spread abroad the Way of Yao and Shun.

38. See de Bary and Bloom, eds., *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, chap. 24.
39. See de Bary and Bloom, eds., *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, chap. 21.
40. See de Bary et al., eds., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, chap. 15.

Thus, their Way is also called the Way of the Confucian scholars. Those who study the Confucian Way are called Confucian scholars (*jusha*). . . .

Yao and Shun's Way, however, is not an incredible mystery. Luminous virtue, renewing the people, extending goodness, sincerity, reverent seriousness, the Five Constant Virtues, and the Five [Human] Relationships are their Way's ultimate concerns, their Way's loftiest notions. When one follows their Way in rectifying the mind and being compassionate toward the people, one's rule continues for a long time. If one wields power through intrigue and crafty strategies, in one or two generations one will be destroyed. Even if one's rule lasts for five or six generations, one's power will eventually be terminated in battle. Thus, intrigue and strategies do not produce good rule.

14. China's Four Hundred Districts

The following is an account of the oppressive Qin and more benevolent Han dynasties in China, after which the account shifts to Japan.

Shinto also considers rectifying the mind and being compassionate with the people as its ultimate concerns, as does the Way of Yao and Shun. In China, one calls this "the Confucian Way"; in Japan, one calls it Shinto. Although their names differ, their spirits are identical. After Emperor Jinmu [660–585 B.C.E.], around the time of Emperor Kinmei [539–571 C.E.], Buddhism came to Japan. Because Buddhists were allowed to propagate their teachings, the people's minds took refuge in them. Consequently, however, Shinto waned.

15. Shakyamuni Buddha

Shakyamuni Buddha was an Indian. Indians are not gentle people, and the land is ungovernable. Shakyamuni was an ascetic for six years and then practiced self-mortification for another six years. For twelve years he remained at Mount Tantoku formulating plans for governing India and explaining the tenets of Buddhism. According to Shakyamuni, at first one thinks that the mind really exists. In the second stage of realization, however, one perceives the mind as empty. Finally, one understands that the mind neither exists nor does not exist. Thus he explained the doctrine of the middle path (*chūdō-jissō*).

Pure Land Buddhism's belief in Heaven and Hell is meant to sooth man's mind, drawing on Shakyamuni's initial acknowledgment that the mind actually does exist. Zen Buddhism claims that the mind does not actually exist but is only a by-product of the five forms of experience. This alludes to Shakyamuni's notion that the mind is empty. The Tendai Buddhist teaching that Shakyamuni neither existed nor did not exist borrows from Shakyamuni's "doctrine of the

middle path." That Shakyamuni came to be associated with so many teachings was due to attempts to relate his teachings to various people. . . .

To keep their minds undefiled by selfish desires, the direct disciples of Shakyamuni—Nyorai, Ananda, and Kashapa—did not accumulate any possessions. Every day they went out begging for their daily food. Today's monks, however, collect wealth and jewels; they cover their temples with gold and silver; they wear twill damask and brocade clothing; and they pray for assistance in worldly success. Such practices confuse people, but they were not part of Shakyamuni's original intentions (*hon'i*). Furthermore, these Buddhist practices are inconsistent with Shinto. Undoubtedly, the monk's Way disturbs the world.

16. The Difference Between the Confucian and Buddhist Ways

While affirming the common ground underlying the early pristine forms of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Shinto, the author sees each of these traditions as having been corrupted, with both religion and government having lapsed from the original ideal. This sets the stage for a new order, reestablishing political and ideological unity under a new (shogunal) regime that would fulfill the original mandate.

Also replaced here is an earlier form of syncretism identifying Buddhism with mind control and Confucianism with social order, each having its own sphere. Now, by contrast, the Confucian Way of governance is said to be grounded in its own philosophy of mind, based on natural human sentiments and its own discipline (contesting that of Mahayana Buddhism), by which one would not only succeed in this world but also gain the reward of Heaven in the afterlife.

If he believed that the mind really existed, even if only temporarily, then Shakyamuni would not have explained that the mind does not exist. If that is so, then Shakyamuni's position leads to the conclusion that life in this world does not really exist. Reflect seriously on this so that you will understand the distinction well!

The Confucian Way asserts that at birth, man receives his original nature (*honsei*) from Heaven's nature; it concludes that at death, man returns to this Heavenly nature. If one's mind is deceitful, if one harms others, if one is jealous of others, if one's mind is wicked, or if one indulges in luxury, then one will receive Heaven's censure. Thus either one is personally destroyed or perhaps one's descendants are destroyed. Furthermore, after death one's mind wanders around, unable to return to Heaven. Because of this, one should stand in awe of Heaven; one should try to demonstrate one's luminous virtue; one should make one's mind sincere; one should practice the Five Constant Virtues and the Five [Human] Relationships; one should think compassionately; and one should take pleasure in the fact that one's original nature returns to Heaven at death. It does not return to Heaven because of one's prayers.

17. Teachings Transmitted for All-under-Heaven

Yao, Shun, and Yu governed the world according to the following sixteen-character formula: "Man's mind is precarious; the mind of the Way is subtle. Be discriminating, be unified, and hold fast to the Mean."[41]

Yao, Shun, and Yu were great sages. There is no greater calling than providing peace to the nation and governing the world peacefully. The way of achieving this great task is expressed in the word *Mean* (*chū*). . . .

The "Mean" expresses the way of the *Mean* (*Zhongyong*). "Sincerity" (*makoto*) encapsulates the essence of the Mean. Sincerity means not varying from Heaven's principles (*tenri*) by even a hair's breadth. Even Mencius's remark that "one should restrain selfish desires and preserve Heaven's principles"[42] refers to the Mean. For myriad ages, these . . . words have conveyed the sages' learning of the mind-and-heart.

18. The Meaning of the Sixteen Characters

The "human mind" refers to the human mind, and the "mind of the Way" refers to Heaven's mind. At first, man's mind and Heaven's mind are one body. At birth, however, man's human mind is created. Even the most wise possess a "human mind," and even fools possess the "mind of the Way." These two minds intermingle within man's heart. Unless one understands how to control one's mind, "the human mind" predominates; "the mind of the Way" becomes a mere servant; and Heaven's principles are destroyed. Thus one should carefully reflect on the relationship between "the human mind" and the "mind of the Way." When one rectifies and unifies the original mind (*honshin*) so that it is always present, then the "mind of the Way" becomes the mind's master; the "human mind" serves it; Heaven's principles are manifested daily; and one accords with Heaven's mind.

The integrity of the Sun Goddess, Amaterasu Ō mikoto, is not subject to temporary whims but instead confers its blessings constantly. Thus it expresses the "mind of the Way." While schemers may calculate a momentary profit, they inevitably incur the spirits' punishments. Such thinking represents the "human mind." Through integrity, one forgets matters of personal glory, dispenses with wealth and riches, is compassionate toward others, loves people, and thus acts in accordance with Heaven's mind. After one dies, one returns to Heaven, and

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41. Legge, trans., *Book of Documents*, "Counsels of the Great Yü," p. 125; Legge, *The Shoo king*, p. 61. In the original Chinese, these lines consist of sixteen words. In the Cheng–Zhu tradition, they were frequently referred to as the "sixteen words" and were greatly emphasized in Zhu's preface to the *Mean*.

42. No such remark is found in the *Mencius*, but Cheng–Zhu Neo-Confucians emphasized both these points.

one's descendants will prosper forever. Such matters are subtle and difficult to discern.

Deceiving one's ruler by being clever and scheming, oppressing people, amassing riches, and taking pleasure in personal glory brings immediate profit. But if one turns one's back on Heaven's ordinations in this life, then after death one's spirit will wander aimlessly, unable to return to Heaven. Also, one's descendants will be destroyed quickly. . . .

The "human mind" also consists of trying to excel in the arts so as to gain praise from others. According to the Way, one should diligently strive to complete one's work. To strive diligently to practice martial arts so as to gain fame, again, expresses the "human mind." Furthermore, to think of receiving fiefdoms and the like also is a problem. One must understand the Way as surrendering one's life for the sake of one's ruler. Even birds and beasts seek to fulfill their respective functions. Should we be inferior to birds in this regard?

19. The Truth of the Confucian Way

Although the truth of the Confucian Way is difficult to express in Japanese, my mother,[43] more than sixty years old, said,

> Since childhood, I have pursued the way of Buddhism without noticing the sunrise or the waning of the moon. Without resting, my mind has diligently sought the Buddhist world.
>
> However, after hearing about the Confucian Way, which you recently received from a Korean, my mind is now divided and I have become remiss in my Buddhist practice.
>
> With age, one's memory declines. Please record the truth of the Confucian Way so that it can be easily read.

Thus I had no choice but to indicate the Confucian teachings in this manner.

Kanbun Postface

Fujiwara Seika was perfectly filial in serving his mother. Although she had studied Buddhism, she had never heard the Confucian teachings. Thus she asked her son to inform her of the essentials of our learning, Confucianism. Accordingly, Fujiwara Seika wrote one short volume in Japanese explaining

43. Seika's mother died in 1594. Thus if this text were actually written for her to read, it would have to have been written before that date. If it were written later, either this account is apocryphal or Seika wrote it with his mother's request in mind, for the sake of all those who had studied Buddhism but wished to find out about Confucian learning.

Confucianism to her. This volume was stored in someone's home for a long time. Hayashi Razan borrowed it and copied it. One day I saw it, opened it, and read it. Thereupon the source of Confucianism and the profound subtleties of the Cheng–Zhu teachings became clear, as though one could simply point them out. One must conclude that this text is one of the perfect gems of later Confucian learning. Consequently, I wrote this postface to it.

1669 (Kanbun 9), Ryūkoku sanjin
9th month, 9th day, Nomen sanchikusho
Published 1691

[Hayashi Razan, *Kana shōri*, in *NST*, vol. 28, pp. 238–55; JAT]

Chapter 22

THE SPREAD OF NEO-CONFUCIANISM IN JAPAN

The prestige of Neo-Confucianism as an officially favored teaching arose in part from its support by leading members of the Tokugawa family. Among Ieyasu's many sons who helped promote it, Yoshinao (1600–1650) stands out. Representing one of the three Tokugawa branch families chosen to guard the shogunate's interests in the provinces, with strategic Owari as his domain, Yoshinao was an early convert to Confucianism and a steadfast advocate of Zhu Xi's philosophy. It was this scion of the Tokugawa who erected the Sage's Hall, in which Confucius's image was installed at Ueno in Edo and where Razan had his residence. It was he, too, who induced the third shogun, Iemitsu, to pay personal homage to the image, thus helping make it a center of religious veneration.

Another Tokugawa prince who became especially interested in Confucianism was Tsunayoshi (r. 1680–1709), the fifth shogun. Given as he was to extremes of enthusiasm, Tsunayoshi outdid himself in promoting Confucianism. Through his lavish patronage, a new Paragon Hall was built near the center of Edo, with all the splendor of a state shrine. At the annual commemoration ceremony held there, one of the Hayashis acted as master of ceremonies, and Tsunayoshi himself took great pride in giving a personal lecture on one of the Confucian classics. This was a practice not necessarily appreciated by Confucian scholars themselves, who thought it inappropriate for the ruler to arrogate

such a role to himself, instead of deferring to a respected scholar (as in the Classics Mat lectures at the Chinese and Korean courts).

From this time until the end of the shogunate, the School of Prosperous Peace (Shōhei-kō) was the cultural and educational center of the nation. At this center, the Hayashis officiated as commissioners of state education and spread Neo-Confucian teachings throughout the metropolitan area of Edo (the immediate Tokugawa domain).

In the provinces, however, it was a different matter. Topographically, Japan was divided by steep hills and fast-running rivers into many comparatively isolated regions that could be penetrated only slowly and with difficulty. It was fortunate for the new movement that it found champions in a pair of Tokugawa princes. One was Hoshina Masayuki (1611–1672), third son of the second shogun, Hidetada, and newly created lord of ancient Ainu-land in Japan's remote northeast. The other was Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628–1701), a grandson of the first shogun, whose feudal domain was the strategic Tone River basin of Hitachi. Masayuki was assisted by a hot-tempered Zhu Xi scholar of the Southern school, Yamazaki Ansai, and Mitsukuni was under the tutelage of a high-minded Chinese political refugee, Zhu Shunshui.

In western Japan, important support also came from an influential daimyo who was not a member of the Tokugawa house: Ikeda Mitsumasa (1609–1682), who, though a patron of the independent scholars Nakae Tōju and Kumazawa Banzan, set up a model domain school based on the standard Zhu Xi curriculum.

YAMAZAKI ANSAI AND ZHU XI STUDIES

The importance of Yamazaki Ansai (1618–1682) lies in his wide influence as a teacher of Zhu Xi's "learning" and in his formulation of a new system of Shinto doctrine. A rather obstreperous boy, at a young age he was committed to the Zen temple of Myōshinji for monastic training. At nineteen he was invited to a temple in Tosa, where he came into contact with the "Southern school" of Zhu Xi learning, dating back to the Muromachi period (1333–1568). This was a line of Neo-Confucian study separate from that of Fujiwara Seika, deriving ultimately from the earlier introduction of Zhu Xi's commentaries by Zen monks in the thirteenth century. The study of Zhu Xi's works led Ansai, at the age of twenty-five, to reject Buddhism, and his first work was a critique of the fallacies of the Buddhist way. His reaction showed that Japanese Neo-Confucianism emerged not simply as a response to external stimuli from Korea in the late sixteenth century but as a broader cultural movement developing internally, from the medieval scene and with its own dynamics.

As noted in Fujiwara Seika's case, this new movement interpreted Zhu Xi's teachings in a different light from the medieval syncretism of the Three Teach-

ings, which viewed Confucianism as concerned mostly with the practical order, complementary to Buddhism but on a lower level. Now Neo-Confucianism was recognized as being itself a "learning of the mind-and-heart" in opposition to Buddhism. Ansai stressed this point: both teachings dealt, albeit in different ways, with the mind and practical affairs, but Neo-Confucianism did so on grounds of natural, moral principle, whereas Buddhism did not.

After studying and teaching in Kyoto for ten years, in 1658 Ansai started spending a part of every year in Edo, where he became a guest lecturer to several daimyo. In 1665, his influence grew when he was invited to become a teacher to the daimyo of Aizu domain, Hoshina Masayuki, son of the second Tokugawa shogun and an adviser to the fourth.

Ansai's knowledge of Neo-Confucianism was both broad and deep. He promoted Zhu Xi's practical proposals, such as his system of grain storage, no less than his philosophy of the moral mind. Ansai also was familiar with the long line of successors to Zhu Xi who had continued his teaching in China and was able to evaluate these successors according to criteria based on his own familiarity with Zhu Xi's works. Only the great Korean scholar Yi T'oegye escaped Ansai's scrutiny unscathed.

In his own teaching and writing Ansai insisted on a close, literal reading of Zhu's basic writings, especially his commentaries on the Four Books. Indeed, Ansai's work consisted almost entirely of compilations of quotations from the Zhu Xi school's basic works interspersed with brief interpretive comments. Inevitably, however, like most "fundamentalists," Ansai stressed certain points that reflected his own situation and proclivities. Among them are the following formulas:

1. "Abiding in reverent seriousness and fathoming principle" (J. *Kyōkei kyūri*, Ch. *Zhu jing qiong li*), catchwords asserting the need for a fundamentally religious and moral attitude of mind as the starting point for intellectual inquiry and practical activity, since all things human are value laden, with both the mind/heart and things/affairs suffused with rational moral principles to be fathomed and evaluated.

2. A prime manifestation of this reality is the Five Human Relationships, which are grounded in the affective nature of the human mind-and-heart, as in the natural moral sentiments that prompt human action. There is no discontinuity between these sentiments and the objects they relate to: between mind and things, self and others, thought and action. Nor is there any discontinuity between the mind and the social self in moral cultivation. While for Zhu, rectification of the mind was "inner," and cultivation of the social self was "outer," Ansai insisted that both were "inner," that the practice of reverence entailed not only remaining watchful over one's state of mind but also, and more important, keeping the mind focused on the dignity and propriety of one's physical bearing in interaction with others.

3. "Reverent seriousness to straighten [the self] within, rightness to square [things] without" (Ch. *Jing yi zhi nei, yi yifang wai*). The meaning (roughly parallel to the first formula) is that reverence and moral seriousness must be exemplified in specific actions appropriate to the situation—that is, to one's own personal responsibilities in life. Thus for Ansai, "rightness" (J. *gi*, Ch. *yi*) meant doing one's specific duty (*meibun*) in accordance with the general Neo-Confucian concept that "principle is one, its particularizations diverse." On this basis, Ansai understood the relationship between ruler and minister (for Zhu Xi, "joined in rightness") to mean in the Japanese context the relationship between lord and vassal, in particular the samurai retainer's duty of loyal service. Thus *gi* was converted from "agreement on what is right (in context)" to an absolute duty of personal loyalty by the retainer to his lord. Ansai further extended this to mean loyalty to the emperor as the specific Japanese instantiation of the rulership principle. Hence, to render these terms as Ansai intended them, we often have to translate *gi/yi* as "duty" or invest it with the more absolute connotations of "righteousness."

4. As a method of personal praxis, Ansai endorsed "quiet sitting" (*seiza*)—for him a form of spiritual/moral self-scrutiny in a meditative posture—as a prelude to right action in daily conduct. This practice (sometimes confused with Zen meditation) was controversial in Neo-Confucian tradition and even among Ansai's disciples. For Ansai (and those disciples who followed him in this, notably Satō Naokata), quiet sitting was one means of personally experiencing the Way. For others, however, it was anathema as too close to "Zen."

In his later years, Ansai became increasingly drawn to the study of Shinto and therefore interpreted this formula in terms strongly suggestive of worship and service of the gods. From one of his Shinto teachers, Kikkawa Koretari (1616–1694), Ansai received the Shinto initiate name Suika, which was derived from a Shinto text that taught people to seek the blessings of the gods through prayer and by keeping one's heart in a state of straightforward sincerity (*massugu*). This expression came to serve as the distinctive mark of Ansai's brand of Confucian Shinto, or Suika Shinto, which combined the ethical maxims and cosmological doctrines of the former teaching with the religious doctrines of the latter.

Actually Ansai went to much greater lengths than this to establish the unity of the two teachings. Not only did he equate Shinto creation legends with Chinese cosmology, and the Shinto pantheon with the metaphysical principles of the Neo-Confucians, but he also identified the key Confucian virtue, reverent seriousness, with the primal stuff of the universe. Despite his attempt to combine these disparate elements in what seemed to him a rationally coherent system, in the end he had to insist that human reason was inadequate to deal with such truths and that much had to be accepted simply on faith. Later Shintoists were glad to dispense with Ansai's tortuous rationalizations while

retaining his emphasis on faith, on the moral virtues, and particularly on reverence for the gods as expressed through devotion to their living embodiment, the emperor. In these respects Ansai was a good example in the seventeenth century of three tendencies that became significant in modern times: the popularization of Confucian ethics in Japan; the revival of Shinto and its development as an articulate creed; and, finally, the intense nationalism that combined Confucian reverence with Shinto tradition to produce emperor worship.

REVERENCE AND RIGHTNESS (DUTY)

It was the pedagogical practice of Confucian scholars to sum up their teachings with a key word or phrase that could easily be fixed in people's minds. Yamazaki Ansai's key virtues of reverence and rightness were taken from a slogan of the Neo-Confucian philosopher Cheng Yi, based on the *Classic of Changes*. As Ansai's Shintoist leanings became more pronounced, he emphasized that aspect of these concepts having to do with worship of the gods and the emperor. Eventually he equated these two virtues with terms found in native texts concerning primitive Shinto mythology: prayer (*negigoto* or *kitō*) and honesty or forthrightness (*massugu* or *shōjiki*). The following is a typical attempt to demonstrate that one's own favorite formula contains the essence of the Confucian classics:

> "By [means of] reverence we straighten ourselves within; by [means of] rightness we square things without." The significance of these eight characters cannot be exhausted by even a lifetime of application.[1] Indeed, Master Zhu was not exaggerating at all in saying this.
>
> In the *Analects* of Confucius, when it says "the superior man cultivates himself with reverent care [J. *kei*, Ch. *jing*], it simply means that by [means of] reverence we straighten [ourselves] within." What is said further in the *Analects*, "To put others at ease by cultivating oneself and thus to put all men at ease" is the same as "By [means of] rightness we square away the [world] without."
>
> "The virtue of sincerity [as taught in the *Mean*] is not merely for perfecting oneself alone; it also is for perfecting things [around us]. Perfection of self is humaneness; perfection of things is knowledge. These are virtues that manifest our nature; this is the Way that joins the inner and the outer [worlds]."[2] Cheng Yi also said: "Reverence and rightness hold each other together and ascend straightway to attain the virtue of

1. Zhu Xi's comment on a saying by Cheng Yi.

2. *Mean* 25:3.

Heaven." Thus when Zhu Xi said that these eight characters of Cheng Yi are inexhaustible in their application, he was not exaggerating at all.[3]

LECTURE CONCERNING THE CHAPTERS ON THE DIVINE AGE (IN THE *KOJIKI* AND *NIHON SHOKI*)

When Yamazaki Ansai took up Shinto studies late in life, he developed a cosmology based on early Japanese texts that, despite his own denials, obviously betrays the influence of Chinese models, especially the yin-yang and Five Elements theories incorporated into Neo-Confucian metaphysics. Fundamentally a monist who asserted the identity of the human and divine, Ansai saw all phenomena as produced by fire and regulated by the interaction of two powers: earth and metal. With these powers he identified the supreme virtues of reverence and righteousness.

The equation of reverence (*kei*) here with the native Japanese word *tsutsushimi* depends on the overlapping meanings of the two. *Kei* connotes attentiveness and concentration, whereas *tsutsushimi* connotes reverence, restraint, and, here, "tightening."

The following passage reveals the lengths to which Ansai went to establish the relationship of reverence and earth and metal. We have eliminated some of his complicated philological arguments to smooth the way for the reader but left enough to illustrate Ansai's method and perhaps why some of his own disciples would find it unpersuasive.

There is one important matter to be learned by those beginning to study Shinto. If a student reads the chapters on the Divine Age without first learning this, he will not readily understand the chapters' true significance, but if he has had the proper instruction, he can understand everything in these chapters without further inquiry. This is the key to Shinto, which explains it from beginning to end. This you certainly must know.

I am not sure whether you have heard about it yet, but this is the teaching on earth and metal (*tsuchi-kane*). . . . Do you recall that in the Divine Age text, earth (*tsuchi*) is represented as five (*itsutsu*)? Izanagi cut the fire god Kagu-tsuchi into five, it says.[4] You may not see what that really means, but it indicates the conversion of earth into five. . . .

Earth comes into being only from fire. Fire is mind, and in mind dwells the god (*kami*). This is not discussed in ordinary instruction, and it is only because of my desire to make you understand it thoroughly that I am revealing this to you. Now here is the secret explanation of something very important: why a [Shinto] shrine is called *hokora*. *Hokora* is where the god resides and is equiv-

3. *Yamazaki Ansai zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 90; Yamakazi, *Suika-sō*, p. 11.
4. Aston, trans., *Nihongi*, vol. 1, p. 29.

alent to *hi-kora* (storehouse of fire). *Ho* is an alternative form of *hi* (fire), as seen in the words of *ho-no-o* (fire tail; i.e., flame) and *ho-no-ko* (fire child; i.e., spark). It is interesting that *tsutsushimi* comes only from the mind, which is fire, the abode of the god. Now when the fire god Kagu-tsuchi was cut into five pieces, it led to the existence of earth (*tsuchi*). That can be understood from the theory that fire produces earth.

As for earth, it does not produce anything if it is scattered and dissipated. Only where earth is compacted are things produced. So you can see what is meant by *tsutsushimi* (restraint): it is the tightening of the earth (*tsuchi wo shimuru*). Earth is a solid thing, which is held together firmly (here the master held out his two fists to demonstrate). Water is always running downward, but earth does not run downward; it holds fast. Because it holds fast, it produces things. The mountain that produces metal is particularly hard, as we all know. Metal is formed when the essence of earth is drawn together and concentrated. Metal (*kane*) is joined together (*kane*) with earth. Because of metal, the earth is held firmly together, and because the earth holds together firmly, the metal power is produced. This is going on now right before your eyes.

If there were no earth, nothing would be produced; but even when there is earth, without restraint (*tsutsushimi*), the metal power would not be produced. The restraint is something in man's mind. Just as nothing is produced when the earth is scattered and dissipated, so if man becomes dissipated and loose, the metal power cannot be produced. The metal power is actually nothing other than our attitude in the presence of the god. There is something stern and forbidding about the metal power. When this power reaches the limit of its endurance, we must expect that even men may be killed. So unyielding is it that it allows for no compromise or forgiveness.

As we see every day, only earth can produce metal. That is the principle of earth's begetting metal. But do not confuse it with the Chinese theory that fire produces earth and earth produces metal. Whatever the Confucian texts say does not matter. What I tell you is the Way of the Divine Age, and it is also something that goes on right before your eyes. The sun goddess, you see, was female, but when the storm god got out of hand, she put on warlike attire and took up a sword. Even Izanagi and Izanami ruled the land by using the spade and sword. From earliest times Japan has been under the rule of the metal power. And that is why I have been telling you that Japan is the land of the metal power. Remember that without tightening, the metal power would not come into being, and tightening is a thing of the mind.

There are still more important things to be explained in connection with earth and metal, but these are beyond your capacity now. Without the moral discipline that would prepare you for them, you are not allowed to hear such things.

[*Zoku Yamazaki Ansai zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 207–12; RT]

ANECDOTES CONCERNING YAMAZAKI ANSAI

A QUESTION OF LOYALTIES

A recurring question among Tokugawa scholars was the dual allegiance seemingly implied by the adherence to Chinese ethics by patriotic Japanese. Ansai's handling of this question suggests the possibility of being both faithful to Confucius and loyal to Japan.

Once Yamazaki Ansai asked his students a question: "In case China came to attack our country, with Confucius as general and Mencius as lieutenant general at the head of thousands of mounted warriors, what do you think we adherents of Confucius and Mencius ought to do?" The students were unable to offer an answer. "We don't know what we should do," they said, "so please let us know what you think about it." "Should that eventuality arise," he replied, "I would put on armor and take up a spear to fight and capture them alive in order to repay my obligations to my country. That would be the Way of Confucius and Mencius."

Later his disciple met [the Confucian] Itō Tōgai and told him about it, adding that his teacher's understanding of Confucius and Mencius was hard to surpass. Tōgai, however, told him smilingly not to worry about the invasion of our country by Confucius and Mencius. "I guarantee that it will never happen."

[*Sentetsu sōdan*, pp. 124–25; RT]

YAMAZAKI ANSAI AND HIS THREE PLEASURES

Although Ansai typifies the fusion of Confucian ethics with the feudal virtues of medieval Japan, this anecdote shows how Confucian insistence on the moral worth of the individual militated against the principle of hereditary aristocracy basic to feudalism. Even while hereditary, aristocratic privilege persisted under the Tokugawa, the meritocratic values of Confucianism increasingly permeated the culture, as will be seen later in many of the writings on education.

The lord of Aizu asked Yamazaki Ansai if he enjoyed any pleasures of his own. Ansai answered:

"Your vassal enjoys three pleasures. Between heaven and earth there are innumerable living creatures, but I am among those who alone possess spiritual consciousness. That is one source of pleasure. Between heaven and earth, peace and war come in defiance of all calculation. Fortunately, however, I was born in a time when peaceful arts were flourishing. Thus I am able to enjoy reading books, studying the Way, and keeping the company of the ancient sages and

philosophers as if they were in the same room with me. That is another pleasure."

The lord then said, "Two pleasures you have already told me about; I would like to hear about the third one." Ansai replied, "That is the greatest one, though [it is] difficult to express, since Your Highness may not take it as intended but instead consider it an affront." The lord said, "Ignorant and incapable though I am, I am still the devoted disciple of my teacher. I am always thirsty for his loyal advice and hungry for his undisguised opinions. I cannot see any reason why this time you should stop halfway."

Ansai then declared, "Since you go to such lengths, I cannot hold back, even though it may bring death and disgrace. My third and greatest pleasure is that I was lowborn, not born into the family of an aristocrat." "May I ask you the reason why?" the lord insisted. "If I am not mistaken, aristocrats of the present day, born as they are deep inside a palace and brought up in the hands of women, are lacking in scholarship and wanting in skill, given over to a life of pleasure and indulgence, sexual or otherwise. Their vassals cater to their whims, applaud whatever they applaud, and decry whatever they decry. Thus is spoiled and dissipated the true nature they are born with. Compare them with those who are lowborn and poor, who are brought up from childhood in the school of hardship. They learn to handle practical affairs as they grow up, and with the guidance of teachers or the assistance of friends, their intellect and judgment steadily improve. That is the reason why I consider my low and poor birth the greatest of all my pleasures." The lord was taken aback but said with a sigh, "Indeed, it is as you say."

[*Sentetsu sōdan*, pp. 122–23; RT]

ASAMI KEISAI

Asami Keisai (1652–1711) is known as one of the three eminent disciples of Yamazaki Ansai, the other two being Satō Naokata and Miyake Shōsai. Born in Kyoto the second son of a physician, Keisai began to study medicine as well but soon became interested in Confucianism as a result of a period of study under Itō Jinsai. A friend introduced him to Ansai's academy around 1676, and Keisai's intelligence soon attracted Ansai's attention. But in 1680 Ansai broke off relations with him, apparently because he got entangled in Satō Naokata's "excommunication." In 1687 Keisai completed what became his most famous work, *Immortal Words of Acquiescent Self-Dedication* (*Seiken igen*), by which time he was already teaching a large number of students at his own academy in Kyoto. Here Keisai acquired a reputation as an extremely meticulous and thorough teacher with a strong mind for logical consistency but also with a warm and cordial personality. The great concern running through his writings is the relationship between lord and retainer, which he thought should be as

deep and unbreakable as that between parents and children. Loyalty, he emphasized, must be made firm and unwavering under all circumstances, so it must not be conditioned on whether one received good treatment from one's lord. Among the Confucian sages, Keisai admired King Wen as the model of this sort of unquestioning loyalty, because when he was imprisoned by King Zhou (the evil last ruler of the Shang dynasty) on the basis of a false accusation, Wen uttered not a word of complaint or judgment against his ruler. The same logic compelled Keisai to reject categorically the Mencian concept of inhumane rulers' inviting their own destruction.

TREATISE ON THE CONCEPT OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM (*CHŪGOKU BEN*)

The most difficult problem with using Chinese Confucian concepts to define the meaning of samurai loyalty in the Japanese polity was the Sinocentric nature of the Confucian worldview, which defined Japan as a barbarian land on the periphery of civilization. If taken literally, this worldview was an affront to the honor and pride of the Japanese samurai. Asami Keisai's response to this problem constituted a powerful early statement of Japanese nationalist sentiment, which shows some rather striking similarities in tone to the later National Learning movement. Within the spectrum of teachings concerning Japanese national loyalty, however, Keisai's stance actually represented a middle position between the emotionalist exaltation of Japanese superiority characteristic of Shinto scholars and the rationalistic defense of the Confucian worldview by scholars such as Satō Naokata, Ogyū Sorai, and Dazai Shundai. Keisai's "middle position" strongly influenced the later development of imperial loyalist thought, which similarly combined universalistic Confucian ideals with Japanese uniqueness. Most of the later followers of imperial loyalism, though, in their intoxication with the idea of unconditional loyalty to one's country, seem to have forgotten Keisai's recognition that the people of other countries also have a natural tendency to regard themselves as the center, as "sovereign" states not subject to the imposition of anyone else's concept of world order.

The key terms in the following discussion are *taigi* and *meibun*, both of which are associated in Confucianism with the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu*). *Taigi* means the "greater righteousness," or supreme duty. *Meibun* combines the concepts of *mei* (names, terms, norms) and *bun* (status distinctions and their differentiated functions). Keisai emphasizes that the highest principle of ethical conduct (righteousness) is universal to all mankind but that its fulfillment takes specific socially and culturally distinct forms, which here is duty to one's own ruler.

The following treatise is based on lectures given by Keisai in 1688/1689 and on an exchange of letters in 1700/1701 with a student of Satō Naokata, who later became a devotee of Suika Shinto.

The terms "Middle Kingdom" (*chūgoku*) and "barbarian" (*iteki*) have been used in Confucian writings for a long time. For that reason, ever since Confucian books came to be widely studied in our country, those who read these books call China (*kara*) the "Middle Kingdom" and call our country "barbarian." In extreme cases, some people lament the fact that they were born in a "barbarian" land. How disgraceful! It is a sad day when people who read Confucian books lose the correct way of reading, failing to understand the true significance of norms and status distinctions (*meibun*) and the real meaning of supreme duty (*taigi*).

Heaven envelops the earth, and there is no place on earth not covered by Heaven. Accordingly, each country's territory and customs constitute a realm-under-Heaven in its own right, with no distinction of noble and base in comparison with other countries. In the land of China, from antiquity, the inhabitants of the nine provinces gradually came to share a single culture (*fū*) and character (*ki*), and since they shared a mutually intelligible language and customs, the region naturally came to constitute a realm-under-Heaven in its own right. The regions surrounding the nine provinces on all sides, whose customs were unlike those of the nine provinces, appeared as so many strange lands, each with its own peculiar ways. Those countries that were near the nine provinces and with which they could communicate through translation naturally seemed from China's point of view to be peripheral lands. Accordingly, the nine provinces came to be called the "Middle Kingdom" (Chūgoku), while the countries on the outer periphery came to be called "barbarian tribes." If one looks at Confucian books without understanding this, when one sees the outside countries referred to as "barbarian," one gets the idea that all countries everywhere are "barbarian" and fails to understand that our country was originally formed together with Heaven-and-earth and had no need to wait for other countries. This is a very serious error.

The questioner replied: "This explanation is certainly clear and correct. Nothing could be better for dispelling the ignorance of a thousand years or for advancing the teaching of norms and duties [status distinctions]. Nevertheless, some matters are still open to doubt, and I would beg to ask you about them one by one. The nine provinces of China are a land where ritual propriety flourishes and morals are highly developed to an extent that other countries cannot achieve. For that reason, it is natural for China to be regarded as the master (*shu*) and for barbarian countries to look up to China."

I answer: In the learning of norms and status distinctions, the first thing is to put aside the idea of evaluating on the basis of moral superiority or inferiority and instead to examine how the basic standards are established. Thus, for example, although Shun's father Gu Sou was wrong, regardless of his morality he was, after all, Shun's father, as no one else in the world could be. There is no principle that justifies despising one's father and regarding him as lower than

other fathers in the world just because he is without virtue. Shun simply served him as his own father, in the end winning Gu Sou's pleasure. As a result, Shun and his father became the standard for judging all the fathers and sons in the world. This was a natural result of the dedication to duty (*giri*) that Shun showed in serving his father. Accordingly, for a person born in this country to refer to our country by the contemptuous name "barbarian," feeling that because our country is somehow lacking in virtue it must be ranked below China, forgetting that Heaven also exists above our own country, [and] failing to see that the Way also is flourishing in our own country and that our country can also serve as the standard for other countries is to turn one's back on the supreme duty [greater righteousness (*taigi*)], as would a person who scorned his own father. How much more so inasmuch as in our country the legitimate succession (*seitō*) has continued without break since the beginning of Heaven-and-earth, and the great bond between lord and vassal has remained unchanged for ten thousand generations. This is the greatest of the Three Bonds, and is this not something that no other country has achieved? What is more, our country has a tradition of martial valor and manliness (*masurao*) and a sense of honor and integrity that are rooted in our very nature. These are the points in which our country is superior. Even since the restoration, sagely leaders have appeared several times and ruled our country well, so that the overall level of morality and ritual propriety in our country is not inferior to that of any other country. Those who regard our country right from the start as a kind of deformity, as something on the level of the birds and the beasts, lamenting their fates like hypochondriacs, are certainly a despicable lot. If we look at it in this way, the Way that is taught by Confucian scholars is the Way of Heaven-and-earth and what we in Japan study and develop is also the Way of Heaven-and-earth. In the Way there is no gap between subject (*shu*) and object (*kaku*), between self and other, so that when one studies this Way from the books that reveal the Way, this Way is nothing other than the Way of our own Heaven-and-earth. It is like the fact that fire is hot and water is cold, crows are black and herons are white, parents are beloved, and lords are hard to leave, regardless of whether we speak from the point of view of China, Japan, or India. In such things, there is no basis for saying that there is a special Way of our own country. If a person reads Confucian books and mistakenly thinks that this is the Way of China, so that one has to pull up by the root the whole body of Chinese customs and transplant them to our country, it is because he cannot see the true principle of Heaven-and-earth and is being led astray by the narrowness of what is seen and heard. . . .

The questioner asked: "Well then, is it not the case that Confucius appeared in the world and said all this about China's being the Middle Kingdom and all other countries' being barbarian?"

I answer: If that was Confucius's real intent, then even if it is Confucius, it

is a self-centered (*watakushi*) view. If he says it is the Way to say things that besmirch one's own father, then even if these are Confucius's words, they are of no use to us. However, one would not expect Confucius to say such things. The proof of this is the *Spring and Autumn Annals* itself. . . . Ethical conduct (*giri*) is a matter of knowing what one ought to do at a particular time and in a particular place, and it is that particular time and place that must serve as the primary point of reference (*shu*). This is the essential principle of the Mean. Nevertheless, because the Confucians have preached their concept of the Middle Kingdom versus barbarian lands so effusively for so long, even after all I have said, it is not possible to make the whole thing immediately clear. But this is nothing less than a matter of the supreme duty that men must fulfill in this world, a matter of the great line of legitimate succession, a matter of the Three Bonds and Five Constant Virtues, a matter of the great obligation and great righteousness between lord and vassal. There is nothing in the world that is greater than this. If this principle is not made clear, then even if you read Confucian books, you will all descend to the level of being rebels and traitors against your own country—truly a matter of the most profound regret.

[*Yamazaki Ansai gakuha*, in *NST*, vol. 31, pp. 416–19; BS]

SATŌ NAOKATA

Satō Naokata (1650–1719) was born in Bingo Province (the eastern part of today's Hiroshima Prefecture) as the son of a retainer of the Fukuyama domain. When he went to study under Ansai in Kyoto in 1670/1671, Ansai rejected him for his lack of fluency in reading Chinese, prompting Naokata to try to master the Neo-Confucian texts. Later, he and Keisai became Ansai's favorite disciples, and it was said that discussing Confucianism with them was the only way to bring Ansai out of his grumpy moods caused by frustration with his students' obtuseness. Thus it is ironic that later disagreements resulting from Ansai's increasing absorption in Shinto led to his breaking off relations with both of them around 1680. Naokata held that the singleness of the Way precluded the possibility that both Confucianism and Shinto were true, and he firmly rejected Ansai's etymologically based attempts to identify the two traditions. Likewise, Naokata's concept of the "correct lineage of ruler and subject," unlike that of Ansai and Keisai, retained the Mencian concept of the legitimacy of removing the ruler in extreme cases of incompetence or misgovernment. Accordingly, Naokata tried to demystify the imperial institution by explaining its genesis in human, rather than divine, terms as a product of nothing more mysterious than human custom. (Needless to say, such passages denying the divine nature of the imperial line were excised from the edition of Naokata's complete works published in 1942.) Naokata spent most of his time teaching and writing in

Kyoto until he was invited to Edo in 1694 to serve as guest teacher to the daimyo of Umayabashi domain. He continued teaching in Edo until his death, receiving invitations to serve as lecturer for as many as seven other daimyo.

COLLECTED ARGUMENTS ON THE CONCEPT OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM (*CHŪGOKU RONSHŪ*)

The following text was compiled by Satō Naokata's disciple, Ono Nobunari, and was first published in 1706.

Master Naokata says in his *A Judgment on the Concepts of Civilization and Barbarism* (*Ka'i rondan*), "Scholars have all sorts of conflicting views on the argument over the concepts of the Middle Kingdom (Chūgoku) and barbarian lands." All of them start by advocating a single biased theory and end up causing great confusion among beginning students. Originally, the concepts of the Middle Kingdom and barbarian lands were the words of the sages and worthies of China (Chūgoku), and they were put forward with reference to the topography (*tenchi*) of the world as a whole. The method cited in the *Rites of Zhou* for determining the center of the earth using a jade table is clearly referred to in the theoretical writings and recorded conversations of the sages and worthies. This is a matter about which there is no ambiguity, and it is understood even by common scholars. Nevertheless, recently this debate has arisen in our school, centering on whether one should distinguish between the Middle Kingdom and barbarian lands on the basis of the relative condition of the country's morality or whether each country has its own standard of what is the Middle Kingdom and what are "barbarian lands." In the end neither position uses the conception established by the sages and worthies. . . .

"Because of his advocacy of Shinto, Master Ansai put forth the idea that Japan is also the Middle Kingdom, supporting this with Cheng Yi's statement that there is no place in the world (*tenchi*) that is not the center. . . . After that, other scholars repeated this view, and now many declare that there is no fixed standard of what is the Middle Kingdom and what is barbarian. . . .

"All such ideas are misguided theories reflecting limited knowledge. 'Middle Kingdom' and 'barbarian lands' are fundamental concepts established by the sages and are not to be used in other countries. Nevertheless, if a person reads Confucian books and comes to know that the Middle Kingdom is good and barbarian lands [are] bad, it may be commendable if he feels partial to the country of his birth, but failing to understand the universal principle (*kōri*) of all-under-Heaven and falling into the error of changing the established conception of the sages and worthies is shameful. If we distinguish the Middle Kingdom from barbarian lands on the basis of the country's morality, at one time

China will be the Middle Kingdom, and at another time it will be Korea—the place will just keep shifting again and again. No matter how unvirtuous or unrighteous a person is, he cannot be said to have truly become a dog or a horse. . . .

"A certain person [Asami Keisai], wishing to clarify the supreme duty (*taigi*) between lord and vassal, has come out with an extreme argument strongly emphasizing the idea that the country of one's birth should be respected and revered as the land of one's lord and father. Accordingly, he regards the Middle Kingdom as barbarian and reviles Tang and Wu as rebels and Confucius and Mencius for not being vegetarians. This is a biased view. When those who respect Confucius and Mencius hear this, they regard it indignantly as an outrageous way of speaking, and they condemn the proponents of such a view, saying that the land in which they were born is not the Middle Kingdom. The whole argument exceeds all bounds of moderation and reason. But no matter what you say, if one takes the Supreme Ultimate as one's ruler and understands all countries to be its vassals (*kachō*), then since fixed rules define the gradations of rank and stipend, there will be no need to excessively praise and favor one over the other. . . ."

Someone asked, "Japan is a small country, but ever since the seven ages of the heavenly gods and the five ages of the earthly gods, it has had the superb teaching called Shinto. Accordingly, those who do not study Shinto lose the benefit of having been born in Japan, and they do not accord with the will (*mikokoro*) of the gods. Thus their descendants will not be able to flourish. From ancient times Japan has been called the country of the gods (*shinkoku*), and it is a superb country that surpasses all other countries."

Master Naokata replied, "What sorts of countries are China, India, and Europe? Who is to determine that only Japan is a land of the gods and that it is an especially wonderful place? Do the gods referred to in the term 'Land of the Gods' not exist in other countries as well? . . .

"If one says recklessly like the Shintoists that one should revere and believe in our country without regard to good or bad or right or wrong, then we do not even need to have any learning. Since one would not expect anyone to be so lacking in discrimination as to say such reckless things, the Shintoists who speak so must have some sort of hidden agenda. This is something I would like to ask the Shintoists about. . . .

"Now further, the statement by Shintoists that Japan is the Middle Kingdom and that it surpasses all other countries is difficult to understand. The concept of the Middle Kingdom is something fixed since ancient times according to geography. Of course, in the Middle Kingdom the Way is clear and the customs are good, and in barbarian countries the customs are inferior. Nevertheless, fundamentally, the meaning of the concepts is fixed on the basis of geography and not on the basis of the goodness or badness of the customs.

"According to the ancient records of Japan, in our country the emperors

married women of the same surname to take as their empresses, and everyone in the populace followed this practice. In addition, in some cases people even took their own sisters as their consorts, thereby violating the way of husband and wife taught by the sages. Also, in many cases a minister murdered his ruler and put his younger brother or son in his place. Those whose fathers or older brothers had been killed acceded to the throne of the Son of Heaven on the instructions of the minister who had done the killing, without feeling any shame in the matter and without any idea of taking revenge. When a ruler–vassal relationship exists and the vassal kills the father or older brother and then makes his son or younger brother the ruler, it is difficult to say that the country is superior to all other countries and the righteousness between lord and retainer is correct. Now it is said that Japan has the splendid tradition of one family's ruling the realm continuously and not transferring the right to rule to any other family. But for a brother or cousin of the legitimate heir to become the Son of Heaven by getting rid of the legitimate heir is even worse than for a person of another family to get rid of the legitimate heir. Even though the family line has not changed since Emperor Jinmu, the cases of murder, rebellion, and usurpation of the throne are too many to count. For instance, if a person kills his older brother and takes the throne from him, should we say there is nothing wrong with it because they belong to the same family? If I do not do the killing, but my vassal does and then puts me on the throne, it is shameful. Since this is the case, it seems that in Japan, on the contrary, the Way of the Five [Human] Relations was opened in later times, whereas in antiquity it was not clearly established. For scholars to read the ancient chronicles but not to discover this fact is disgraceful. . . ."

[*Yamazaki Ansai gakuha*, in *NST*, vol. 31, pp. 420–25; BS]

THE MITO SCHOOL

The interest of Ieyasu's grandson Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628–1700) in Chinese studies was aroused by the great histories that Chinese writers had produced, rather than by religion or philosophy. This may well be considered one of the distinctive influences of Chinese culture on Japan, in contrast to Indian influence, which was confined to religion, philosophy, and the arts. Mitsukuni inaugurated the project of compiling a national history in 1657 when he established a historiography bureau at his alternative residence at Komagome in Edo.[5] This

5. In 1672 Mitsukuni moved the historiography bureau to his main residence at Koishikawa in Edo, naming it the Shōkōkan on the basis of a passage from the preface to the *Zuo zhuan* (a classical commentary on the *Chunqiu*), meaning "illuminate the past in order to ponder [what should be done in] the future." After Mitsukuni's death, a branch of the bureau was established

was four years before he became the second daimyo of the Mito domain. Fortunately, Mitsukuni was able to persuade a Chinese political refugee of wide experience and considerable scholarship to participate as a general adviser in the new undertaking. Zhu Shunsui (1600–1682), a steadfast adherent of the Ming dynasty who had crossed the eastern seas many times in hopes of raising outside help for the Ming cause, was finally forced by the collapse of the Southern Ming Court to seek refuge in Nagasaki in 1659. In 1665, after repeated invitations from Mitsukuni to serve on this historical commission, Shunsui accepted and settled in Mito. To Japanese Confucians, Shunsui symbolized, above all else, unswerving loyalty to his dynasty. This was what Zhu Xi called the "highest duty in fulfillment of one's proper role (*taigi meibun*)" and what had served as a guiding principle in the composition of his *Outline and Details of the Comprehensive Mirror* (*Tongjian gangmu*). There is no doubt that the presence of this staunch loyalist made itself felt, for patriotism and loyalty to the throne became the paramount themes of Mitsukuni's history, as well as the cardinal doctrines of those who later carried on the tradition of the Mito school. Through them these ideas exerted a profound influence on the course of Japanese history during the restoration period. Still later, Zhu Shunsui's unceasing resistance to the Manchus served as an inspiration to Chinese students in Japan, who returned home to join in the struggle that brought the Qing dynasty to an end.

The *History of Great Japan* (*Dai Nihon shi*), as Mitsukuni's history came to be called, is most famous for its "Three Great Innovations" concerning the history of the imperial line in the Northern and Southern Courts period (1331–1392).[6] The question of legitimacy was, of course, intertwined with the definition of loyalty, since a minister's or vassal's loyalty could be properly directed only to a legitimate ruler or lord (and, conversely, a vassal loyal to a lord defined as illegitimate was normally relegated to the ranks of rebels and traitors). As in the Kimon school, this Neo-Confucian historiographical concern for elucidating the relationship between conduct and the moral norms implicit in status-defining titles—that is, in the clarification of *meibun*—derives from the study of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu*), which was traditionally believed to have been compiled and edited by Confucius. But the moral lessons of history that scholars found in the *Annals* were communicated simply through a bare account of events, not by the addition of evaluative comments by his-

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in Mito as well, and in 1829 the two branches of the academy were unified in Mito by Tokugawa Nariaki.

6. The Three Great Innovations were "revisionist" views, maintaining that the ancient empress Jingū was not an "emperor" in her own right but a regent for her son, Emperor Ōjin; that Emperor Tenmu had usurped the throne of Prince Ōtomo; and, as in the case cited here, that the Southern Court represented the legitimate imperial line.

torians. As Zhu Xi put it, "Confucius simply described things as they were, and right and wrong became apparent of themselves."[7]

Thus in Chinese histories the practice developed of keeping the historical accounts themselves free of overt expressions of opinion while striving for the greatest possible accuracy and objectivity, adding a separate section of appraisals (*ronsan*) in which the compiler offered his own evaluations of the personages and events recorded. The Hayashis had decided not to include such evaluative comments in their *General History of Our State* (*Honchō tsugan*) because of their fear of offending the shogun or powerful *bakufu* leaders by expressing their opinions on sensitive issues. Mitsukuni, however, felt that the purely chronological form of the Hayashis' account failed to make the moral lessons of history sufficiently clear. This led him to adopt the *kiden* (chronological annals plus biographies) style of Sima Qian's *Shiji* and the Chinese dynastic histories, since in the biographies it is possible to consider the implications of a person's actions that are merely recounted in the chronological accounts. A similar desire to clarify the lessons of history led Mitsukuni's successor to instruct Asaka Tanpaku (1656–1737), one of the Mito school's chief historians and a former director of the Shōkōkan, to write appraisals for both the chronological accounts and the biographies. When the first completed portion of the *Dai Nihon shi* was presented to the *bakufu* in 1720, in 250 fascicles, these appraisals were included.

After 1720, work on the *Dai Nihon shi* virtually ceased until 1786, when Tachihara Suiken (1724–1823) became director. Little work had yet been done on two other sections of the history, the essays and tables, as originally planned. The essays were to focus on the history of institutions, rather than on emperors and other individuals, and many Mito scholars, stimulated by the Sorai school's interest in concrete institutions (see chap. 23), were eager to move on to this new stage. Suiken, however, was unwilling to commit the resources for the project, which led to a major factional dispute. Suiken's opponents, led by Fujita Yūkoku (1774–1826) and Komiyama Fūken (1763–1840), also objected to the title *Dai Nihon shi*, on the grounds that Japan had never been called Dai Nihon. Further, they insisted that Tanpaku's appraisals be expurgated, arguing that in China, a country that had dynastic revolutions, it was all right to make retrospective judgments about the merits and demerits of the previous dynasty. In Japan, however, with its unbroken imperial line, even when a military leader took over the government, the status distinction between ruler and subject (lord and vassal) was never upset, so a subject was never in a position to judge past rulers freely. Reiterating Zhu Xi's statement just quoted, they argued that the views expressed in the appraisals were only the views of a private individual and

7. Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi yulei*, chap. 83.

not part of Mitsukuni's original intention in initiating the project. Moreover, they said, Tanpaku's appraisals were often harsh in their judgments, verbose, and filled with pedantic allusions to Chinese history. When Hayashi Jussai (1768–1841), then head of the *bakufu* college, was consulted, he agreed that the appraisals might be removed but suggested that they be preserved in a separate form so that Tanpaku's labors would not be lost to future generations. Most of the Mito historians agreed, but a decision was blocked by a few scholars who objected that without the appraisals, the reasons for the Three Great Innovations would become obscured. In 1809 a decision was finally reached, and after some modifications to the Three Great Innovations, twenty-six fascicles of a revised block-printed edition without the appraisals were presented to the *bakufu*. A year later, the same edition was presented to the imperial court. The appraisals were eventually published separately, and they had considerable influence on later loyalist historiography, most notably that of the independent, Kyoto-based historian Rai Sanyō (1780–1832).[8] The *Dai Nihon shi* project was not completed until 1906, a time when Japan's recent victory in the Russo-Japanese War had given rise to a flood of emperor-centered nationalist sentiment.

TOKUGAWA TSUNAEDA

PREFACE TO THE *HISTORY OF GREAT JAPAN* (*DAI NIHON SHI*)

The authenticity of the story related here is suspect because it is not mentioned in any earlier source. However, there is an important parallel between the story of Bo Yi and Shu Qi and Mitsukuni's personal situation, in the fact that Shu Qi, the younger of two brothers, had, like Mitsukuni, been chosen as heir over the older brother. Mitsukuni was quite concerned about this matter (a fact related to his concern with the question of legitimate succession in history), leading him to designate a son of his elder brother as his successor.

This preface was written in 1715 by Tsunaeda, then head of the Mito branch of the Tokugawa family, who recorded the aims of his predecessor Mitsukuni in launching the monumental history project. Two points are emphasized: loyalty to the legitimate imperial house (although not at this time suggesting active rule by the emperor) and the contribution of accurate historiography to the social order. Accuracy, however, did not preclude moral judgment, and objectivity did not mean value free.

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8. Sanyō's histories, particularly *Unofficial History of Japan* (*Nihon gaishi*), were widely read in the late Tokugawa period, greatly influencing the development of imperial loyalist thought. See also chap. 35.

My Sire [Mitsukuni] at the age of eighteen once read the biography of Bo Yi[9] and became a staunch admirer of his high character from that time on. Patting the volume containing it, he remarked with emotion, "Only by the existence of this book is the culture of ancient China made available to us, but for the writing of history how could posterity visualize the past?"

Thereupon he resolved to compile a history of Japan. Official chronicles were sought out as sources, and private records were hunted for far and wide. Famous religious centers were visited for rare documents, and eminent personages were approached for their personal memoirs. Thus scores of years have been spent in the work of compiling and editing in order to complete this history.

It was the Sun in person who laid the foundation of this nation more than two thousand years ago. Since then, divine descendants have occupied the throne in legitimate succession; never has an impostor or traitor dared to usurp it. The Sun and the Moon shone bright where the imperial regalia found their abode, splendid and wondrous. The ultimate reason for this can only be traced, I respectfully surmise, to the benevolence and charity of our imperial forebears, which served to keep the people's hearts united in solid support of the country. As for the doings and sayings of the wise ministers and able officials of early times, they may generally be ascertained from ancient records. In the Middle Ages, able sovereigns appeared who preserved the dynasty and maintained its prestige, pursuing policies as beneficial as those of early times. But because there is a dearth of sources for this period, the contributions of individual ministers and advisers are gradually fading into oblivion, to my profound regret. That is the reason why this history is planned.

Having lived close to my lord, [I], Tsunaeda, enjoyed the privilege of listening to his pregnant remark concerning history as a record of the facts. "Write it faithfully on the basis of the facts, and the moral implications will then make themselves manifest. From antiquity to the present time, the customs and manners of the people, whether refined or vulgar, as also the government and administration of successive eras, whether conducive to prosperity or ruin, should be put down in black and white as clearly as if they were things held in our own hands. Good deeds will serve to inspire men and bad deeds to restrain them, so that rebels and traitors may tremble in fear of history's judgment. The cause of education and the maintenance of social order will thus greatly benefit. In writing one must be true to fact, and the facts must be presented as exhaustively as possible. Arbitrary selection or willful alteration has no place in au-

9. Bo Yi was a legendary figure of classical China whose biography is in the *Records of the Historian* by Sima Qian. He and his brother were said to have starved themselves in the wilderness rather than live on the bounty of King Wu of Zhou, whom they considered a usurper of the Shang throne. Since King Wu was a great hero to Confucians, many of them condemned the account as fraudulent.

thentic history. So in this history, all pains have been taken to make it true to fact, even at the expense of literary excellence. An excess of detail is preferable to excessive brevity. As for its final form and arrangement. I shall leave that to some great writer to come." Before the history was completed, my lord died.

[*Dai Nihon shi*, vol. 1, pp. i–ix; RT]

ASAKA TANPAKU

APPRAISAL [APPENDED] TO THE CHRONOLOGY OF EMPEROR GO-DAIGO

In 1221 (Shōkyū 3), the cloistered emperor Go-Toba took advantage of the continuing political struggles in the Kamakura *bakufu* following Minamoto Yoritomo's death to raise troops against the *bakufu*, hoping to assert the authority of the throne. Go-Toba's forces were soundly defeated, and as punishment the *bakufu* banished three cloistered emperors to the Oki Islands, north of Izumo. In 1333 Emperor Go-Daigo escaped from banishment in Oki and began his "Kenmu Restoration" when the Kamakura general Ashikaga Takauji switched sides and seized Kyoto in his name. In the same year, Hōjō Takatoki, the fourteenth Hōjō regent, was driven to commit suicide with his whole family by an attack on Kamakura by Go-Daigo's general, Nitta Yoshisada, bringing an end to Hōjō power.

In Asaka Tanpaku's appraisals, we can see evidence of another principle of historiography corollary to the Confucian rectification of names: the belief that a person's actions will have good or bad repercussions on his descendants (and that the descendants are bound to fulfill the unfulfilled will of their ancestors), a principle important to trying to explain the history of the imperial line. We can also see how the clarification of the past was thought to reveal the course of the future.

The appraisal states: Duke Xiang of Qi carried out revenge against the state of Ji for a wrong it had committed against Qi nine generations earlier, and the *Spring and Autumn Annals* regards this as righteous. The emperor executed Hōjō Takatoki and his whole family in order to wipe out the shame of banishing the three emperors. This was more difficult to accomplish than to avenge Duke Xiang, and it is a meritorious deed of imperial restoration that should be held up as a model for all time. In it we see the expanding fulfillment of cloistered emperor Kameyama's wish.[10] Nevertheless, Ashikaga Takauji nourished a re-

10. Go-Daigo was the grandson of Kameyama, who was involved in a succession dispute with his older brother, Go-Fukakusa, beginning in 1272. The dispute was finally resolved by the shogunate, which arranged for the imperial succession to alternate between the two lines. It was Go-Daigo's desire to break this agreement and retain the succession within his own line that led in the first place to his split with the shogunate.

bellious intent, even relying on the prestige he would gain through betrayal. This was cunning and craftiness even worse than Takatoki's. Why is it, then, that even though Emperor Go-Toba still hoped to return from his tour of inspection in Oki, Go-Daigo's court was left stranded so long in the mountains of Yoshino?

Giving special favor to his ravishing consort, he [Go-Daigo] distributed reward and punishment arbitrarily; the minister[11] who disagreed with him left, and public order was thrown into confusion. Even though loyal ministers and righteous warriors died bloody deaths for his [Go-Daigo's] cause on the battlefield, in the end there was no one who could save him. What is particularly unfortunate is that even though his talent for overcoming disorder was sufficient to bring heroes to his side, his intelligence remained obscured and he was unable to distinguish between loyal followers and flatterers. Even though he hoped to restore the good government of the Engi era [901–923], was it possible for him to succeed?

Since ancient times, initiating the great enterprise [of ruling the empire] has always been difficult, but holding on to it has been even more difficult. With anxiousness and hard work it is possible to restore the fortunes of one's country; with a life of ease and comfort it is possible to forget one's responsibilities. How could the emperor have failed to reflect on this? Nevertheless, the emperor's intrepid spirit would not give up, even if broken a hundred times. His declaration refusing to hand over the regalia to the new king was correct in righteousness and rigorous in its choice of words. His decree dispatching a prince to pacify Mutsu kept the civil and military arts from splitting into two paths.[12] How great they are, these words! This is something that rulers have not been able to achieve since middle antiquity. The thought of restoration only grows more intense when it is frustrated; facing death he [Go-Daigo] took hold of his sword and braced himself for battle. Thus he was able to keep the regalia safe among deep mountain crags and lay down the foundation for a court that lasted for more than fifty years.[13] The place where the

11. Fujiwara no Fujifusa was an aristocratic confidant of Go-Daigo who became one of his chief strategists. In 1334, after Go-Daigo ignored his remonstrances over unfairness in distributing rewards and insufficient attention to government, Fujifusa left him and became a monk in the mountains.

12. Mutsu is a province in the far north of Honshū (modern Aomori Prefecture). Kitabatake Akiie, Chikafusa's son, became governor there in the name of one of Go-Daigo's sons, building up a strong military force that fought on the side of the Southern Court. As a member of a courtier family, he was a representative of civil power who also took on military functions, thus combining civil (*bun*) and military (*bu*), as they were believed to have been combined in ancient times.

13. The exiled Southern Court of Go-Daigo was preserved from 1334 to 1392, when a compromise was reached that led Emperor Go-Kameyama to surrender the regalia to Emperor Go-Komatsu of the Northern Court.

legitimate line dwells shines bright like the sun and the moon! Was this not a great accomplishment?

[*Dai Nihon shi sansō*, in *NST*, vol. 48, pp. 66–67; BS]

KAIBARA EKKEN: HUMAN NATURE AND THE STUDY OF NATURE

Among Japanese Neo-Confucians, perhaps no one combines the cosmological, moral, and rational tendencies of this movement more strikingly than Kaibara Ekken (1630–1714). More than anyone else, he brought Confucian ethics into the homes of ordinary Japanese in language they could understand. Other Neo-Confucians might have taken great pride in demonstrating their command of Chinese-style writing. But Ekken was content to set forth in comparatively simple Japanese the basic moral doctrines that should govern the everyday conduct of the people, their relations with others, their duties within their families and to their feudal lords, their duties in war and peace, and so forth. Although Ekken was addressing the samurai particularly, his writings appealed to all classes and ages, and he gained a reputation for having made Confucian moral teachings "household talk" among the people. To do this, he especially had to reach the women and children. In this way, Ekken did for Confucian ethics what the leaders of the Pure Land sect had done for Buddhism in the medieval period: bringing it down from the realm of doctrinal discussion and to the level of everyday speech.

Raised in a lower-ranking samurai family in Fukuoka, Ekken was educated in Kyoto at the expense of his own domain (*han*) and employed by his own lord (*daimyō*) as an official adviser. This assured him of a career as scholar and writer relatively free of financial concerns. His remarkable productivity was, no doubt, attributable to his moderate but secure income, as well as to the peaceful conditions established by the unification of the country under the Tokugawa shogunate.

For seven years, Ekken studied in Kyoto, still the intellectual capital of that time. There he met many of the most illustrious Confucian scholars in Japan, including Kinoshita Jun'an (1621–1698), Yamazaki Ansai (1618–1682), and Itō Jinsai (1627–1705). Ekken remained in contact with several of these scholars on successive trips to Kyoto but also occasionally traveled to the political capital, Edo (Tokyo), where he met one of the leading government advisers, the Confucian scholar Hayashi Gahō (1618–1680). In Kyushu he also frequently visited the port city of Nagasaki, where, despite the ban on imported Western books, he bought Chinese and sometimes even Western books. It was there that at age twenty-one he obtained a copy of *Reflections on Things at Hand* (*Jinsilu*), one of the Song Neo-Confucian scholar Zhu Xi's most important works. Some

seventeen years later, Ekken wrote the first Japanese commentary on this text (*Kinshiroku bikō*).

Ekken's breadth of concerns reflects his varied life experience, his opportunities for travel, and his contacts with scholars and other groups in the society. Especially impressive is Ekken's range and volume of writings and the unpretentiousness of his learning. From sophisticated Confucian scholarship to popular treatises on Confucian morality, and from botanical and agricultural studies to provincial topographies and genealogies, Ekken demonstrated a range of intellectual and ethical concerns rarely matched in the Tokugawa period. In this, he is said to have been aided in some of his work by his wife, Tōken.

In addition to his commentary on Zhu Xi's *Reflections on Things at Hand*, Ekken's most important philosophical work is the *Record of Great Doubts* (*Taigiroku*), which takes issue with some of Zhu Xi's metaphysics. Here Ekken argues for a philosophy of vitalistic naturalism as a basis for moral self-cultivation and for an active engagement with social and political affairs. He rejects any tendency in Neo-Confucian thought toward transcendentalism, quietism, or self-centered cultivation. Instead, he offers a dynamic philosophy of material force (J. *ki*, Ch. *qi*) as a unifying basis for the interaction of self, society, and nature. He observes that *ki* is the vital spirit present in all life, which should be cultivated both in one's self and in nature.

In describing his monism of *ki*, Ekken is especially indebted to the Ming Confucian Luo Qinshun (1465–1547), who raised questions about Zhu Xi's metaphysics in his important work *Knowledge Painfully Acquired* (*Kunzhiji*). This was first published in China in 1528 and made its way to Japan through Korea. In 1658 there appeared a Japanese woodblock edition, which Ekken—as well as Itō Jinsai, Andō Seian (1622–1701), and others—read shortly afterward. Earlier in Korea, Yi Yulgok (1536–1584) had expressed similar doubts. Thus these three thinkers in succession—Luo, Yi, and Ekken—became central figures in the development of a line of Neo-Confucian thought in East Asia centering on the monism of *ki*, a vitalistic naturalism, and practical or substantive learning (J. *jitsugaku*, Ch. *shixue*, K. *sirhak*).

One of Ekken's intentions was to identify the lingering traces of Buddhism and Daoism in Zhu's thought that he saw as tending toward emptiness and disengagement from worldly affairs. By doing so, he hoped to maintain the important connection between a dynamic cosmology and an active engagement with the world. In other words, Ekken did not want a person's metaphysics to negatively affect his ethical stance in the world.

Ekken did not allow the *Record of Great Doubts* to be published until after his death. Although it came to be highly valued by the revisionist Ogyū Sorai, Ekken did not wish to associate himself with Itō Jinsai's more radical critique and eventual abandonment of Zhu Xi. Even though he disagreed with Zhu Xi on some points, Ekken remained profoundly indebted to his synthesis of Song Neo-Confucianism.

In order to spread Confucian ideas among a wide variety of people, Ekken wrote moral treatises (*kunmono*) in a simplified Japanese style addressed to particular groups, including samurai, families, women, and children. This was part of his deep commitment to Confucian ideas and practices as the foundation for a new moral, sociopolitical order in Japan's emerging period of peace and stability. Ekken's writings and teachings also contributed significantly to Confucianism's rapprochement with Shinto. As naturalistic philosophies emphasizing virtues such as authenticity and sincerity, as well as the vitality of nature, Confucianism and Shinto were regarded by Ekken and other scholars as having shared values.

Ekken's equal concern for moral practicality and rational inquiry, combined in what Zhu Xi called "practical learning" (J. *jitsugaku*, Ch. *shixue*), encompassed fields such as medicine, botany, and agriculture, as well as astronomy, geography, and mathematics. One of Ekken's best-known works is *Plants of Japan* (*Yamato honzō*), a classification of plants, herbs, shells, fish, and birds in the style of a natural history, based on a long-established tradition in China of plant taxonomy. In addition, Ekken wrote *Precepts for Health Care* (*Yōjō kun*), a practical guide that is still popular, as well as an introduction to Miyazaki Yasusada's agricultural compendium (*Nōgyō zensho*), which was an important exposition of farming techniques (a concern of Zhu Xi's as well). Ekken's practical learning also encompassed local history and topography through his gazetteers of the Kuroda domain and his travel diaries.

ELEMENTARY LEARNING FOR CHILDREN (*SHŌGAKU-KUN*)

The opening passage of Kaibara Ekken's *Elementary Learning for Children* sets out with great simplicity his view of the interrelation of humankind and nature through the supreme Confucian virtue of humaneness (J. *jin*, Ch. *ren*). This is precisely what makes human beings truly human and unites Ekken with nature.

In the first paragraph, the compound for "nature" is rendered literally as "Heaven-and-earth" to show the correspondence to "father and mother." Ekken's views echo those in the Neo-Confucian philosopher Zhang Zai's "Western inscription."[14]

All human beings may be said to owe their birth to their parents, but a further inquiry into their origins reveals that human beings come into existence because of nature's law of life. Thus all humans in the world are children born of Heaven-and-earth, and Heaven-and-earth are the great parents of us all. The *Book of History* says, "Heaven-and-earth are the father and mother of all

14. See de Bary and Bloom, eds., *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, chap. 20.

things."[15] Our own parents are truly our parents, but Heaven-and-earth are the parents of all in the world. Moreover, even though we are bought up after birth through the care of our own parents and are sustained on the gracious bounty of the ruler, if we go to the root of the matter, we will find that we sustain ourselves using the things produced by nature for food, dress, housing, and implements. Thus not only do all humans at the outset come into being because of nature's law of life, but from birth until the end of life they also are kept in existence by the support of Heaven-and-earth. Humans surpass all other created things in their indebtedness to the limitless bounty of nature. We will see, therefore, that their duty is not only to do their best to serve their parents, which is a matter of course, but also to serve nature throughout their life in order to repay their immense debt. That is one thing all people should constantly keep in mind.

As humans constantly mindful of their obligation to serve nature in repayment of this great debt, they should not forget that just as they manifested filial piety in serving their own parents, so they should manifest to the full their humaneness toward nature. Humaneness means having a sense of sympathy within and bringing blessings to humans and things. For those who have been brought up on the blessings of nature, it is the way to serve nature. It is the basic aim of human life, which they should observe as long as they live, without letting up on it or forgetting it. Humaneness in the service of nature and filial piety are one in principle, a principle that must be known and observed by everyone who is human. There is no [goal] greater than this, none more important. All those living in their parents' home should devote themselves to filial service to their father and mother and, in serving their lord, should demonstrate single-minded loyalty to him. Likewise, living as we do in nature's embrace, we must serve nature and manifest to the full our humaneness. For a human being to be unaware of this important duty, to let the days and years pass idly by and let his life be wasted, is to make himself unworthy of being a human being. Indeed, how can anyone who would be a human being ignore this fact? It is in this that the way of humanity lies. Any way other than this cannot be the true Way.

[First,] to persist in the service of Heaven means that everyone who is human should be mindful that in the morning and evening one is in the presence of Heaven and not far removed from it; that one should fear and reverence the way of Heaven and not be unmindful of it. One should not, even in ignorance, oppose the way of Heaven or commit any outrage against it. Rather, following the way of Heaven, one should be humble and not arrogant toward others, control one's desires and not be indulgent of one's passions, cherish a profound love for all humankind born of nature's great love, and not abuse or mistreat

15. *Taishi*, vol. 1.

them. Nor should one waste, just to gratify personal desires, the five grains and other bounties that nature has provided for the sake of the people. Second, no living creatures, like birds, beasts, insects, and fish, should be killed wantonly. Not even grass and trees should be cut down out of season. All are objects of nature's love, having been created and nurtured by it. To cherish and keep them is therefore the way to serve nature in accordance with the great heart of Heaven-and-earth. Among human obligations there is, first, the duty to love their relatives, then to show sympathy for all other human beings, and finally not to mistreat birds and beasts or any other living things. That is the proper order for practicing humaneness in accordance with the great heart of Heaven-and-earth. Loving other people to the neglect of parents, or loving birds and beasts to the neglect of human beings, is to be inhumane.

[Kaibara Ekken, *Ekken zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 2–3; MET]

RECORD OF GREAT DOUBTS (*TAIGIROKU*)

In the opening passage, in relation to Zhu Xi's concept of the "succession to (or reconstitution of) the Way," Ekken establishes himself in a manner characteristic of Neo-Confucian discourse. He sees the Way not simply as a system of received authority, subject to some attenuation and loss, but also as subject to successive stages of clarification, revivification, and expansion. That is, even the Song masters can be amended by invoking their own insistence on the need for doubt and questioning and by appealing to the higher ideal and authority of the ancient sages as the ground for reinterpretation.

1. In regard to the Way of the sages, in antiquity although some persons received Heaven's charge and set forth the supreme norm [of human conduct and governance], the method of instruction for the Way had not yet been made known. From the time of Yao and Shun, people received the charge to "be discriminating and become one [with the mind of the Way], and hold fast to the Mean"[16] and also to "reverently spread the teachings of the Five Constant Virtues."[17] This was how teaching first became established. The three periods of the Xia, Shang, and Zhou followed, during which an educational method was gradually provided. But it had not yet been clearly articulated, so Confucius greatly clarified it. The Way of Confucius then found its true heir in Mencius, who clarified it.

From primordial antiquity, the material energies of Heaven-and-earth have

16. *Shujing*, "Dayumo," as recounted in Zhu Xi, preface to the *Mean*. See de Bary and Bloom, eds., *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, p. 732.

17. *Shujing*, "Shun dian"; Legge, trans., *The Shoo king*, p. 44.

gradually changed. Human civilization also has unfolded unceasingly along with these changes. Although even in the enlightened period of Yao and Shun and the three early dynasties, civilization was unable to flower fully, it was only natural that further developments should await later generations. Thus, for the many generations to come, civilization will gradually yet ceaselessly unfold with each age.

After Mencius, from the Han through the Tang periods, the transmission of this Way was nearly cut off. Indeed, it hung by a slender thread. However, in the Song dynasty several exemplary leaders appeared who resuscitated the Way and brought it again to people's attention. Particularly noteworthy were the commentaries and the explanations of the Confucian classics by the Cheng brothers and Zhu Xi. Since the time of Mencius there had been many remarkable scholars, but the Cheng brothers were the most illustrious among those who understood the Way and explicated the teachings. After them came Zhu Xi. Although neither the virtue nor the learning of the Chengs and Zhu quite compared with that attained by the early sages, later generations naturally respected and trusted them. Still, in their manner of expression various points may not have exactly agreed with Confucius and Mencius. Therefore, we must not regard the Song Confucians as equal to Confucius and Mencius. Scholars should have an open mind and be discerning with regard to the similarities and differences and the correctness and mistakes of their teachings. If one reflects deeply, selects carefully, and believes what should be believed and doubts what should be doubted, that will be all right.

A former scholar said, "To learn is to understand; it is to realize what we do not know [fully]."[18] Accordingly, the way of learning is one that resolves doubts and dispels misgivings. Thus, if we can doubt, our learning will be clarified; if we cannot doubt, our learning will not be clarified. In this spirit, Zhu Xi said, "If our doubt is great, our progress will be significant; if our doubt is small, our progress will be insignificant. If we do not have doubts, we will not progress."

But even in doubting there is a right and a wrong way. It is correct to doubt when, upon careful reflection, one cannot help doubting. To doubt indiscriminately, however, is to divert and diffuse one's efforts into unimportant things, which is incorrect. [pp. 12–13]

2. In their teachings, the Song Confucians regarded the nonfinite (*wuji*) as the basis of the Supreme Ultimate (*taiji*), and Nothingness as the root of the existent. They divided principle (*li*) and material force (*qi*) and regarded them as two things. They did not consider yin and yang as the Way but as physical vessels. They separated the nature of Heaven-and-earth from physical nature, viewing human nature and principle as beyond birth and death [i.e., unchanging]. These ideas are the residue of Buddhist and Daoist thinking and different

18. Ban Gu, *Bohutong lun*, pp. 302–3.

from the teachings of the early Confucian sages. Scholars must distinguish this precisely and clearly.

In discussing the method of preserving the mind-and-heart, the Song Confucians spoke of making tranquillity central, of quiet sitting, and of apprehending Heavenly principle through silent sitting to purify the mind-and-heart. They regarded quiet sitting to be the everyday method for preserving the mind. This all tends toward quietism rather than toward activity and tranquillity as practices adaptable to circumstances. In other words, this is the same as the Zen practice of meditation to achieve Nirvana. This is not something that true Confucians should approve of. Song Confucians also spoke of the original mind-and-heart as being empty, unobstructed, and transparent and regarded Heaven's principle as limitless and trackless. This is the residue of Buddhist and Daoist thinking, different from the teachings of Confucius and Mencius. Originally the Song Confucians claimed to speak for Confucius and Mencius, but some of their teachings did not originate with Confucius and Mencius but emerged from Buddhism and Daoism. Scholars must be selective. Song Confucians were most severe in their rejection of Buddhism and Daoism; why then should they resort to heterodox ways to interpret the teachings of Confucius and Mencius? The foregoing comments arise from doubts I have been unable to resolve. [pp. 13–14]

7. Since my youth I have read Zhu Xi's writings. I respected his Way, followed his model, and devoted myself to his teachings. At the same time, in regard to points I could not resolve, I tried to analyze them thoroughly, not simply following the fashion of the times, but still hoping for the day when some clarification might come. . . . [p. 16]

Surely the Way of the sages is shared by all. The sages hold fast to virtue so as to extend its influence widely. In their actions they are skillful. Worthies who rank below the sages, though intelligent, are no doubt less than perfect. Although the learning of the Song Confucians is genuine, it still does not match that of the sages. They [the Song Confucians] could not avoid having prejudicial personal viewpoints. Thus teachings frequently appear that are different from the teachings of Confucius and Mencius. These include the following, which are the reasons for my own doubts: (1) taking the nonfinite as the basis of the Supreme Ultimate; (2) separating principle and material force into two separate things; (3) differentiating the nature of Heaven-and-earth from the physical nature; (4) regarding yin and yang not as being the Way but as being concrete things in the world of form; (5) taking the reason for the alternation of yin and yang as the Way; (6) seeing material force and the physical body as subject to life and death; (7) taking principle and the nature as not subject to life and death (changeless); (8) regarding quiet sitting as a method of regular daily practice and taking "holding to tranquillity"[19] as a method for achieving

19. *Laozi* 40.

human perfection; (9) using the theories of Confucius and Mencius concerning nature to distinguish between the physical nature and the nature of heaven and earth. [pp. 31–32]

A holistic view is superior to minute analysis, for without being analytical the meaning is clear. If people who teach later generations follow the same line as Confucius and Mencius, they will be correct. If they set forth different teachings departing from Confucius and Mencius, that is unacceptable. The creation of things by Heaven-and-earth begins and gradually evolves. This is a natural principle in accordance with the evolution of material force.

Likewise, some things the ancients did not discuss await [a contribution from] later generations. Confucius spoke of things that Yao and Shun had not spoken of; Mencius spoke of things that Confucius had not spoken of; and what Confucius and Mencius omitted, the Song Confucians addressed. The discussions of the Song Confucians derived from the same source as Confucius and Mencius. By doing this, the Song Confucians helped spread the Way of the sages. Nevertheless, in doing so, some teachings appeared that diverged from the words of Confucius and Mencius.

The Song Confucians explain the Supreme Ultimate in terms of the nonfinite (*wuji*); they regard principle and material force as two; they see yin and yang as not being the Way but as concrete things; they think there is a nature of Heaven and earth and a psychophysical nature; they explain innate goodness in terms of "Human nature as principle." Such things do not conform to the original intent of Confucius and Mencius, and they do not follow the same teaching. If scholars examined this matter fairly, without favoring or adulating the various Song teachers, they would perceive the differences. [pp. 25–27]

In Neo-Confucian cultivation, a key question was which virtue, value, or practice should be the guiding principle. Shu, *for "master" or, in this case, "guiding principle of the mind," could, depending on the context, also function as a verb: "to give primacy, or first importance, to." Some Neo-Confucians like Yi T'oegye and Yamazaki Ansai who practiced "quiet sitting" stressed "reverence" or "reverent seriousness" as the controlling spiritual principle or as a primary orientation of the mind-and-heart that combined moral awareness with religious consciousness, as opposed to a transrational religiosity (Buddhism and Daoism). Ekken, however, saw this as taking "reverence" too seriously and making too much of it.*

72. *Reverence as the Master of the Mind.* Zhu Xi said, "Reverence should be the master of [i.e., should control] the mind-and-heart and be the basis for [dealing with] all matters."[20] He believed that "self-cultivation through rever-

20. Zhu Xi, *Daxue huowen* 5:4.

ence" was the ultimate teaching of the sages. Without reverence one could not preserve the mind-and-heart. Thus he advocated reverence as a way to hold the moral mind firmly. . . .

These days however, some people want to adulate Zhu Xi.[21] They say, "If we make reverence the master of the mind, what harm could this be to the Way?" I do not know if this is the way to express it, however. What, then, should we take as guide [master] of the human mind and heart? As Confucius says, "Take loyalty and trustworthiness as your guide [master]."[22] In the same vein the *Mean* says: "The attainment of sincerity is the Way of humankind."[23] How could we abandon the Way of humankind and not take this as our guiding principle but instead make mind control the master of the mind-and-heart and no longer give primacy to virtue and good deeds?

Reverence is all right as a method of self-cultivation. Since [the time of] Yao and Shun, it has been the method of the mind-and-heart (*shinpō*) transmitted by the sages and worthies down through the ages.[24] But because Confucius, Zengsi, Zisi, and Mencius did not speak of giving primacy to reverence, we should know that giving primacy to reverence is not what the ancient sages and worthies regarded as primary.

Loyalty [fidelity] means not being deceitful. This is substance. Trustworthiness means being true to one's word. This is function. If we join loyalty and trustworthiness, we will have sincerity [genuineness]. With sincerity, as the master of the mind-and-heart—this is the Way of humankind. . . .

If we overemphasize [are biased toward] humaneness, we are apt to be partial [in our sympathies]. If we overemphasize rightness, we are apt to be rigid. If we overemphasize ritual decorum, we are apt to be fussily polite. If we overemphasize wisdom, we are apt to be too critical. How much more so if we give primacy to the method of mind control [quiet sitting or abiding in reverence]? If a person makes reverence the master, rather than loyalty and trustworthiness, he will be inclined to be outwardly solemn, overly scrupulous about details, restrictive, fearful, and narrow-minded. The excesses are too numerous to count.

Those who stress "holding to reverence" today do not understand the Way of reverence. Frequently they become externally solemn but in fact have a false austerity and formality. On the surface they appear self-disciplined and respectful, but actually they are "outwardly strong and inwardly weak."[25] This is be-

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21. Probably a reference to Yamazaki Ansai and his school, following in the vein of Yi T'oegye in Korea.

22. *Analects* 1:8; 4:25; 12; 10.

23. *Mean* 20.

24. As formulated by Zhu Xi in preface to the *Mean*.

25. *Analects* 17:12.

cause they do not give primacy to loyalty and trustworthiness. Only those who give primacy to loyalty and trustworthiness will be without fault. Indeed, giving them primacy is the foundation of all virtue. [pp. 50–52]

[Kaibara Ekken, *Taigiroku*, in *NST*, vol. 34, pp. 12–14, 16, 25–27, 31–32, 50–52; MET, WTdB]

THE ŌYŌMEI (WANG YANGMING) SCHOOL IN JAPAN

Deep and lasting as the influence of Zhu Xi's teaching in Tokugawa Japan was, its dominance was far from complete. Indeed, from the vantage point of history, one of the most striking features of Japanese thought in this period was its diversity and vitality. Not only during the waning years of the shogunate when its control was loosened, but even during the heyday of its power, men of independent mind offered alternatives to the Neo-Confucian schools patronized by the Tokugawa. Among them an important strain of independent thought was represented by Nakae Tōju (1608–1648), regarded as the founder of the Wang Yangming school in Japan, and Kumazawa Banzan (1619–1691), an outstanding example of the personal and political virtues that had already made this school a center of reformist activity in China.

NAKAE TŌJU

Ōyōmei is the Japanese rendering of the name of Wang Yangming, the sixteenth-century Chinese thinker who became the outstanding spokesman for a new learning of the mind in the Ming period that emerged out of Zhu Xi's earlier "learning of the mind-and-heart" based, on the *Great Learning*, and Zhu's preface to and commentary on the *Mean*.[26] Two features of Yangming's teaching appealed especially to Nakae Tōju, who discovered it through the writing of Yangming's disciple Wang Ji[27] after he had spent many years studying the texts and rituals of the Zhu Xi school. One was Yangming's emphasis on people's intuition or moral sense rather than on the intellect and scholarly learning. Not all people have to be scholars, but all people should fulfill their moral nature. For Tōju, the moral sense innate in every man, the inner light that he later called the "Divine Light of Heaven," is man's only sure guide in life.

Tōju was also attracted to Yangming's teaching because of its emphasis on deeds rather than words. The dictates of one's conscience should be carried out

26. See de Bary and Bloom, eds., *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, chaps. 21, 22, 24.
27. See de Bary and Bloom, eds., *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, chap. 24.

directly in action. Yangming explained the unity of knowledge and action by showing that no matter how much a person read and talked about filial piety, he could not be said to have truly learned or understood it until he had put it into practice. Tōju himself gave an example of this. Although it may not have been his only reason for doing so, Tōju resigned a stipended post he held in the service of a feudal lord in Shikoku and returned to his native village in Ōmi Province, near Lake Biwa, in order, he said, to look after his aging mother. This meant taking up the life of a farmer in a region removed from the cultural life of the capital. Nevertheless, his fame spread abroad as a teacher whose precepts were taken to heart by country folk as well as by educated men. That he attracted such able men as Kumazawa Banzan to his school and influenced such great scholars as Arai Hakuseki and Dazai Shundai was due less to his intellectual brilliance than to his gentle-hearted and single-minded pursuit of this way of life, guided only by the Heavenly voice within him.

It is this same single-minded and selfless determination that we find among the followers of Ōyōmei learning in the late Tokugawa, such as the radical rebel Ōshio Chūsai and those zealous patriots, Sakuma Shōzan and Yoshida Shōin, whose example made such an impression on the leaders of the Meiji Restoration. Even in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the philosophy that Nakae Tōju espoused was popular (see chap. 34). Sugiura Jūgō, the famous Western-trained preceptor to Emperor Taishō (1912–1926), paid the following tribute to Tōju:

> He was the Sage of Ōmi Province; but is he not also the sage of Japan, the sage of the East, and indeed, the sage of the entire world? For a sage is a sage in the same way in the present as in the past, in the East and in the West. That he was already the sage of Ōmi Province is reason enough for calling him the sage of the entire world.[28]

CONTROL OF THE MIND IS TRUE LEARNING

According to Nakae Tōju, the fundamental truths of life were the same for all human beings, regardless of their station or role in life. Whereas other Confucians generally addressed scholars and officials, Tōju offered guidance to the humblest of men and even to women, whose freshness, as commonly viewed, he attributed to their confined life and lack of education.

There are many degrees of learning, but the learning that teaches control of the mind is the true learning. This true learning is of the utmost importance

28. Inoue, *Nihon yōmei gakuha no tetsugaku*, p. 18.

in this world and the chief concern of all mankind. The reason is that it aims at "manifesting luminous virtue,"[29] which is the greatest treasure of mankind. Gold, silver, and jewels are treasures, of course, but they are incapable of severing the root of all human suffering and providing lasting happiness. So they are not man's greatest treasure.

When luminous virtue shines, human suffering of all kinds will cease, and our hearts will be filled with lasting happiness. Everything will be as we want it. Wealth and rank, poverty and lowliness, prosperity and adversity, will have little effect on our enjoyment of life. Moreover, everyone will love and respect us, Heaven itself will help us and the gods will protect us, so that natural calamities and disasters will not harm us, thunder and earthquake will not injure us. Storms may destroy buildings but will leave us untouched. . . . Because of its boundless merits and blessings, this is called "the greatest treasure in the world." It is found in every human being, high or low, old or young, male or female, in the inexhaustible treasure-house of the mind-and-heart, but not knowing how to seek it, people in their pitiful ignorance go on searching for treasure in external things, only to sink into a sea of suffering. . . .

Some say that learning seems not to be the business of women. I say that there are many women busy composing poetry in both Chinese and Japanese, and although poetry would seem not to be the business of women, they are not criticized for it. Control of the mind is of the utmost importance to women, and it would be a great mistake to say that it is not their business. The outward manner and temper of women is rooted in the negative (yin) power, and so temperamentally women are apt to be sensitive, petty, narrow, and jaundiced. Because they live confined to their homes day in and day out, theirs is a very private life and their vision is quite limited. Consequently, compassion and honesty are rare indeed among women.

[Nakae Tojū, *Tōju sensei zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 573; RT]

DIALOGUE WITH AN OLD MAN (*OKINA MONDŌ*)

Dialogue with an Old Man (1646) is Tōju's most famous work. At a time when Confucianism was struggling to establish itself against the deep-rooted worldview of Buddhism, he presented Confucianism as a religion similar to Buddhism in its concern with the enlightenment of the mind, yet superior to it because it affirms the reality of human nature based on the primacy of the moral sentiments. Filial piety had always formed the core of Confucian arguments against Buddhism, but Tōju, drawing also on the language of Wang Ji, developed this concept into a religious worldview cen-

29. This phrase is from the opening lines of the *Great Learning*.

tering on filial piety, seen as the ultimate source of all ethical action and all existing things. Underlying this view is the key Neo-Confucian doctrine concerning the humaneness that forms one body with Heaven, earth, and all things. This Way is compatible with the traditional worship of the Japanese *kami* and is ideally fitted to serve as the Way of the samurai in his life of loyal service in an age of peace.

1. Within all human beings there is a spiritual treasure with which nothing else in the world can compare, known as the supreme virtue and the essential Way. The most important thing in life is to use this treasure, keeping it in our hearts and practicing it with our bodies. Above, this treasure communes with the Way of Heaven; below, its luminosity shines over the Four Seas. For this reason, if we use this treasure and extend it into the Five [Human] Relationships, all our relationships will be harmonious and without malice. If we use it when serving the gods, the gods will accept our offerings. If we use it when ruling the realm, the realm will be at peace. If we use it when ruling our domain, the domain will be in good order. If we use it when regulating our family and clan, our family and clan will be well regulated. If we put it into practice in our personal life, our personal life will be in order. If we preserve it within our hearts, our hearts will become luminous. If we extend it outward, it will spread beyond heaven and earth. If we draw it inward, it will hide in the innermost reaches of our heart. It is truly a marvelous and supreme spiritual treasure.

Accordingly, if this treasure is well protected, the Son of Heaven will long retain the wealth within the Four Seas; the feudal lords will long see their domains prosper; and the great officials will see their families flourish. Samurai will win a good name and rise in rank, and the common people will store up wealth and grain and enjoy the pleasures appropriate to their station. If this treasure is discarded, however, the human Way cannot be sustained. Neither the human Way nor the Way of Heaven-and-earth can be sustained. Even the spiritual transformation of the Great Vacuity that gives rise to the ten thousand things will not function. The Great Vacuity, the three powers [heaven, earth, and man], the infinity of space and time, the ancestors and gods, the production and transformation of things, [and] even life and death itself all are encompassed in this treasure. The pursuit of this treasure through study is called the learning of the Confucian scholar. . . .

Because the Five [Human] Relationships are external, people who do not know the highest principle think that the ways of the Five [Human] Relationships are external and not within one's own heart. This is a delusion. Heaven-and-earth and the ten thousand things all are produced and transformed within the divine radiance (*shinmei reikō*), so that if the filial virtue in my heart is clear, it will commune with the gods (*shinmei*) and shine over the Four Seas. Therefore, Heaven-and-earth and the ten thousand things all are present in my own original mind of filial virtue. Although deluded people think that the mind

is only inside the body, on the most fundamental level the body is born from within the mind [consciousness]. For that reason, in the eye of the enlightened person, there is no difference between inner and outer, dark and bright,[30] and being and nonbeing. To see the way of the Five [Human] Relationships as external and to abandon them—setting up a dualistic view of inner versus outer, dark versus bright, and being versus nonbeing—is only a delusion that seems to be enlightenment (*satori*). . . . Before all else, it is the child's filial action that is the fountainhead of all human actions and the matter of greatest urgency in human ethics. Therefore, in the sages' five teachings, the principle that was taught first is the need for affection between parent and child.

The following passage is noteworthy for its graphic and very intimate portrayal of the inception of life and the parents' (especially mother's) role in the process.

If one wishes to manifest filial virtue, one should first meditate on the blessings (*ontoku*) received from one's father and mother. During the ten months between conception and birth, the mother endures all the hardships of carrying a child, subjecting herself to countless risks of illness and death. At the same time, the father worries and prays that the fetus will be safe and the pregnancy will proceed smoothly, unable to forget the pains and troubles that his wife is enduring. When the time of birth arrives, the mother has to suffer the pain of having her body ripped open while the father is feverish with anxiety over the safety of both mother and child. If by good fortune both mother and child are all right, he will experience the joy of knowing that the family line will continue.

The mother lies exhausted on her bed drenched with sweat and lays her newborn child on a dry mat. If the child is sleeping, the mother will not even stretch her body for fear of waking it, and even if her body is dirty and stained with blood, she has no time to bathe or wash her hair. Her clothes and makeup are in total disarray, but she gives thought to nothing but whether her child is all right. If the child shows the slightest sign of any sickness, she will anxiously summon the doctor and pray to the gods, wishing only that she could take the place of her child in its pain. During the three years of nursing, the amount of trouble the parents have to endure is incalculable. When the child reaches school age, they will find a teacher to teach the child the Way, arrange for training in the arts, and hope that their child may surpass other children in talent and virtue. When the child reaches marriage age, they will seek an appropriate marriage partner and arrange for an occupation for their child, doing everything they can to ensure that he will prosper. If their child surpasses others in talent and virtue and is happy and prosperous, the parents will feel unlimited

30. The other world and this world.

joy. If their child falls behind others in talent and virtue and is not happy, they will have no rest from their grieving and worrying.

The father and mother accumulate so much of this love and affection, so much of this care and trouble, in raising and nurturing their child that not one hair on the child's body exists except by virtue of their care. The blessings received from one's parents are higher than the sky and deeper than the sea. Because they are so vast and unparalleled, uncultivated people whose original minds are obscured forget to try to repay them. On the contrary, they seem not even to consider whether such a debt of gratitude really exists. No being in human form—no matter how ignorant or unworthy he may be—should fail to think of repaying the debt of gratitude for every bowl of rice received. Because every person possesses an original mind of filial virtue, in every thought of repaying the blessings (*on*) he has received, a little bit of that original mind is revealed. If a person forgets to repay this debt despite that original mind, it is because the sunlight of luminous virtue has been obscured by the clouds of human desires and the heart is lost in darkness. By extending every thought of repaying even the tiniest blessing received, one will come to truly understand the depth of the blessings received from one's parents. In this way, the clouds of human desire will disperse, and the sunlight of luminous virtue will become bright. In this way we should strive to extend and develop without limit the original mind's spontaneous filial desire to repay the blessings received from our parents. . . .

81. The birth of human beings seems to be by the action of their parents, but it is not. Actually, they are brought into being by the transforming and nourishing powers of the gods of heaven and earth according to the mandate given them by the August Lord on High of the Great Vacuity. . . . Since the gods of heaven and earth are the parents of the ten thousand things, the August Lord on High of the Great Vacuity is the supreme ancestor of all mankind.[31] If we look from the point of view of this divine principle, the sages and wise men, Shakyamuni and Bodhidharma, the Confucian and the Buddhist, oneself and other people—all in the world who possess human form—all are equally the descendants of the August Lord on High and the gods of heaven and earth.

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31. The theistic terms used here come from Wang Ji (de Bary and Bloom, eds., *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, chap. 24), but the concept of the Great Vacuity derives from the teaching of Zhang Zai (1020–1077), in which the original pre-form state of the elemental force (J. *ki*, Ch. *qi*), which generates matter and life, is called the Great Vacuity (J. *taikyo*, Ch. *taixu*). When the universe first comes into being, "that which is dispersed, differentiated and capable of assuming form becomes material force (*ki*), and that which is pure, penetrating and not capable of assuming form becomes spirit." On the basis of the same distinction between material force and spirit, Tōju claimed that Buddhist *satori* consisted merely of an awakening to "the spiritual awareness (*reikaku*) of the primordial material force (*genki*)," while through the practice of filial piety the Confucian realizes "the spiritual awareness of the primordial spirit (*genshin*)" (question 83).

Moreover, since the Confucian way is nothing other than the divine way (*shintō*) of the August Lord on High and the gods of heaven and earth, if a person in human form slanders and disobeys the Way of Confucianism, it is equivalent to slandering the Way of his own ancestors and parents and disobeying their commands. As I explained earlier, to fear and revere the decrees of our great first ancestor, the August Lord on High, and our great parents, the gods of heaven and earth, and to accept and practice their divine way with deep reverence is called filial piety, the supreme virtue. . . .

98. Your erroneous conception of "renouncing desires" comes from the fact that you have again and again heard people refer to things like Shakyamuni's renouncing the royal throne or Layman Pang's throwing away his family assets as "desirelessness." In Confucianism, renouncing one's position or throwing away one's wealth without good reason is greatly disdained and is likened to the desirelessness of a lunatic. If a person regards having a position as desire and renouncing one's position as desirelessness or accumulating wealth as desire and throwing one's wealth away as desirelessness, it is because his luminous virtue is still obscured and deep in his heart he still is fond of position and covetous of wealth. He still has an ego (*watakushi*) that calculates personal advantage and is caught up with external things. Because the mind of the sage rests permanently in the highest virtue while dealing freely with all the affairs of life (*konpai tekiō*)[32] and has no ego that insists on things being one way or the other,[33] he has no remnant of feelings of preference for high over humble station, wealth over poverty, greatness over insignificance, purity over impurity, or beauty over ugliness. His eye is filled with one thing and one thing only: the divine principles of the Supreme Ultimate (*kōkyoku*). . . . Only when one disobeys the divine principles of the Heavenly Way (*tentō*)[34] is it desire and delusion; to accord with these principles[, however,] is desirelessness and non-

32. *Konpai tekiō* (Ch. *Genbei diying*) refers to *Yi jing*, hexagram 52 (*gen*), called the "double mountain" because it combines two *gen* trigrams associated with mountain. The virtue of mountain is stillness, firmness, and rootedness in the earth. The top and bottom halves of the hexagram are in perfect correspondence, back to back (*diying*). *Gen* is stopping; stopping is becoming settled; when one is settled, one is illuminated. The mind that has come to rest where it should (in perfect goodness) remains tranquil even when the body moves. This concept was greatly popularized by a member of the Wang Yangming school, Lin Zhaoen (1517–1598), whose teaching influenced Fujiwara Seika and Tōju.

33. Allusion to *Analects* 9:4: "Four things that Confucius eschewed: he had no preconceptions, no prejudices, no obduracy, no egotism."

34. In late medieval Japanese, Tentō also means the god of Heaven, so for Tōju it would seem to have the same meaning as Tentei and Kōjōtei. The compound for Tentō also occurs in the *Classic of Documents*, where it is described as having the power to reward good and punish evil in response to the people's pleas to the gods of heaven and earth. The compound for Kōjōtei also is derived from the *Documents*.

delusion. Desire or freedom from desire does not lie in the nature of one's actions but in the quality of the ground of the mind.

[Nakae Tojū, *Okina mondō*, in *NST*, vol. 29, pp. 222–23, 31–34, 123, 147–48; BS]

THE DIVINE LIGHT IN THE MIND

Tōju's doctrine of innate or intuitive knowledge has strong theistic overtones that reflect his tendency to reinterpret both Confucianism and Shinto in order to show their essential unity.

The superior man will be watchful over those innermost thoughts known to himself alone. In his everyday thinking, he will not think anything for which he would have to fear if brought into the presence of the Divine. In his everyday actions he will not perform an act of which he might be ashamed if it were known to others. By mistake an evil idea may arise, a wrong deed may present itself; but since there is in the mind a divine awareness illuminating it, what we call "enlightenment" will appear. Once this is realized, rectification will follow; the evil idea and wrong deed will disappear; and the mind will revert to its normal state of purity and divine enlightenment. The ordinary man, unfortunately, continues to think such evil thoughts and goes on doing what he knows is wrong. Nevertheless, since the divine light in the mind makes the man aware [that he is doing wrong], he tries to hide it. In everybody's mind there is this divine light, which is one with the Divinity of Heaven and before which one stands as if in a mirror, with nothing hidden either good or bad. [p. 81]

There is no distinction among men, be they sages or ordinary persons, so far as their Heaven-bestowed nature is concerned. They all are endowed with the divine light that tells good from bad. All men hate injustice and are ashamed of evil because they are born with this innate knowledge.[35] It is only from the self-watchfulness of the one and the self-deceit of the other that the vast distinction arises between the superior man and the inferior man. If, however, the inferior man realizes where he has erred and becomes watchful over himself, correcting his mistakes and turning to the good, he may then become a superior man. [pp. 84–85]

[Inoue, *Nihon yōmei gakuha no tetsugaku*, pp. 81, 84–85; RT]

THE SUPREME LORD AND GOD OF LIFE

Following Wang Ji in the school of Wang Yangming, Tōju identified the supreme value with the idea of a personal god, which readily harmonized with Shinto belief.

35. *Ryōchi* is the "good-knowing" or intuitive moral nature of Mencius and Wang Yangming.

The Supreme Lord Above is nonfinite (*mukyoku*) and yet the Supreme Ultimate (*taikyoku*). He is absolute sincerity and absolute spirit. All forms of ether (*ki*) are his form; infinite principle is his mind. He is greater than all else and yet there is nothing smaller. That principle and that ether are self-sustaining and unceasing. Through their union he produces lives throughout all time, without beginning or end. He is the father and mother of all things. Through the division of his form he gives form to all things; through the division of his mind he gives all things their nature. When form is divided, differences result; when the mind is divided, the minds remain the same. [p. 128]

The Great God of Life[36] is called the Supreme Lord Above in the *Classic of Documents*. The Supreme Lord Above is the spirit of the god of life. He is the ruler and parent of all things in the universe; not a single particle of the six directions of the universe or a single second of all time is hidden from the light of his omniscience. But all particular things in the universe are made up of just one virtue and do not combine all the virtues of the Supreme Being. The sun and the moon shine only at certain periods and cannot match the everlasting splendor of the Supreme Lord. The sun and moon are dimmed at times, yet he shines on; heaven and earth may come to an end, yet his life is infinite. Search back, and you cannot tell where he has arisen; peer forward and you cannot tell where he reaches to. Stop him, and his organs will continue to operate. Start him, and he will leave no trace of his activity. There is nothing he does not know, nothing he cannot do. His body fills all space. Without noise, without scent, his mysterious activity pervades all space. Most miraculous, most spiritual, reaching to where there is no circumference, penetrating to where there is no center, he alone is worthy of devotion and without peer. His virtues are exquisite and unfathomable. Nameless himself, he has been called by the sages the "Supreme Heavenly God of Life," in order to let men know that he is the source of all creation so that they may pay homage to him. [pp. 137–38]

34. A person who is born with a stout spirit and a natural talent for military prowess can master the military arts and achieve merit in battle even without training in the Learning of the Mind. But because he will be lacking virtue, he will become intoxicated with his physical prowess and find killing people enjoyable. He will thus act unrighteously and unjustly, causing much suffering and lamentation among the populace. In the end he will inevitably meet with Heaven's punishment, at the cost of his own life and the destruction of his domain. . . . One has only to look at the history books of both China and Japan. The original purpose of the military arts is to ensure the peace and tranquillity of the state, preserve the good fortune of the warrior class, and bring the blessings of peace to the populace. If instead they become the cause of the misery

36. A Chinese deity, Daiotsu-Sonshin was incorporated into medieval Shinto as Ōkinoto no Ō-mikoto.

of the populace, the loss of warriors' lives, and the destruction of the state, then the mastery of military arts and the achievement of military merit are nothing but useless vanity. What is more, if a person knows only of intrigues, trickery, and violence and nothing of the virtues of humaneness and rightness, then even if he has the prowess of a Han Xin or Xiang Yu,[37] he will not be able to hold his shield against an enemy who has self-control. . . . If one really wants to study military arts, why not study the military arts of the man of humaneness against which no man under heaven can stand up? [p. 65]

In a battle situation or at a time when martial prowess is required, those involved must act valiantly. However, this is useless in ordinary times of peace. In times of peace, to devote oneself constantly to acts of valor and bravery on the grounds that one is preparing oneself for battle is an ignorant pursuit and will not be of any use in times of emergency. . . . Those who are fond of proving their fearlessness by unprovoked acts of violence will inevitably end up treating other people with contempt and come to love conflict for its own sake, getting into fights (*kenka*) that end in nothing more than a meaningless death. They will cause anxiety to their parents and steal the fiefs of their lords. Even if they manage to perform "heroic deeds" in the defense of their honor, they are no different from a dog that has a strong bite. A samurai who has a heart should be ashamed of such things. [p. 115]

[Nakae Tojū, *Tōju sensei zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 128, 137–38; *Nakae Tōju*, in *NST*, vol. 29, pp. 65, 115; RT]

KUMAZAWA BANZAN: CONFUCIAN PRACTICE IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY JAPAN

Nakae Tōju's achievement was to lay the basis for a Japanese Confucian practice that recognized the individual's subjectivity. He taught that human beings were endowed with a faculty akin to conscience, enabling them to determine their own conduct. But Tōju achieved this only after withdrawing from feudal society. Moreover, his later thought was colored by a mystical concern with salvation at the cost of the commitment to social action that is one aspect of the Confucian vision. It thus was left to Tōju's best-known disciple, Kumazawa Banzan (1619–1691), to test his ideas more actively in contemporary feudal society.

Banzan was born in Kyoto, the son of a masterless samurai (*rōnin*). At the age of sixteen, he entered the service of Ikeda Mitsumasa (1609–1682), the Confucian-minded daimyo of the Okayama domain, celebrated as one of the "enlightened

37. Han Xin was a famous general who served Liu Bang, the first emperor of the Han. Xiang Yu was the great Chu general who fought Liu Bang for the empire.

rulers" of his generation. But Banzan left Mitsumasa's service four years later and, like Tōju, retired to the countryside. Beginning in the autumn of 1641, he studied for some six months under the direct supervision of Tōju himself. Reentering Mitsumasa's service in 1645, Banzan attempted—secretly at first—to practice the Confucianism that he had learned under Tōju. His efforts came to Mitsumasa's attention, and he was rapidly promoted to a position of influence in domain affairs. He had two tasks: to exemplify the samurai profession and to disseminate Confucian teaching, particularly Tōju's doctrines, known as Shingaku (Learning of the Mind-and-Heart), in the Okayama domain. For a brief period during the reconstruction following a destructive flood in 1654, Banzan seems to have influenced domain policies in a Confucian direction. The rapid promotion of an outsider, however, aroused hostility from Mitsumasa's hereditary vassals. Furthermore, Banzan's deviant form of the Learning of the Mind-and-Heart was perceived as subversive by a high *bakufu* authority. Banzan himself became ill, and in 1657 he resigned.

His mission to Confucianize the Okayama domain having failed, Banzan now moved to Kyoto, where he began studying Japanese culture, including the court musical tradition and *The Tale of Genji*. He also taught a circle of court nobles and others, but in 1667 he was expelled from the capital. Thereafter, an outsider, he lived a life of exile or semiexile, devoting his time to writing and teaching.

Like Tōju, Banzan was concerned with the problems of Confucian practice in Japanese society. His reflex was evangelical: he wished to see his country adopt Confucian morality and to re-create the arcadian society believed by Confucians to have existed in early antiquity. Like Tōju, Banzan was a relativist. But his approach was broader, more empirical, and, above all, more historical than Tōju's. Banzan explored both the problems of Confucian practice in Japan and the wider problem of political control against the background of cyclical historical evolution, as well as the particularities of the Japanese environment. His positive valuation of Japanese cultural identity did not, however, lead him to chauvinism. At heart, Banzan remained a universalist.

THE WAY AND METHODS

Kumazawa Banzan adopted Nakae Tōju's basic dualistic distinction between the absolute, transcendent, noumenal aspect of morality and its relative, objective manifestations in the phenomena of time and place. He phrased this dichotomy from the point of view of Confucian practice in terms of a transcendent "Way" and its objective manifestations, or "methods," that were relative to and prescriptive for only their particular time and place.

The Way (*michi*) and methods (*hō*) are separate. There is much misunderstanding of this and [much] identification of methods with the Way. Even where the

sages of China are concerned, methods vary with successive ages. Still more, when transferred to Japan, many of them are impracticable. The Way consists of the Three Bonds and the Five Constant Virtues.[38] It is correlated with Heaven, earth, and humankind and with the five elements. Even when there was not yet a name for virtue or any of the sages' teachings, this Way was already practiced. Before humankind came into being, it was practiced in Heaven and earth; and before Heaven and earth were parted, it was practiced in the Supreme Void. Even if mankind were exterminated and Heaven and earth returned to nothing, it [the Way] would never perish. Still less [likely it would do so] in [these] latter ages.

As for methods, the sages systematized the good of things in response to time, place, and rank. For this reason methods are correlated with the Way in any one age. But when that age has passed and the human estate has changed, they cannot be employed, even by the sages. When what is incongruent is used, harm is actually done to the Way. What modern scholars practice as the Way is mostly methods. Since they are not congruent with the perfect good of time, place, and rank, it is not the Way.

[Kumazawa Banzan, *Zōtei Banzan zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 63–64; IJM]

THE CATEGORIES OF MORALITY

Banzan's doctrine of the relativity of institutions to historical, geographical, and social environments is reflected in his analysis of the categories of moral and immoral action. He created a precisely articulated hierarchy of values, at the top of which stood the transcendent and absolute Way that defined humanity itself. Actions of less moment were to be conditioned by a knowledge of history and human nature and an underlying motivation of humaneness.

QUESTION: What about the claim that "the evil of a man with a heart of compassion is not evil but is [simply] wrong"?

ANSWER: In some cases the use of language by people in the world fails to differentiate between right and wrong (*zehi*), good and evil (*zen'aku*), and righteousness and unrighteousness (*gifugi*). But right and wrong are light. Good and evil are more important than right and wrong. Righteousness and unrighteousness are very important. They are matters that occur only once or twice in a person's life.

Right and wrong are daily matters; when one commands knowledge, one is mostly right; when one is ignorant, one is mostly wrong.

38. The Three Bonds are those between ruler and minister, parent and child, and husband and wife. For Banzan, the Five Constant Virtues are the values of "humaneness, righteousness, ritual decorum, wisdom, and trustworthiness."

In some cases a person's actions are right because he is informed about the matter of concern and wrong because he is uninformed. For example, with the decrees of a domain or realm, even though the mind of those above may issue them believing that they are right, if those above are uninformed, they are [in fact] wrong. But when a person knows the differences in matters between past and present, superior and inferior, there is never any incongruity. . . . Good and evil are matters that everyone knows and are self-evident. Therefore, a person who does good is a good man, and a person who does evil is an evil man. But right and wrong have no fixed form. There are things that in one country are right but in another are wrong. This reflects differences in place. Some matters are right for this man but wrong for that one; this is a difference of rank. Some matters were right in the past but are wrong in the present. This is difference in time. . . . However, [the rider that] "the wrong of a person who lacks compassion is not wrong but evil" is made because to lack compassion is to be inhumane. There is nothing greater among the evils of men than inhumanity. Nothing inflicts greater damage on the creation and transformation of the spirits than inhumanity. . . .

The Five Human Relationships[39] are the universal Way [of] all-under-Heaven, in which great right (righteousness) exists. Being wrong about something is a minor matter. Therefore, even though the superior man knows something to be wrong, he does not damage the Great Way on behalf of a small thing. This is justification of the claim that the wrongdoing of a man of virtue is not wrong but humaneness. Therefore, in matters of right and wrong, the superior man follows common [practice]. In regard to good and evil, he does good on his own and refrains from evil on his own. He does not make charges against others, nor does he affront their eyes and ears. But righteousness and unrighteousness are great. Even though he turns his back on vulgar practice and affronts others, he does not fear. This is where the superior man stands alone.

[Kumazawa Banzan, *Zōtei Banzan zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 142–50; IJM]

THE TRANSMISSION OF THE WAY TO JAPAN IN EARLY ANTIQUITY

Like many Japanese Confucians, Banzan took a Sinocentric view of the world that acknowledged China's worldwide moral and cultural leadership. He believed also that

39. The Five Human Relationships are those between parent and child, ruler and minister, husband and wife, elder and younger brother, and friends.

the Japanese imperial house had been founded by a Chinese sage, Tai Bo, uncle of King Wen, the founder of the Zhou dynasty (1122–206 B.C.E.) in China. Tai Bo performed much the same civilizing role in Japan that the ancient culture heroes of China had performed in that country. He also introduced the universal teachings of Confucian morality. Therefore, although its culture might have its own idiom, Japan was still part of a universal moral and cultural order. At the same time, the Tai Bo legend provided Banzan with a rational and euhemerist account of the origins of the Japanese imperial heritage.

At this time [early Japanese antiquity], men were like animals. Since they were ignorant of agriculture, they lacked the five cereals; since they were ignorant of cooking, they ate the fruits of plants and trees and consumed raw meat. Since they were without women's work, they used layers of leaves and made furs and skins their apparel. Parents and children possessed the mind of mutual love but were ignorant of respect through ritual decorum.

When Tai Bo crossed [over to] Japan, he established the Way of human relationships, and through love, he taught respect. Transferring the attitude of respect toward parents, he determined the categories of superior and inferior; he instituted ritual decorum; and by acknowledging the sources of things, he informed [people] where they had come from. Finally, there were the rituals of venerating ancestors and Heaven-and-earth. [Tai Bo] systematized the rituals of marriage through go-betweens and emphasized the beginnings of human relationships. He established teachings, using as a basis the nature that men receive from Heaven, and he illuminated the principles endowed in all phenomena.

He taught men how, by cutting wood, to make spades, [and] by bending wood, to make mattocks. Later, [under his instruction,] they forged iron and used wood for handles. Placing yokes on oxen, they made them drag heavy weights; they attached bits, saddles, and bridles to horses and rode them to distant places. Making boats, they transported things across unfordable [waters]; and finally, taking fine seeds, they performed the tasks of agriculture. Observing the seasons of Heaven and the advantages of earth, they created wet and dry fields; they scattered the five cereals; and in spring and summer they planted and mowed; and in autumn and winter they harvested and stored. . . .

Birds, beasts, serpents, and scorpions approached mankind and inflicted harm. Therefore, he [Tai Bo] had them, by making bows and arrows to repel them, perform the tasks of the hunter. By making nets [and] catching birds and fish, he helped them perform the tasks of fishermen. Had it not been so, birds and beasts would mingle with men, and they would be unable to cultivate. Finally, he made them ward off the wind and rain by making houses. He taught women's work to the womenfolk and, by making clothes, created the ritual manifestations of the Way of man. Using the five colors, he divided the honorable from the base; installing the hundred offices, he brought peace to the

realm. His compassion and beneficence to the realm and to the populace was like Heaven-and-earth giving birth to and nurturing the myriad creatures, with no exception. His knowledge was spiritually intelligent, like a mirror reflecting forms. The people of this land submitted to his virtue like [children] to their father and mother, and in awe of his god-like martial spirit, they made him their lord. This is the phenomenon of the Great Shun becoming a commoner, and within a year at the place of his residence, the people gathered as in a metropolis.[40] How much more in Japan was [Tai Bo] an unprecedented divine sage, and so the people maintained that he was not of human heritage. Pointing to Heaven, they called him a god.

[Kumazawa Banzan, *Zōtei Banzan zenshū*, vol. 6, app., pp. 3–4; IJM]

*Banzan believed that Tai Bo's transforming influence had persisted throughout the long period of Japanese history that he called the "royal age" (*ōdai*), up until the reign of Go-Shirakawa and the beginning of the transition to warrior rule in the twelfth century. He found that the latter stages of this period had been recorded in a great work of literature,* The Tale of Genji. *He valued this fictional romance very highly, even comparing it with the Chinese Confucian canonical* Classic of Odes. *This enthusiasm, unusual for a prominent Confucian, inspired Banzan to write a commentary on it. In his introduction to this work, he explained its value together with the historical mission of the imperial court to preserve Japan's ancient moral, cultural, and aesthetic heritage.*

Now the duration of the royal Way of Japan is long because it has not lost rites, music and letters and has not fallen into vulgar practices. Things that are excessively hard and strong do not last long; those that are generous and soft are long enduring. Things, like teeth, that are hard but drop out quickly or, like the tongue, that are soft but last to the end embody the principle of all things. The warrior houses take the power of the realm for a while through the awesomeness of their invincible strength, but like teeth falling out, they do not last long. The kings rest in softness and compliance but do not lose their rank. But when they are soft and have no virtue, the respect of others [toward them] is weak. When [the kings] are not the object of the shame and respect of others, even though they exist, it is as though they do not. In the end, they verge on extinction. What can perpetuate what has become extinct and afford the sight of the rituals, music, and letters of olden times is preserved in this novel [*The Tale of Genji*] alone. Therefore, the first thing to which one should pay attention in this novel is the fine style of remote ages. Rituals were correct and peaceable; their style of music [was] harmonious and elegant; [and] men and women alike were courtly. They constantly played court music, and their attitude was not degraded.

40. *Mencius* 5A:5 (vii).

Next, the description of human feelings in the book is detailed. When a person is ignorant of human feelings, he frequently loses the harmony of the human relationships. When they are violated, the state lacks regulation, and the home is not ordered. For this reason, the *Maoshi* (*Classic of Odes*) preserves the debauched airs in order to inculcate familiarity with human feelings, both good and evil. Were the state to consist wholly of superior men, administration and punishments would not have a function. Since the Way of administration exists simply in order to teach ordinary people, it is impossible unless one knows human feeling and historical change. In these circumstances, this novel also contains exhaustive accounts of human feelings in various contexts and good descriptions of the way in which times continue to change. For the poems and the prose, [Murasaki Shikibu] described the temperaments of the characters as though she were drawing their portraits. This again is the great marvel of this novel's grasp of human feelings.

[Kumazawa Banzan, *Zōtei Banzan zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 420–21; IJM])

BUDDHISM

Banzan attributed to a number of causes the demise of the royal age, the transition to warrior rule, and the instability that he believed to have characterized Japanese history since that time. Most salient were the ascendancy of Buddhism and the related problem of extravagance. He passionately believed that Buddhism had an almost entirely destructive influence in Japan. Like other Confucians of the period, he directed a sustained and vehement polemic against this rival persuasion, of whose numerical superiority and deep roots he must have been acutely aware. Banzan's hostility was directed both against the fundamental metaphysical assumptions of Buddhism and its belief in transmigration and against what he perceived as the moral degeneracy of particular sects. He especially delighted in quoting Buddhists' own self-recrimination.

Some time ago, a friend of mine questioned a Zen believer, asking him his opinion of the present-day Pure Land, Nichiren, and Honganji sects.

The Zen believer replied: "They are the lees and chaff of Shakyamuni, shards and pebbles craving for Buddhahood."

"How about Shingon?"

"It incorporates Daoism and Shinto and possesses only the form of Buddhism. They are the stupid ones among the masters of yin and yang."

"How about Tendai?"

"It is as though they cling to the theories of the sutras and become fixated with the footprints of the hare in the snow. They also bear a resemblance to Shingon. The rest are not worth speaking of."

"What about Zen?"

"Our sect is referred to as the sect of the Buddha's heart and regards enlightenment as the ultimate."

My friend said, "You are clear about other [sects]. Why should you be in the dark about yourselves? Tendai, Shingon, and Zen all may have been good in the past, but now they are 'pillagers of the people.'[41] Although the [miscreant rulers] Jie and Zhou were the descendants of [the paragon emperors] Yu and Tang, their evil had to be smitten. Lees, chaff, shards, and pebbles do no harm. But the harms inflicted on the realm by the Buddhists of the present are very great. The attitude and conduct of the rice wholesalers are to crave for a typhoon when the rice is in bud and flowering. In summer, they rejoice in expectation of a drought. Their purposes are to inflict pain and suffering on the people of the realm, to cause them to starve to death and so to get the profit for themselves. People like these are the disciples of the Ikkō and Nichiren sects, and when they go to a temple, they are told, with no attempt made to enliven their evil hearts that through the efficacy of the *nenbutsu* [invocation of the Amida Buddha], still with their evil desires, they will attain Buddhahood. When they go to a Nichiren temple, [they are told that] 'even those who have slandered the Lotus [Sutra] will actually attain Buddhahood.' The reason is that even slandering [implies] having heard the name of the sutra. Still more, they are told that even if only with one voice, when they invoke *Namu myōhō rengekyō* [Hail to the Lotus Sutra of the Marvelous Law], even an evil man who has killed lord or parent will, without doubt, achieve Buddhahood. There can be no greater demons in the world than they. To call them lees and chaff is flattery.

"The Zen sect has an even worse aspect than this. One understands that in the Zen of former days, unless one had the incipient springs of enlightenment, [monks] would have nothing to do with one. But the Zen of the present deludes even those who were not deluded. Provided only that one has obtained enlightenment, they say, it does not matter what one does. When the minds of eminent men of great estate have thus become confused [by Zen], they become overwhelmed by debauchery, take extravagance to the limit, impoverish the peasantry, cause suffering to the samurai, forget their civil and military occupations, and possess none of the attitudes and actions [appropriate to] rulers of men. This is the symbol of the destruction of the state. But without this kind of teaching, there would not be this many followers of Zen, nor would they achieve ascendancy. Offer your defense."

When [my friend] spoke thus, the Zen believer blushed and was speechless.

[Kumazawa Banzan, *Zōtei Banzan zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 76; IJM]

DEFORESTATION

Another, related cause of instability was extravagance. For Banzan, this was both a moral vice, in the form of pride, and an economic failing, in the form of excessive consumption. The excessive consumption of timber, in particular, was dangerous, for

41. *Mencius* 6B:9 (i).

it resulted in deforestation, the silting of rivers, and flooding. Banzan believed that the condition of a country's forests determined its political fortunes, and he went so far as to base a theory of history on this belief.

From the three generations of the houses of [Minamoto] to the beginning of the Hōjō house, the aftermath of an age of disorder persisted, and the commodities of the realm were in insufficient supply. Thus, spontaneously, there was frugality, and halls and temples were not erected at will. During this period, the mountains grew luxuriant and the rivers became deep. Hōjō no Yasutoki and Tokiyori liked frugality and exercised nonextravagant control, so that [the Hōjō house] continued for nine generations. But with the long period of civil order, the temple buildings became more numerous year by year, and the spirit vapors of mountains and rivers again became weak. Since the world could not persist on this basis, the Taiheiki disturbance resulted. For a long time, the world was disunited. During this period, the rivers, marshes, and mountain forests again became deep. The house of Ashikaga continued for several generations; the extravagance of the world grew; temple buildings were everywhere constructed; and the strength of the mountains and rivers was again exhausted. When you see the splendid fancier's implements that have survived until the present as "articles from the age of Lord Higashiyama" [Ashikaga Yoshimasa], the extravagance of that age is obvious. After that, a major disorder followed; there was competition for possession of the realm; the government became only a name; and the disorder of the realm lasted a long time, until [Oda] Nobunaga. During this time, the hills grew luxuriant, as they originally had been, and the rivers again grew deep. During the fourteen generations of the descendants of [Ashikaga] Takauji, for 240 years, Nobunaga's exercise [reign] was [mere] twelve or thirteen years. Since Nobunaga, the unification of the world proceeded rapidly, and the world has become tranquil. The campaigns of Sekigahara and Osaka were sedentary affairs and were concluded with just one battle each. Hence they did not constitute an age of disorder. In fact, from [the time of] Lord [Toyotomi] Hideyoshi continuing to the present, the extravagance of the realm has grown day by day and month by month.

[Kumazawa Banzan, *Zōtei Banzan zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 236; IJM]

THE RELEVANCE OF RITUAL TO MODERN TIMES

Extravagance or excessive consumption separated contemporary Japan from the ancient Chinese past and made the rituals of the Confucian canon impracticable. What was needed was moral suasion, example, and education rather than reliance on formal institutions.

The abundance of utensils and objects and the extravagance of men must now have surpassed the richness of the height of prosperity of the Zhou dynasty. But

the unfamiliarity of the people's minds with rituals and ceremonies is like [that in] the time of Fu Xi. Although the people of Fu Xi were unfamiliar with rituals and ceremonies, they were frugal, pure, and bounteous; their emotions and desires were few; and they had no [sense of] profit and loss. The strength of the emotions and desires of the people of today and the depth of their [concern with] profit and loss were not acquired in mere decades or centuries. Their roots are hard and their dyes are deep. If we were suddenly to suppress the human feelings of worldly custom and abruptly block [its concern with] profit and loss, the Way [still] would not be practiced.

Teaching the people of today is like leading an infant. With children, one nourishes them and awaits the onset of their spirit wisdom (*shinchi*). With the world, one should put education first and await the desire for rites and ceremonies. When [a sense of] righteousness begins to show in a child of three, four, or five, it has an attitude of bashfulness. When it first acquires knowledge, it has the ability to distinguish between the beautiful and the ugly. But it cannot yet distinguish between righteousness and unrighteousness, nor has it acquired knowledge of good and evil or right and wrong. When it [a child] reaches the age of six to eight years, his attitude of declining and yielding (*jijō*) is born. Therefore, the sage waited until they reached the age of eight and only then admitted children to school. Instead of coercion, there was compliance with their endowment and age.

For the last five hundred or six hundred years, worldly customs have been like the age of a child of five or six. Through school ordinances, one should first teach the knowledge that discriminates between right and wrong and good and evil and stimulate the righteousness that knows shame. After the passage of several decades and centuries, one should await the superior man of the future and have him inaugurate rites and ceremonies.

[Kumazawa Banzan, *Zōtei Banzan zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 122–23; IJM]

THE ECONOMY

Banzan's interest in the contemporary world extended to economic problems. He provided one of the earliest analyses of the operations of the system of exchanging rice for money, showing how it worked to the disadvantage of the samurai estate. Indeed, the reactionary, antimercantilist tone of his writing in this area influenced the direction of samurai economic thought for much of the Tokugawa period.

QUESTION: In latter ages, when there is a good harvest and food is abundant, the gentlemen are in "distress and want";[42] [but] when the crops

42. *Analects* 20:1.

fail and food is scarce, the people starve, high and low by turns suffer, and the impasse results in civil disorder. Why is this?

ANSWER: There are many causes for this, but the major sources are three:

First, when large and great cities alike are located in places of easy access by river or sea, extravagance grows daily and is difficult to stem. Merchants grow rich and gentlemen poor.

Second, the use of unhulled grain as a medium of exchange has gradually declined. When gold, silver, and copper are predominantly used, commodities gradually become expensive, and the gold and silver of the realm gradually go into the hands of the merchants, and those of great and small estate alike do not have enough for their use.

Third, when the appropriate ceremonial forms (*shiki*) are not used, matters become complicated, and objects proliferate. Gentlemen exchange their stipend rice for gold, silver, and copper to purchase things. When the price of rice and unhulled grain is low and that of commodities is high, they do not have enough for their use. Furthermore, when business becomes complicated and things proliferate, they [gentlemen] become increasingly poor and in distress and want. When gentlemen are in "distress and want," they demand twice as much from the people. Therefore, in years of good harvest there is insufficiency, and in years of crop disaster, [the people] suffer from starvation and exposure. When gentlemen and people are in distress and want, the artisans and merchants lose the means to exchange for rice. Only the great merchants become wealthier and wealthier. This is because the power over resources is in the hands of the commoners. But the ruler of a state or lord of the world should not for a moment entrust the power over wealth and honor to others. When one entrusts power over wealth and honor to merchants, a struggle will ensue with the feudal princes over wealth. Later, the wealth of the domains will disappear; the state will perish; and the realm will be thrown into disorder.[43]

When the realm is in disorder, the wealth of merchants becomes their enemy. Because the tiger's fur has a distinctive pattern, it suffers the calamity of the hunt; because merchants have a lot of gold and silver, they become the slaves of bandits or lose their lives. Even insentient plants and trees, when their time comes, drop their leaves and wither. Their prosperity and decline are natural to them. Why should there be any reason for those who devote themselves to their own profit and cause suffering to the crowd to last long?

[Kumazawa Banzan, *Zōtei Banzan zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 333–35; IJM]

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43. Accepting the emendations to the second edition attributed to Banzan himself.

QUESTIONS ON THE GREAT LEARNING (*DAIGAKU WAKUMON*)

In the final years of his life, Banzan, fearing an invasion by the Manchus and a crisis in his country, was inspired to propose a program of reconstruction. His views are expressed in his *Questions on the Great Learning*, written around 1686. Since he held no official position entitling him to propose policies, when his opinions became known to the political authorities in Edo, they were interpreted as seditious, and Banzan was imprisoned in Koga Castle. In sum, he proposed the devolution of samurai society, de-urbanization, a degree of demilitarization, and the reversion to rice as a staple currency. These measures would be accompanied by a reduction in taxes and a program of reforestation. Banzan also proposed measures for cultural renaissance through the diffusion of court culture to the feudal provinces.

The following passage, urging the promotion of the Neo-Confucian Way (Dōgaku), echoes the ideal of universal schooling that Zhu Xi proposed in his preface to the *Great Learning*.[44] Banzan believed that instead of withdrawing from society into Buddhist orders, the court nobility should take the lead in encouraging education as the best means of achieving a national reformation.[45]

The Court Nobility as Carriers of the Neo-Confucian Way to the Provinces

QUESTION: If only those who embraced Buddhism with their hearts and practiced the three disciplines of the precepts, meditation, and wisdom were permitted to take Buddhist orders, those among the imperial princes and sons of the court nobility who were sincerely motivated would be rare. How would [the others] do?

ANSWER: When the Way is practiced, there is a solution, without royal children and the sons and daughters of the nobility [needing to] take Buddhist orders. . . . At some time in the past, when because of civil disorder, there was no income from the estates of the palace and the court nobility, many people sought out relatives and stayed in the country. I heard that among those court nobles, there was someone who cherished [the following] hope:

"Would that the person who unified the realm and became shogun might be fond of the Neo-Confucian Way (Dōgaku)! If the ancient schools were revived in the capital and there were schools as of old in the provinces, there would not be enough qualified teachers. Even the school that survives in form only at Ashikaga has no teachers and so has been entrusted to monks. There is no justification for entrusting

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44. See de Bary and Bloom, eds., *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, pp. 721–25.

45. For the plan for Banzan's Shizutani School in Okayama, see chap. 25.

schools for human relationships to monks. In order to increase the numbers of teachers in the provinces, in the schools of the capital all the sons of those from the emperor down to the court nobility, with no grant of office or rank made from birth, would go to school as commoners do and be made to learn letters and music. The sons of [professional court] musicians and of Shinto priests would [also] be enrolled to wait on and serve the princes and court nobles, and the government would pay their expenses. During classes they would have the same seats and study together, so that [the princes and nobles] would learn music. A prince among them who has the virtue of humaneness would succeed to rank, and those among the court nobility who possessed talent and knowledge would be made to perpetuate their lineages, while those who have gained expertise in letters and music would be sent to the provinces.

"[In the provinces,] princes would be awarded a rank equivalent to [that of] the sons of regents or ministers; the sons of regent families, a rank equivalent to [that of] councillors, [thus] lowering their ranks; and they would be made the guests of their respective provinces. They could have salaries of 2,000 *koku* for a large province, and those provinces of around 1,000 *koku* could combine [them] to hire a teacher. Some would be attached to those provincial schools assessed at more than 100,000 *koku*. Those among the sons of musicians and Shinto priests able in music and letters would become their assistants. Large provinces would take five to six [assistants]; medium-size provinces, four to five; small ones, three to four; and they should be granted income-support lands separately. The princesses and daughters of court nobles would go as brides for those provincial guests.

"These arrangements would be restricted to one generation. From their sons on, they would become commoners in their provinces. Some might become rural primary school teachers. Those with talent and aptitude would carry out the province's [administrative] business. But new appointees would be sent from the capital to the provincial schools. If this happened, the manners in the provinces would become civil and not rude. The lord of the province would, *a fortiori*, learn the correct rites and music and not learn from evil. Those even more talented would be appointed teachers to the government and summoned as guests. They would be called 'national teachers,' [for] to regard monks as national teachers here, too, like the teachers of the Ashikaga school, is a mistake.

"Since all warriors are vassals of the shogunate, the rituals are strict and the dialogue is difficult. But since the court nobility would be like guests of the shogunate, if the shogun were to make a man of learning and talent his teacher and a man expert in scores his musical com-

panion, there would be many benefits. The feudal princes, also, are rulers of their provinces. so that the [samurai of the] entire province are their vassals. Here, too, if the sons of the court nobility were to come as guests [to serve as] teachers at schools, there would be friendship and [other] benefits."

So he spoke. This person's words were right.

The Institutional Reconstruction of Society

The institutional framework of society was to be reformed through "ceremonial forms" (*shiki*), codes of conduct whose sanction, in the high Confucian manner, would be social shame rather than laws and punishments.

QUESTION: How should the ceremonial forms be determined?

ANSWER: A person of warrior provenance who knows the Way and who is expert in human feelings and historical change would be made an officer to determine the ceremonial forms. He would be aided by someone knowledgeable in matters Japanese and Chinese, and they would draw up several tens of articles. The ruler, his senior vassals, [and] the upper, middle, and lower samurai would be seated close together to discuss and classify them. They would express their opinions about [any] disadvantages, and the ruler and officer would decide on a [reasonable solution] and have a fair copy [of the articles] made. Again, orders would be issued to the domains and discrepancies with place and human feelings would be audited, the "admirable words"[46] of people of intelligence obtained, and adjustments made. Every fifty years the world undergoes small changes, and every five hundred years, a major change. Some of the ceremonial forms of old may be used now, and others may not be used.

Ceremonial forms are not legal regulations (*hatto*). With legal regulations, the fewer there are, the better it is. Gaozu of the Han [dynasty] shortened the law into three articles, and the realm was well governed. But when ceremonial forms are detailed, the world becomes calm, and honorable and base [people] are at peace. Those who violate law are punished, but those who violate ceremonial forms are not punished but merely face shame. When shame accumulates, it becomes impossible to appear in company. Therefore, although there are no punishments, offenses die out.

There follows a detailed discussion of the ritual forms and courtesies that should govern conduct of lords and samurai.

[Kumazawa Banzan, *Zōtei Banzan zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 274–78; IJM]

46. Legge, trans., *Book of Documents*, "Counsels of the Great Yü," p. 125.

NAKAE TŌJU'S SUCCESSORS IN THE ŌYŌMEI SCHOOL

After Nakae Tōju died, his disciples split into two streams, one emphasizing introspective self-cultivation and personal ethics and the other applying Tōju's teachings to the practical problems of government and public ethics. The latter direction, as we have seen, was typified by Kumazawa Banzan. Tōju's most prominent disciple of the introspective bent was Fuchi Kōzan (1617–1686), a samurai from Sendai who went to Edo to serve a *bakufu* vassal with a fief in Ōmi. When his lord sent him to Ōmi, Kōzan heard about Tōju and became his disciple in 1644. After Tōju's death some four years later, Kōzan opened a small academy in Kyoto and built a shrine in Tōju's memory. His reverence for Tōju and promotion of his teachings seem to have contributed significantly to Tōju's later reputation as a sage. Kōzan is said to have had disciples in twenty-four provinces, the most prominent being in Osaka, Mimasaka, Ise, Edo, Kumamoto, and Aizu.

Later, in the early eighteenth century, Miwa Shissai (1669–1744) revived the Wang Yangming school (J. Yōmeigaku), propagating it for three decades as a distinct teaching separate from other strands of Neo-Confucianism. By contrast, Satō Issai (1772–1859) (see chap. 34) was an outstanding example, at the very center of late-Edo-period *bakufu* education, of an influential teacher of Yangming's ideas who synthesized them with those of Zhu Xi.

Miwa Shissai's earlier efforts at propagation helped make Yangming learning widely known during the eighteenth century, to the point that it became one of the four schools of learning prohibited at the *bakufu* college in the Kansei Prohibition of Heterodoxy of 1790. It is not clear how much this prohibition reflected a perception of the subversive potential of Yōmeigaku; a long time had passed since Hayashi Razan had accused Banzan of involvement in subversive plots, and teachers like Shissai taught nothing that was politically questionable. After the prohibition, however, the number of Yōmeigaku followers paradoxically grew more rapidly than ever before, largely through the influence of Satō Issai and Ōshio Chūsai.

FUCHI KŌZAN

INNATE KNOWLEDGE (FILIALITY) AS THE ESSENTIAL LIFE FORCE

The emphasis in Tōju's teachings on family-centered ethics and the link between the natural/spiritual world and human society, in contrast to the Zhu Xi school's emphasis on scholarship and political ethics, helps account for their appeal to the peasantry, especially the rising class of independent cultivators in Aizu. Fuchi Kōzan seems to

have stressed even more than Tōju did that innate knowledge (here equated with filial piety) is the fundamental life force generating, underlying, and pervading all things and affairs.

1. Human beings are originally born with innate knowledge (*ryōchi*).

2. There is nothing that innate knowledge does not penetrate and nothing of human concern that it does not touch. . . . The perfect sincerity (*shisei*) of innate knowledge does not cease to operate even in the most ordinary person. . . . All the idiosyncrasies of the mind come from believing in thoughts. . . . If you believe instead in innate knowledge, how will the various desires be able to move your mind?

3. The way of ordinary human relationships should not be seen as just a realm of moral effort unconnected with the original substance. If one seeks innate knowledge in the realm of high abstractions, one will make it only into something far away. One's facial expression and manner of speaking are themselves the basis of virtue.

4. People tend to stiffen up when fearful or worried. But if your body has the slightest stiffness, everything you do will be difficult and you cannot feel free. Teaching people how not to stiffen up is the whole secret of Tōju's teaching.[47] . . . The original mind is the true master (*shusai*) of the self. When it is expanded, it reaches beyond Heaven and earth; when it is contracted, it hides in the mystery of the square inch [of the heart]. Accordingly, we should revere this master (*shujinkō*) as the highest thing in Heaven and earth and as the first principle of human life.

5. A person who wishes to realize the great Way for himself should first purify his body and mind and seek the assistance of the gods. No one has ever achieved something great without some reliance on divine assistance.

[Fuchi Kōzan, "Kōzan sensei jikyōroku," *kan* 5, 1, 3, 4; BS]

MIWA SHISSAI

Miwa Shissai was born in 1669, the son of a Kyoto physician whose ancestors had been officiants at the Miwa Shrine. He resolved early in life to become either a physician or a Confucian scholar. At the age of nineteen, he became a disciple of Satō Naokata of the Kimon school. But after five years of study under Naokata and three of service as a tutor to Naokata's lord, Shissai resigned his position because of growing doubts about Naokata's version of Confucianism. Between 1697 and 1699, Shissai openly rejected Naokata's teaching of

47. Literally, "the family recipe" of Tōju, a metaphor based on the tradition of keeping the knowledge of specific medicines secret within a family to ensure its future livelihood.

seeking moral principles externally, with its emphasis on intellectual inquiry (*kyūri*) over everyday moral practice, turning instead to the philosophy of Wang Yangming. In general terms, Shissai's rejection of Naokata shares some similarities with Itō Jinsai's critique of Zhu Xi, and indeed Naokata lumped together both the Wang Yangming school (Yōmeigaku) and Jinsai's learning under what was for him a pejorative term, "practical learning" (*jitsugaku*)—that is, learning that gave too little attention to the correct understanding of objective moral principles. It was several years before he forgave Shissai's apostasy.[48] In 1712 Shissai published the first Japanese-annotated edition of Wang Yangming's *Chuanxi lü* (*Instructions for Practical Living*). In 1726 he founded his own academy in Edo, the Meirindō (Hall for the Clarifying of Moral Relations), where he taught many disciples until his death at age seventy-six in 1744.

EVERYDAY METHOD OF THE MIND (*SHISSAI NICHIYŌ SHINPŌ*)

The method of mind control central to Neo-Confucian moral cultivation and spiritual praxis is based on Zhu Xi's sixteen-word formula (set forth in his preface to the *Mean*) concerning the human mind and mind of the Way, and the need to direct human thought and feelings according to the dictates of moral principle in the mind of the Way. The following extracts are from an account of Miwa Shissai's views on the matter, referring to those of the Cheng brothers, Zhu Xi, Wang Yangming, and the Korean scholar Yi T'oegye. Shissai views the matter primarily in relation to a person's active engagement of the will—his personal resolve (*kokorozashi*) or fundamental commitment to the Way.

1. At fifteen, Confucius set his heart on learning. At thirty, he established himself; that is, he established his resolve (*kokorozashi*). At forty, he was no longer perplexed; that is, his resolve no longer vacillated. Passing through age fifty and sixty, [finally] at seventy he was able to follow whatever his heart desired without overstepping the bounds,[49] in other words, without overstepping the bounds of his resolve. Thus we know that resolve is the whole substance of learning from the stage of beginner right through to sagehood. . . . Establishing this resolve is the practice (*kufū*) of preserving the Heavenly principle of the original mind-and-heart. . . .

2. If the mind is truly set on sagehood, like a cat waiting to pounce on a

48. Perhaps with the Ako *rōnin* in mind, Naokata wrote *A Discussion on Wang* [*Yangming*] *Learning* (*Ōgaku rondan*): "If you just act with the belief that you have loyalty and filial piety within yourself, but without a knowledge of moral principles, then even if you have no selfishness in your heart, you may end up as a criminal in the eyes of your lord and father."

49. *Analects* 2:4.

mouse, there will be no leisure for the mind of [selfish] desire to arise. . . . A person's words and actions are the vestments of his resolve; if they are released for a moment, his resolve will freeze. Rightness and the Way are the nourishment of a person's resolve; once neglected, the resolve will starve. . . .

3. Former scholars [Cheng Yi and Zhu Xi][50] said that Confucius spoke only of humaneness (*jin*) but also that he spoke only of resoluteness (*kokorozashi*). Thus we know that humaneness is the same as resoluteness. Accordingly, rightness, ritual decorum, and wisdom are also resoluteness. The moral senses of commiseration, shame, modesty, right-and-wrong all are things at which the heart aims, as are the five virtues. Thus they also are nothing other than resoluteness. . . . [pp. 228–30]

4. According to Zhu Xi, that which feels hunger and thirst and perceives heat and cold is the human mind, while that from which the four beginnings of virtue arise is the mind of the Way. . . . But if the so-called mind of the Way exists outside physical nature, it is something other than the everyday practice of human ethics. That would make it something empty, mysterious, and silent like the deviant Buddhist teachings of directly perceiving one's nature and achieving Buddhahood. [pp. 260–61]

[*Shissai nichiyō shinpō*; *Nihon no yōmeigaku*, vol. 1, in *Yōmeigaku taikei* 8, pp. 228–31, 260–61; BS]

REGARDING WANG YANGMING'S "FOUR MAXIMS"

1. "The absence of good and evil is the substance of the mind."[51]

Before the human mind and heart move, there is no approval of good or condemnation of evil. There is only one brightness.[52] For this reason, they reflect good and evil without distortion. It is like a mirror, which because it has no outside or inside, no ugliness or beauty, is able to reflect beauty and ugliness just as they are without distortion. It is nothing but a single brightness. This brightness is called the utmost good. It is the original substance, the place where the god of Heaven (or divine spirit) lodges in man, the naturalness (*shizen*) under Heaven.

2. "Where good and evil are present, they are [due to] the movement of thoughts and intentions."

The lord of the life-giving power of Heaven and earth resides in man and becomes his mind and heart. Therefore, the mind is a living thing, always in a state of illumination. When it is affected by contact with things and moves, it is called thoughts and intentions (*i*). When it moves, the person becomes gov-

50. Zhu Xi, preface to *Mengzi jizhu* (*Collected Commentaries on the Mencius*).

51. See de Bary and Bloom, eds., *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, p. 850.

52. That is, both clear and bright, reflecting like an untarnished mirror.

erned by material force (*ki*). Therefore, it can become good, and it can become evil. What issues from the natural will-to-life and does not cross over to the physical is humaneness (*jin*). This is called the good. What arises from the physical and goes against the natural original substance is called evil. It is the selfishness (*watakushi*) of the individual person.

3. "What is conscious of good and evil is innate knowledge (*ryōchi*)."

Although at the point that thoughts move, they divide into good and evil, the spiritual light of the original substance of these thoughts always remains bright. When that spiritual brightness manifests itself from nature without crossing over to human intention and is able to illuminate the good and evil that have arisen, it is called innate knowledge. It is the light of the god of Heaven or divine spirit. When this light is manifested in the ruler, it becomes benevolence (*jin*); manifested in the minister, it becomes reverent attentiveness (*kei*); manifested in the parent, it becomes love; [and] manifested in the child, it becomes filiality. Although no human being is lacking this light, because it is constantly being buried by the wild movement of thoughts, it is difficult for it to manifest itself. Thus the relationship between ruler and minister (lord and retainer) may contain inhumaneness or lack of respect; the relationship between parent and child, a lack of love or filiality. If a person can just turn back on himself to this innate knowledge and allow its light to extend into all his interactions (*kannō*) with things and affairs, the disordered movements of his mind will cease, and all his interactions with things and affairs will become the functioning of the original mind itself. Therefore it is said that reflection on oneself is the key to the extension of one's innate knowledge of the good [into external affairs].

4. "Doing good and eliminating evil is the rectification of affairs."

"Rectify" means "to correct." The use of the word "rectify" instead of "correct" means that one should revert to complete correctness without allowing the slightest thing to weigh on one's mind. "Things" refer to the practical affairs of daily life and human relationships, whether minor or major matters, which are to be illuminated by one's innate knowledge and which form the contours of one's thoughts. When one's original mind moves outward toward one's parents and elders, what enables one to act filially and respectfully, never losing the naturalness of one's original mind, is the natural light of the god of Heaven. If one is able to keep that natural light, things and affairs will not lose their inherent laws either. This is the condition in which all of one's thoughts are good, in which they are nothing other than the original mind. This is the naturalness of the sage. However, if one is not able to retain that natural light, what issues from the mind will not be able to be completely filial, completely respectful, completely loyal, or completely trustworthy. Thus unfiliality, disrespect, disloyalty, and untrustworthiness constitute the condition in which one's thoughts are evil. These evil thoughts cover up the light of the original mind and make it impossible for it to shine forth. Therefore, the work of the student

in the face of such incorrect thoughts is to turn himself back to that innate knowledge, correct and eliminate these evil thoughts, and do good. To do so is to return things and affairs to their correct condition and to allow the innate knowledge to attain its full realization. This is the true ground of the student's effort.

These maxims constitute the vow and the guideline by which a person enters into the practice of the Way. He should receive and practice [this teaching] only after purifying himself mentally and physically. To become a disciple of Yao and Shun, one must understand that the original aspiration (*honbō*) is to let go of one's body and one's life. One should make a personal vow to the original mind to this effect. By means of this vow one will be able to plant firmly the root of one's nature and establish an unwavering resolve.

[*Nihon no yōmeigaku*, vol. 1, in *Yōmeigaku taikei* 8, pp. 293–95; BS]

Chapter 23

THE EVANGELIC FURNACE: JAPAN'S FIRST ENCOUNTER WITH THE WEST

The first Europeans known to have visited Japan were two or three Portuguese traders who arrived there in 1543 or possibly 1542 aboard a Chinese junk. The date varies according to the source, as do the names and number of the voyagers. Their landfall was Tanegashima, an island to the south of Kyushu. Within a few years, the Europeans were calling regularly at Kyushu ports, having identified Japan as an immensely profitable market for Chinese silk and other luxury goods from overseas. A "new and deranged greed" seized his compatriots and carried them there, according to the Portuguese adventurer and fabulist Fernão Mendes Pinto (ca. 1510–1583). Mercantile cupidity, however, was by no means the sole or the most significant factor in the history of the initial encounter between Europe and Japan. Indeed, that history has a far broader dimension. Some Europeans were drawn to Japan by a "fervent zeal for the glory of God," as Mendes Pinto also noted correctly. Luís de Camões (ca. 1524–1580) put it best of all in the Portuguese national epic, *The Lusiads*, by combining the two referents as he invoked Japan. Richard Fanshawe's translation of 1655 renders Camões's lines memorably: "*Japan* . . . yeelding the best *Silver-mine*: / Which th' *Evangellic Furnace* shall refine."[1]

The first evangelists to preach the Christian gospel in a country described

1. Pinto, *Peregrinação*, chaps. 137, 203; Camões, *The Lusiads* 10:131.

by its inhabitants as the "Land of the Gods" were three Jesuit missionaries led by the Basque priest Francis Xavier (1506–1552), who landed at Kagoshima in southern Kyushu in 1549. Xavier, who had earned a master of arts degree and held a teaching position at the University of Paris before becoming one of the founding members of the Society of Jesus—a man whose indefatigable spirit led him through many travails to the glory of sainthood—was surely as splendid a representative of sixteenth-century Counter-Reformation Europe as could be imagined in Japan. Indeed, Catholic missionaries proved to be Europe's most important representatives in the first encounter between the two cultures.

The merchants remained peripheral. Their ships never ventured beyond Kyushu and mainly used harbors in that island's westernmost province, Hizen. From 1571, they largely confined themselves to one of those harbors, Nagasaki. The missionaries were more venturesome. From the start, they sought recognition from not only local but also national authorities and accordingly tried to establish themselves in Kyoto, the political and cultural center of the Japanese realm. By the 1640s, when persecution brought their activities in that realm to an end, the missionaries had penetrated almost all of its more than sixty provinces.

The missionaries came to Japan in order to convert it. Put another way, their mission was to transmit a central complex of Western culture—their religion—to that country. But they also acted as the disseminators in the West of knowledge about Japanese civilization. The many and effusive accounts of their trials and triumphs in Japan that were published throughout Catholic Europe proved to be best-sellers then and remain of interest to historians now. Even more significant were the Jesuits' Japanese publications. The movable-type printing apparatus they brought from Portugal in 1590 was the first of its sort in Japan. Their mission press, which remained active in that country until a nationwide persecution broke out in 1614, not only contributed some splendid adaptations of European masterpieces, including *Aesop's Fables* and *The Imitation of Christ* by Thomas à Kempis, to Japanese literature, but also published lexicographic and linguistic works that remain of great importance to an appreciation of contemporary Japanese language and culture. The mission's effect on Japanese intellectual history in the early modern era was not inconsiderable, as controversialist works of a high level were produced on both sides of the vast ideological divide separating apologists intent on establishing the paramountcy of Christian truth from defenders of the East Asian value system's Japanese variant. To be sure, it would be fruitless to look in Japan for an equivalent of the sophisticated intellectual interchange that Christian missionaries enjoyed with representatives of the elite in China from the 1590s onward. The scholarly traditions of China's governing class made its members more interested in dialogue with the European priests, some of whom were highly educated and cultured men, than was the case in Japan, a country dominated not by literati but by samurai. Indeed, the Japanese ruling class had a tradition forged in war,

which was seemingly Japan's natural condition when the first Jesuits arrived. The violent temperament of the samurai had not yet been tamed by the climate of peace brought on by the very same rulers who forcibly terminated the mission. Japan was not as amenable as China to intellectual methods of penetration, and so the Jesuits, while pursuing their characteristic strategy of first persuading the elite and then capturing the populace, used different tactics in the two countries.

In the end, the missionaries' Japanese enterprise foundered on a fundamental antinomy. The First Commandment demands of all Christians absolute loyalty to God. That dependence on an extraterrestrial sphere of justification could not be reconciled with the system of secular loyalties imposed on Japan by the founders of its early modern state. To be sure, insofar as obstacles from political authority were concerned, the mission enjoyed relatively clear sailing for most of the first four decades of the "Christian century" of Japan, as the years 1549 to 1639 are sometimes rather fancifully called. But that was due to extraordinary historical conditions.

At the time of the first missionaries' arrival, Japan was in a state of great disorder. Conflicts among regional grandees, provincial barons, armed leagues of yeomen, and confederations of militant Buddhist sectarians had swept the country for the better part of a century, reduced the institutions of central authority—the imperial court and the Ashikaga shogunate in Kyoto—to ciphers, and turned Japan into a fragmented realm. The epoch from 1467 to 1568 is justly called the era of Sengoku, the "country at war." Where assorted petty powers, constantly on the lookout for the main chance, competed with one another, a niche existed for the foreigners whose commerce might put one of the ambitious contenders at an advantage over his adversaries. Hence the daimyo and the smaller barons of Kyushu eagerly courted the Portuguese traders, whose ships bore not only merchandise but also missionaries and munitions.

Paradoxically, their pursuit of temporal interests made some of these lords accessible to a spiritual message. Put more concretely, they welcomed the priests in order to attract the traders. So there existed a good environment for a symbiosis. In a few remarkable cases, Japanese lords not only converted to Christianity themselves in order to demonstrate their bona fides to the Europeans but even forced the populace of their domains to adopt the alien faith, persecuting the native religions in their eagerness to accommodate the foreigners.

For a time, Japan's fragmented state permitted the spread of Christianity on a domanial and even a regional scale. But from 1568 to 1615—the Azuchi–Momoyama era of Japanese history—the country was reunited under a single system of authority by the three hegemons Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582), Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537–1598), and Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543–1616). In the realm built by these unifiers, there was no room for a competing structure of allegiances. For that reason, they were unyielding in their aim to eliminate the secular power

of the Buddhist ecclesiastical institutions. Unfortunately for the Christian church of Japan, they looked at it in an analogous light and concluded that it, too, was a dangerous structure.

Anti-Christian decrees began to be issued by the regime of the unifiers in 1587, under Hideyoshi. At first, they were not rigorously or universally enforced. In 1614, however, the Tokugawa shogunate started a general persecution of Christianity. The missionaries were forced to leave the country or go underground. Those who stayed were hunted down. The members of their flock confronted a choice between apostasy and martyrdom. Most abjured Christianity, if only on the surface, but many defied their tormenters, refused to recant, and were put to death for their faith. More than two thousand cases of martyrdom, many of them involving multiple individuals, are recorded. Japanese Christianity was melted down in the crucible of the early modern regime.

For twenty-five years after the Bateren—as the padres, Christian priests, are called in contemporary Japanese sources—were banned by the shogunate in 1614, the Portuguese traders were permitted to conduct business in Nagasaki, although they were suspected, with good reason, of secretly sustaining whatever Japanese Christianity there was left. To be sure, after 1632 no missionary was smuggled into Japan without being immediately arrested.[2] Nevertheless, the authorities did not relax their vigilance. In 1639 Portuguese merchants, too, were expelled, as the shogunate sought to isolate the country from all possible contact with Catholic influences. For 215 years thereafter, the Dutch merchants of the United East India Company (VOC), which had maintained a trading factory in Japan since 1609, were the only Europeans permitted to reside there. Those years are often called the era of Sakoku, the "closed country," although in view of the continuous Dutch presence this formula is not entirely sound, as it would lose much of its meaning if the anti-Catholic elements were taken out of the equation. The Protestant Dutch could stay because the Tokugawa realized that they were not carriers of the Catholic contagion. Even so, they were quarantined on Deshima, an artificial island in Nagasaki harbor.

So the "Christian century" ended in 1639. But how did it run its course?

After some initial missteps, the mission's founding father, Francis Xavier, came to appreciate that his religious endeavor would not prosper in Japan unless it gained the favor of secular lords; that those lords' measure of involvement in this spiritual enterprise could increase only if associated with their pursuit of material self-interest; and that ceremony and a display of authority were necessary in dealing with the powerful in that country, for one gained nothing by addressing them as a beggar. This realization became the cornerstone of the

2. Mancio Konishi, S.J. (b. 1600), returned to his native country in 1632 after being ordained in Rome. He was the last priest to remain at large, but he appears to have been tracked down and put to death in 1644.

Jesuits' mission policy in Japan. Xavier's successors continued to court feudal lords who might shelter them and further their activities. Some of those lords they managed to convince and even to convert.

The first great (if, in the end, fatal) success of that policy and the illustrative specimen of that famous (if thoroughly unstable) category, the so-called Christian daimyo—Kirishitan daimyo, in the parlance of those days—was Ōmura Sumitada (1533–1587). The case of Dom Bartolomeu, as Sumitada was known after his baptism in the early summer of 1563, is the perfect example of the symbiosis among Japanese magnates, Jesuit missionaries, and Portuguese merchants. It is clear from the records of the Jesuits themselves that having identified Sumitada as one who was likely to cooperate, they targeted him for special attention, suggesting that he would derive not only spiritual but also temporal profits from converting to Christianity. The Jesuits not only persuaded him to embrace their religion but, in the end, also got him to cede a portion of his domain to their society. It is just as clear from the context of Japanese history that Sumitada cooperated with the foreigners because he thought he must in order to survive. His lordship was precarious. Far from being a great name, he was in fact one of the weaker of the barons fighting over his corner of western Kyushu. Among his few valuable assets, however, were harbors convenient to the Portuguese traders from Macao on the South China Sea. Desperate for the support that he was assured would come his way from the Portuguese, he became the Jesuits' client.

Sumitada's expectations were substantiated in the 1560s and 1570s, as were those of the missionaries and the merchants. Armed Portuguese trade ships were steered to Dom Bartolomeu's harbors. On more than one occasion, those ships were given the opportunity to demonstrate the superiority of Western weapons on behalf of this Kirishitan baron. Made fully aware that privileged access to the Portuguese vessels and their cargoes was vital to his interests, Sumitada went to extremes in order to secure that access. In 1574, he was persuaded by the Jesuits to extinguish "idol" worship in his lands—that is, to destroy the icons, the abodes, and the practice of the native religions and to require all his subjects, under pain of exile, to turn Christian. Some sixty thousand of the populace were baptized, and the Ōmura domain became a solidly Christian territory. In 1580, Dom Bartolomeu went even further. About to be reduced to fealty by Ryūzōji Takanobu (1529–1584), a far more powerful regional lord, Sumitada concluded that he could keep an interest in the most valuable part of his domain by giving it away to a third party, and so he donated the magnificent harbor of Nagasaki, the habitual anchorage of the Portuguese trading ships, to the Society of Jesus.

The man who formally accepted Dom Bartolomeu's preemptive cession of Nagasaki and was responsible for making elaborate plans to safeguard the new Jesuit colony with forts, munitions, and artillery was Padre Alexandro Valignano (1539–1606). In 1573 the general superior of the Society of Jesus in Rome had

appointed him visitor of its Indian Province, making Valignano the society's plenipotentiary in a vast mission area that extended across the regions penetrated by the Portuguese in South, Southeast, and East Asia. The general's confidence in him was not misplaced, as Valignano had truly exceptional creative powers, even if those powers were not so much intellectual or spiritual as organizational and political. He is known particularly for fostering methods of "accommodation" with the missionaries' host cultures. (As will be seen, he prescribed them for the Jesuits of Japan.) In the history of the Jesuits in Asia, Valignano's name deserves to be ranked right alongside Xavier's.

Valignano first set foot in Japan in July 1579 for a tour of inspection that lasted for two and a half years and was marked by his intense involvement in the politics of symbiosis. He persuaded the captain who brought him to Japan to steer for a harbor in the territory of the Kyushu lord Arima Harunobu (1567?–1612), rather than sail to the Portuguese ships' habitual port of call in the Ōmura domain, because he wanted to attract Harunobu to Christianity. Valignano attained his purpose by supplying Harunobu's forts with food and munitions purchased with a considerable outlay of the Jesuits' meager funds. The foreign aid saved this beleaguered baron from disaster. Shortly before Easter 1580, Harunobu reciprocated by adopting the Christian religion, the baptismal name Protasio, and the characteristic policy of the "Kirishitan daimyo." Throughout his domain, the "idols" were destroyed, their shrines demolished, and their priests banished; by the beginning of 1582, some twenty thousand of the domain's population had been led to the baptismal font.

When Valignano left Japan in February 1582 at the end of his first visit, no fewer than 150,000 converts were under the Jesuits' spiritual care there. Over the previous decade, their number had quintupled. These were grounds for optimism.

When Valignano returned in July 1590 for his second visit, however, Japan was a different country. Oda Nobunaga, who had humored the missionaries, was dead. Nagasaki was no longer a Jesuit colony. Nobunaga's erstwhile vassal Toyotomi Hideyoshi had inherited the task of national unification and made spectacular progress toward completing it. On conquering Kyushu in 1587, he had confiscated the Europeans' port city and made it a part of his immediate domain. Since that conquest, the Jesuits had operated in Japan under a stay of execution. Having anathematized their actions as "unheard of" and "miscreant," Hideyoshi made it apparent that if he tolerated their presence in the country at all, it was only on account of his forbearance. The scale of the difficulties they faced had expanded. No longer could a niche for the Christian mission be defined in regional terms. Rather, the question of the mission's continued existence or extinction was subjected to the verdict of the head of a national regime. In other words, Hideyoshi made Christianity into a national problem.

What were the reasons for his harsh judgment? Their history of forced con-

versions harmed the missionaries. Their pretensions in regard to Nagasaki made them suspect in the eyes of the unifier. Moreover, Hideyoshi was not blind to the display of willful ecclesiastical politics put on by Vice Provincial Gaspar Coelho (d. 1590), whom Valignano had left in charge of the Jesuits' Japanese enterprise. This mission superior was a military adventurer intent on forming an axis of "Kirishitan daimyo" ready, if need be, to forswear their terrestrial allegiances and make war for their religion's sake. Because the Japanese lords were realists, Coelho could not make this mirage materialize, but he was inveterate in its pursuit. Worse, he made his willingness to act as a broker of military assistance known to Hideyoshi just as the hegemon (with an eye toward an invasion of Korea and China) was planning his descent on Kyushu.

Coelho failed to realize how deeply Hideyoshi distrusted priests of any kind who had political pretensions and meddled in military affairs. Hideyoshi dissimulated. Before Kyushu was conquered, he did not want to dismiss the possibility that Coelho might prove useful. In June 1586 he even issued the vice provincial a charter guaranteeing him and his padres the freedom to preach their gospel "in all the lands of Japan." Even after all of Kyushu had been subjugated by Hideyoshi's overwhelming military force and all the island's great and petty lords had submitted to him abjectly, Coelho continued to parade his magnificence before the hegemon. The would-be daimyo of a Kirishitan Nagasaki sailed on his own naval vessel, a European-rigged ship armed with artillery, to congratulate the conquering hero on his victory and entertained Hideyoshi on board this vessel. Less than a week later, on the morning of July 25, 1587, Hideyoshi presented Coelho with the notorious decree that ordered the Bateren out of the country.

Having issued his edict, the hegemon chose not to enforce it. Not wanting to jeopardize the smooth flow of the Portuguese trade, he, too, in his way, became part of the symbiosis. For the better part of a decade, he did not pursue the solution of the Christian problem any further. Indeed, in the early 1590s Christianity reemerged in public and in fashion at his court. Kirishitan lords were prominent among the generals who served Hideyoshi loyally in the war of aggression that he fought from 1592 to 1598 in Korea. Jesuit chaplains accompanied the Kirishitan soldiers who sailed to the peninsula in his invasion force.

A shipwreck brought this period of temporary grace to an end. In 1593 a group of Franciscan monks arrived in Japan as ambassadors from the Spanish colonial authorities in the Philippines. Not content with conducting diplomatic business with Hideyoshi, they stayed on to preach the Christian faith with what the Jesuits viewed as an excess of evangelic zeal. When caution was urged on the friars, because in fact they were flouting Hideyoshi's law, they responded by condemning their fellow missionaries for a lack of courage and reliance on subterfuge. By itself, this intramural wrangle might not have brought about a fatal outcome. When the Spanish galleon *San Felipe* ran aground off the coast of Shikoku in October 1596, however, the ship's pilot apparently tried bombast

as a means of saving the rich cargo from confiscation. According to the Jesuits, he regaled Hideyoshi's agents with tales of the Spanish Empire's might and asserted that a missionary fifth column commonly paved the way for its conquests. Franciscan sources, on the contrary, maintain that it was not the ship's pilot but their Jesuit confreres who maligned them. Which side's account was more accurate cannot be ascertained, but whichever it was, the incident's consequences were tragic. The missionaries' mutual recriminations engendered suspicions of their European patrons' imperialist designs and incited Hideyoshi into ordering the first bloody persecution of Christianity in Japan. Six Franciscans, three Jesuits, and seventeen Japanese laymen were paraded in tumbrels from Kyoto to Nagasaki and crucified there on February 5, 1597. They are known as the Twenty-six Saints of Japan. Christianity was demonstratively proscribed once again.

The tyrannical Hideyoshi had only a year and a half left to live, but his demise merely opened the way for the rise of even grimmer anti-Christian despots. It is true that under Tokugawa Ieyasu, Hideyoshi's successor as national hegemon, Christianity enjoyed a kind of Indian summer that lasted for a dozen years. Indeed, in the first decade of the seventeenth century the mission, at least numerically, reached the height of its success in premodern Japan. No fewer than 300,000 of the country's population were Christian.

In 1612, however, a serious incident occurred when the "Kirishitan daimyo" Arima Harunobu sought to obtain favored treatment from the Tokugawa shogunate by bribing another Kirishitan, Okamoto Daihachi (d. 1612), the retainer of one of Ieyasu's closest advisers. (Both principals were sentenced to die.) The regime used this scandal, which touched, if only tangentially, its inner circle of power, as a pretext to prohibit Christianity in its immediate domains. The theoretical justification for the policy of persecution was proclaimed early in 1614 when the shogunate issued a statement, drafted on Ieyasu's orders, that branded the foreign religion a "pernicious doctrine" of social subversion. Written at the behest of its founding father, this document became part of the Tokugawa regime's ancestral law. What awaited Japanese Christians in the rest of the long Tokugawa era was the continuing prospect of persecution and—for those who defied the shogun and stayed loyal to the Lord—martyrdom.

Even after the "Kirishitan daimyo" turned against Christianity, the populace of their domains—the descendants of people coerced into the religion—clung to it. For example, Dom Protasio's apostate son sought to demonstrate his allegiance to the shogunate in 1612 by unleashing a fierce persecution on his completely Christian region, but that merely damped down the practice of the faith, leaving it to smolder. The embers of Christianity were not stamped out in the Arima domain until 1637/1638, when the Tokugawa regime intervened massively to crush a peasant uprising, known in history as the Shimabara Rebellion, that swept the area. The number of rebels slaughtered by the armies

mobilized by the shogunate is usually given as 37,000. Extortionate taxation, not religious zealotry, had caused the rebellion's outbreak, but the authorities chose to interpret it as Christian inspired. This diagnosis was the proximate cause of the final "closed country" edict of 1639.

In the Ōmura domain, where Dom Bartolomeu's son and successor as daimyo turned against Christianity in 1606, as many as 665 persons suspected of practicing the religion were arrested, and 468 of them were executed as late as 1657 and 1658, more than a dozen years after the last missionary still active in Japan had been arrested. Indeed, Christianity persisted in Japan throughout the Tokugawa period, albeit in a form that cannot, strictly speaking, be called orthodox. A cruel and methodical inquisition drove most Japanese Christians to renounce their faith early on. Many, however, continued to practice it underground. Centuries of worship under hermetic conditions, in hiding from the agents of the persecution; the total lack of contacts with the European heartland of Catholicism; the absence of expert guidance from priests; the consequently irresistible drift toward syncretic accommodation with Buddhist and Shinto beliefs and practices—all these factors diluted the essence of their religion. Nevertheless, communities of people who considered themselves Christian and were willing to suffer for their beliefs remained in existence in Kyushu even as the Meiji Restoration overthrew the Tokugawa shogunate in 1868. The shogunate's anti-Christian smelter did not function perfectly after all.

EUROPEAN DOCUMENTS

A CHRISTIAN CRITIQUE OF SHINTO

The first comprehensive and systematic Christian critique of observed Japanese religious practices and beliefs—a document attributed to either of two Jesuit missionaries, Padre Cosme de Torres or Irmão Juan Fernández, and completed by 1556—is entitled *Sumário dos erros en que os gentios do Japão vivem e de algumas seitas gentílicas en que principalmente confiã* (A *Summary of the Errors in Which the Heathen of Japan Live and of Some Heathen Sects on Which They Principally Rely*). The portion translated here deals with what the document calls the "sect of the *kami*"—that is, Shinto, which is classified as a religion separate from Buddhism. The missionaries upheld this distinction throughout the "Christian century," even though in actuality the two traditions were syncretically intertwined.

This sixteenth-century exercise in comparative religion evaluates Japanese religions against an explicit and indisputable norm: Christianity. Beliefs and practices that challenge the norm are identified as the work of the devil.

In the European missionaries' eyes, the Japanese seemed to embody many

qualities attributed to the self. They had been defined as "white like us" from the start, even before the first missionary landed in Japan,[3] and thus they remained categorized thereafter. After more than two years of experience in their country, the founder of the Jesuits' enterprise there, Francis Xavier, further described them as a "prudent and talented people, eager for knowledge, obedient to reason, and endowed with many other good qualities."[4] If the Japanese persisted in ways the padres found depraved, such commendable characteristics notwithstanding, that perversity was explained not by constructing them as an alien race who were corrupt in some organic sense but by locating that corruption in the workings of a diabolic will. So the missionaries demonized the objects of veneration of the "heathen" Japanese—the Buddhas no less than the Shinto deities, the *kami*—just as consistently as they maintained that Japan's general cultural level was high and even admirable.

This *Summary* identifies two principal aggregates of error in the "sect of the *kami*." First, its cosmogonic narratives are made to appear so self-evidently contrary to reason that they are unworthy of comment. Second, its ritual prescriptions governing the maintenance of purity and the containment of pollution are condemned as satanically inspired. The concluding paragraphs deal acerbically with the ascetic mountain religion known as Shugendō. Exorcisms were part of its practitioners' stock-in-trade, as the text notes. The Jesuit missionaries, too, engaged in exorcism.

It would be too much to expect total accuracy from this document's Spanish author or authors, who had been in Japan for no more than seven years, not long enough to acquire a detailed knowledge of their difficult topic, or from their Japanese informants, who were handicapped by the general lack of agreement among Shinto scholars even regarding such matters as the names and the order of the most important *kami*. Contrary to the text's first sentence, no single group of twenty can be identified as the principal deities of Shinto. The retelling of the phallic creation myth involving the pair of divine progenitors, Izanagi and Izanami, is garbled. Okukura is not the name of one of those progenitors, as stated, but it may be a misplaced reference to Onogoro, another name for Awajishima, the first of the islands of Japan that they created. Finally, there are no "Five Commandments" of Shinto as such, but some absorbing information on medieval ritual prescriptions is found under that label.

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3. Nicolão Lancillotto, S.J., "In questo quaderno se contene la informatione de una insula che se è discoperta novamente nella parte setentrionale, chiamata Giapan," Cochin, December 28, 1548, in Ruiz de Medina, ed., *Documentos del Japon, 1547–1557*, doc. 8, p. 62.

4. Francis Xavier to the Jesuits of Europe, Cochin, January 29, 1552, in Ruiz de Medina, ed., *Documentos del Japon, 1547–1557*, doc. 56, p. 312.

A SUMMARY OF THE ERRORS IN WHICH THE HEATHEN OF JAPAN LIVE AND OF SOME HEATHEN SECTS ON WHICH THEY PRINCIPALLY RELY

They principally adore twenty idols whom they call *camins* (*kami*), acknowledging that these were human persons of ancient times and natives of these kingdoms. And they say that these *kami* were the first to build cities and communities in this country, and therefore they call Japan the Land of the Kami, and they adore and venerate these false gods for that reason.

They have no knowledge of the creation of the world or of anything beyond two thousand and two hundred years in the past. When asked what there was before then, their response is: only the human called Ocucura (Okukura), who lived eighty thousand years, and another who lived nine thousand. When asked to say more about this and what became of these two humans, they are at a loss for an explanation and become confused.

When asked how the world was created, they answer that this world was a great quantity of mud and that one of these two first humans called *kami* (who was mortal, as already acknowledged) came down from heaven, holding a great ladle, groped about in the mud, drying a part of it, which is an island of these kingdoms, the one called Avandexima (Awajishima), and said: "Here I want to stay and make progeny." And they say that all Japanese are the offspring of this *kami*. Others say that the origin of the world and its matter was a great egg, which opened by itself. Its white rose upward and turned into heaven, as it was the lighter part. The yolk, being bulkier, remained below and turned into earth. From it, as the female, and heaven, as the male, all creatures were generated.

Most Japanese believe that the sun and the moon are living things and that they are the most prominent *kami* of all. And others say that the sun was the first king of Japan and that when he became very old he ascended into heaven and turned into the sun.

Five commandments are kept in the sect of these *kami*, and the first of these is that they shall not eat beef or venison or pork, particularly when they are about to go to worship. The second is that during menstruation a woman shall not come before the *kami*; neither shall she sleep or eat with her husband; nor shall what she is to eat during this period either be cooked together with the food of her husband and her household or at the same fire; and she shall not converse with anyone until she is clean but shall eat and sleep by herself in a house apart from others. And they enjoin all this because they believe menstruation to be the greatest defilement and offense against the *kami*. The third: When a woman gives birth, she is enjoined the same as during menstruation. The fourth commands: When someone's father, son, or very close relative dies, for forty days that person shall not appear before the *kami* or before his king or the lord whom he serves or whose vassal he is. The fifth is that one against

whom an injury is committed or planned shall ask the *kami* to kill or chastise the offender.

The padres explain to the Japanese that this is a sect of the devil in the following manner, beginning with his commandments. The first: The devil wants to be adored but is invisible. In order to be worshiped in the form of an animal, he commands humans not to kill and consume animals but, rather, to honor them. Against the second: In order to entice humans into committing the sin of sodomy, the devil tells them that it is sinful for a man to have intercourse with his wife during her menstrual period or soon after she has given birth, and he tells them that [sodomy] is not an enormous sin. Against the third, we say that the devil interferes with human birth out of envy, being jealous of those about to be born, for they have the potential of going to heaven, there to enjoy the glory he himself has lost. For that reason, it is neither a sin nor considered strange among them to take potions for killing the baby in the womb or to put it to death after giving birth. Against the fourth, we tell them that they do it to block out the memory of death. Against the fifth, we tell them that the devil does it in order to counter the commandment given us to love those who do us evil and pray for them. These five commandments were not bequeathed to them by the *kami*; rather, the devil gave them to the bonzes in dreams, saying that the *kami* had done so.[5] And then they were written down.

Those who adore these idols do not ask them for anything in the life to come, only in this one. Their adoration is caused by fear, because the devil often enters into them, possesses them bodily, and claims as he torments them to be a *kami* afflicting the body of the possessed for having broken one of the aforesaid commandments. At other times the devil pretends to be someone dead whom the afflicted person had injured or failed to honor properly, and then he makes the possessed adore that dead person by erecting a statue. From this it is clear that the *kami* are inventions of the devil made up by him so he would be worshiped under cover of this deception. And also, when he enters others, the devil tells them that it is an animal doing so, sees to it that they make him a statue of that animal—pig, or cow, or dog, or whatever—and makes them adore that statue. Once it is adored, he promptly takes his departure, leaving the person in whom he had resided.

There is another sect, known in Japan as the Religion of the Devil. Those who publicly wish to be part of it are called Iamambuxos (*yamabushi*). First they go to certain very high mountains, where they perform severe penances—not eating more than once in seven days—in the expectation of the devil's appearance. Thus they remain on the mountain, persevering in their penances, until the devil does appear. And then they form a compact with him, that on

5. "Bonze" (Port. *bonzo*, from the Japanese *bōzu*), a term for Buddhist monk, was also used by missionaries for priests of other "heathen" religions.

their request he shall leave a body possessed by him, the afflicted person paying money for this and pledging from then on, to worship the devil all the more manifestly in accordance with his ministers' instructions.

Those who get to see the devil and become his ministers are the very ones who stick closest to the letter of observance in the sect of the *kami*. On account of the blood sin, they do not copulate with women. They do copulate with boys, an enormity.

[Ruiz de Medina, ed., *Documentos del Japon, 1547–1557*, doc. 124, pp. 655–59; JSAE]

ALEXANDRO VALIGNANO'S JAPANESE MISSION POLICY

While the political character of Alexandro Valignano's activities in Japan is obvious, they were not exclusively related to problems of power, status, and authority. Valignano also dealt with cultural questions, using his plenipotentiary office as Visitor of the Indian Province of the Society of Jesus to lay down rules of social behavior for the Jesuits of Japan. His major concerns and their proposed solutions are detailed in his *Sumario de las cosas de Japon* (*Summary of Japanese Matters*), a lengthy report to the Jesuit general superior in Rome that Valignano composed in India in 1583 after completing his first visit to Japan. The following selections from that work show Valignano's high estimate of the qualities of the Japanese, display his optimism regarding the prospects of disseminating Christianity among them, and illustrate one of the key aspects of his approach to his mission terrain: the accommodative method. The accommodation, to be sure, was to be limited to the sphere of manners. No compromise regarding morals, let alone concessions with respect to Catholic dogma, would be permitted for the sake of finding some sort of middle ground with Japanese religious beliefs and social practices. But the underlying principle of Valignano's method appears truly enlightened (if hard to follow) even today: Europeans who cross over to Japan must fit themselves to Japanese standards; that is, they must abandon their original habits and customs and learn Japanese modes of behavior; in short, they must eat, drink, dress, live, and act *à la japonaise*. Only by doing so, Valignano insisted, could the foreign missionaries hope to retain the support of their Japanese patrons and co-workers and, with their help, gain the affections of a wider public.

This principle was considered extravagant by some of the visitor's subordinates, including most notably the Mission Superior of Japan, the Portuguese padre Francisco Cabral (ca. 1533–1609), a former soldier who resisted acculturation, maintaining that no other nation he had seen was as conceited, covetous, inconstant, and insincere as the Japanese. Apparently, Cabral was so convinced that the Japanese culture was unpalatable that he even refused to drink tea. The barbed references to "ponderous men and men of the past" and to bigoted

Portuguese that are found in the following text are part of an internal critique directed at the likes of Cabral. The far more urbane Valignano (not that he himself was free of prejudices, as the text makes apparent) realized how counterproductive was the barely disguised racism of such Eucharistic warriors, so he dismissed Cabral from his position of authority, replacing him with Padre Gaspar Coelho. (As seen in the introduction of this chapter, this was not one of the great administrator's most inspired personnel decisions.)

SUMMARY OF JAPANESE MATTERS

Alexandro Valignano's *Summary of Japanese Matters* is so far ranging that the author, perhaps unavoidably, is not always consistent with himself. What he says in chapter 6, translated here, about the sincerity of Japanese motives for conversion—contrasted with the "human considerations and self-interest" allegedly characteristic of all other Asian peoples—is contradicted elsewhere in his report. In chapter 11, for instance, Valignano discourses on the self-interest that moved the lords of Kyushu to embrace Christianity (and force the populations of their domains to do so) in the expectation of benefits from trade with the Catholic Portuguese. He goes on to recommend that the Jesuits take full advantage of the lords' susceptibility to commercial considerations by manipulating the captains of Portuguese trading ships in their choice of harbors to anchor in.

In the following text, the word *padres* refers to Jesuit priests. *Irmãos* (Portuguese for "brothers") are members of the Jesuit order who are not—or not yet—priests. *Dōjuku*, a term borrowed from Japanese Buddhist institutions and literally meaning "cohabitant," describes auxiliary personnel who are not members of the Jesuit order but are affiliated with it in such capacities as acolyte, verger, and catechist; "paramissionary" would be a fairly accurate rendition. "Secular priests" (*clérigos*) are priests who are not members of a religious order.

Chapter 6: Of the Importance of This Enterprise and of the Great Benefit Being Gained and Still to Be Gained in Japan

This enterprise of Japan is without a doubt the most important and beneficial of all being undertaken in these oriental parts and, indeed in all of discovery, for many reasons:

1. The first is that Japan is a very large territory which comprises . . . sixty-six kingdoms and is inhabited wholly by a white people distinguished by great politeness, prudence, and intelligence and completely subject to reason. On account of all this, as experience has shown, a very great harvest may be expected here.

2. The second reason is that in our actual observation so far, among all these oriental peoples, only the Japanese are moved to become Christians out of their own free will, convinced by reason and desiring their salvation. What all the

rest have in common is that human considerations and self-interest move them to accept our faith. From this it follows that the Japanese take in our doctrine much better, quickly becoming capable of apprehending it and receiving the sacraments; once they are converted, they completely unburden themselves of their idolatries. The contrary is the case among all the rest of the oriental peoples.

3. The third reason is that in Japan, unlike the rest of these oriental parts, it is not only the lowly and humble who become Christians. Gentlemen, great lords, and even kings likewise subject themselves willingly to our holy law. Accordingly, the harvest reaped in Japan is incomparably greater, less onerous, and more valuable.

4. The fourth reason is that the Japanese are naturally much inclined to religion and reverence and are very obedient to priests. This is evident from the grand status attained by the bonzes of all the sects of Japan, no less than from the great multiplicity of those sects, which have proliferated so much that they have come to consume and possess the better part of Japan. And if that is how much the Japanese, led [to religion] solely by natural reason, esteemed the masters of falsehood, then what will they not do for those who bear the true law to them? Assisted by reason, grace, and supernatural charity, they will no doubt do much more for us, as indeed we have learned by experience with those who have been converted.

5. The fifth reason is that the door is open to the Holy Gospel and to conversion in all the kingdoms of Japan. Given the laborers and the funds necessary where the work of making Christians is begun, the padres can settle and preach the law of Our Lord wherever they wish. To be sure, there is no shortage of confrontations, and the threat of persecution at the hands of the bonzes and the heathen who want to defend their sects is never absent. But there is no shortage, either, of those called and predestined by Our Lord. Now that the Society has become known here, should the padres wish to establish themselves someplace in Japan, they will not fail to make Christians anywhere they go. That is not the case in any other part of the orient.

6. The sixth reason is that the Japanese are capable not only of receiving our holy law but also of absorbing our sciences with ease. What is most important, however, is that they are absolutely capable of being ordained secular priests or of living a holy life in a religious order, as we have learned in a short time by experience. Quite relevant, too, is that after being bound by religious vows, they are held in great esteem by the other Japanese. All this is the contrary of what obtains among all the rest of the nations of the orient.

7. The seventh reason is that because this people is so much and so excellently inclined and subject to reason and because all have one language in common, they are easier to cultivate after being made Christian than any other nation. Members of our Society find incomparably greater satisfaction in living among them than among any others. That is because with the Japanese they

soon gather the fruit of their labors, whereas elsewhere, on account of the rudeness and poor aptitude of the other peoples, they toil all their lives without gathering much genuine fruit, and even that little is gleaned very late. The difference between the ones and the others is that between living among a rational and noble people and dwelling among one that is utterly base and bestial.

8. The eighth reason is that this enterprise is one from which the Society can obtain much honor and benefit for the glory of Our Lord. Above and beyond what is accomplished in Japan, by its achievements there the Society gains a great name throughout Europe. Japan is in itself a country with superb human resources, which it will make available to the Society so we can avail ourselves of their help; in time, there will follow the financial resources and the means for us to sustain ourselves as the bonzes did. There will also come the time when the presence of native secular priests will permit us to lighten our burden as we wish. All this may be hoped for in Japan—something that cannot even be imagined in regard to any other Christian community we have on our hands and is newly converted.

9. The ninth reason is that the Society has already invested much capital in Japan and has gained much credit. We can say that the major difficulties have been conquered because by now [our padres there] know the customs of the Japanese and the mode of procedure to be observed with them. Moreover, they have many fellow workers who know the language, many native *irmãos*, much authority among the Christians, and a good reputation among the heathen. Witness the great lords and gentlemen who every day turn Christian. Note that all the other sects of Japan are declining, whereas our religion continues to expand and advance. Observe the many houses and the beautiful, large churches that the Society has in this country. All this has shed much luster on our religion. In previous years the opposite was true. Ours were few and held in little account, and they lacked all these facilities of support and comfort. They therefore encountered many difficulties in carrying forward this enterprise.

10. The tenth and last reason is that Our Lord appears to have reserved such a great enterprise for the Society alone, because . . . members of other religious orders and foreign secular priests neither should nor, it would seem, can come here. As the Society has all this Christianity in its charge, without the interference of others who would use different methods of guidance, one purpose prevails and the flock can be guided in the manner considered appropriate. As a result the Society enjoys much love and esteem among them, and Japanese Christianity is well directed and cultivated. And therefore, in my judgment, the time will come when there will exist no other Christian community in which so many are saved as in Japan, because once they rid themselves of certain vices . . . attendant on heathendom and easily relinquished by Christians, of all the peoples I have seen in all the parts I have visited, the Japanese are the most

capable of achieving salvation. So I conclude that the Society must exert every effort, even to the disadvantage of its other enterprises, to carry on with this one, which is so great and so beneficial.

Chapter 16: Of the Great Care and Method to Be Observed in Maintaining Unity Among the Japanese *Irmãos* and *Dōjuku* and Our Europeans

Many difficulties are encountered . . . in carrying on with this enterprise of Japan, but among them all I consider none greater than maintaining unity of spirit among the Japanese *irmãos* and *dogicos* (*dōjuku*) and our Europeans. There is no doubt that without it, which is the foundation of this entire edifice, the Society of this province will before long cast itself into ruin. For that reason much solicitude and vigilance, and much dexterity and prudence, are required of the superiors if the ones and the others are to be governed in such a way that this unity is maintained. So that all this be understood better, we shall now deal with the particulars.

The difficulty of maintaining this unity will be clearly understood from the following reasons. The first is that the difference between the Japanese and the Europeans is so great that it appears to be not accidental but intrinsic and innate, as though founded in nature, inasmuch as the two groups generally disagree and diverge in their intellectual perceptions as in their corporal sensations to such a degree that what appears good to the ones fails to content the others. They do not accord with each other on practical matters, because the Japanese are guided by their precedents and customs, which are so contrary to ours that we can never hope to understand them. Likewise, the two groups fail to agree in matters having to do with the senses. In food as in song and instrumental music, in savor as in odor, the contrariety between them is so great that what delights the ones disgusts the others. In the presence of so much natural contrariety, unity is difficult.

The second reason is the great difference in modes of behavior. The Japanese are deliberate in their dealings, so they never show agitation or anger even when they are highly offended on the inside, and they neither complain readily nor grumble and speak ill of others. They are very covert in their hearts. They are much given to ceremony and external compliments, and they endure much, biding their time until they can get their own back. We, however, communally are the reverse of all this: We are hasty, choleric, and frank, quickly reveal what is in our hearts, and are no friends of all these ceremonies and external compliments. That a particular mode of behavior should be natural and habitual to each group makes it hard to relinquish; thus the ones are loath to compose their differences with the others. This is anything but conducive to achieving unity.

The third reason is the great contrariety that prevails in customs, in what is

considered good breeding and polite behavior, and indeed in all norms of conduct between people. The ceremonies and courtesies current among the Japanese are so different from ours that we can never completely understand them, and many of the actions that we regard as courtesies are considered grave discourtesies by them. Some of their customs are so new and strange to us that for a long time we are bogged down like idiots because it costs us so much toil to learn them. As a result we neither know how to seat ourselves, nor how to eat or drink, behave or speak, after their fashion. The way we comport ourselves in all this is very ridiculous by Japanese standards. But because it would cost ponderous men and men of the past a good deal to accommodate themselves to those standards (so they do not), we are stuck with the reputation of savages and people of no breeding. Our Japanese members neither can nor want to accommodate themselves to us in these regards—and it would in any event be uncalled for, because outsiders would take it in extremely bad form. As long as habits that are intolerable by Japanese standards of good breeding and politeness persist, they will always occasion contrasting opinions and disputes on whose customs are better. Vexation is the result; unity suffers.

The fourth reason is the great difficulty of learning their language, which is so elegant and so rich that . . . one speaks in one manner, writes in another, and preaches in yet another, conversing in one vocabulary with nobles and in another with the humble. People's children and wives also have their own varied vocabularies. The writing system has an infinite number of characters, so none of our Europeans has yet succeeded in learning how to write, much less compose books that could be shown to people. To be sure, some have reached the point that they can preach to Christians, but it is so different from what any Japanese *irmão* can do, even if he knows nothing, that the padres have wisely embraced the resolution to keep their silence wherever Japanese *irmãos* are available. Never or rarely do the padres attain the ability to preach to the heathen—not, in any event, to bonzes or nobles and courtiers. From all this it follows that in time, once the Japanese have acquired knowledge and come to be ordained priests, they will be able to hear confessions and say mass and preach good doctrine at their own will and pleasure. Knowing the language and the customs, and being natives, they will always have greater talents in everything than our Europeans and will always be loved and esteemed more by the Japanese—and that is hard to bear, especially for the Portuguese who are accustomed to calling even the Chinese and the Japanese by the name of Negroes.

Inasmuch as the damage sure to follow unless unity is achieved is so evident and so palpable, there is no need to take much additional time in demonstrating it. First, where there is no unity, everything is destroyed. But there is so much occasion for disunity between the Japanese and us that if one begins to give ground before it, it will be impossible to keep that disunity from becoming immense; every step of the way, there will be material for it to feed on. The

second is that we are unable, for the aforesaid reasons, to live or accomplish anything in Japan without them. But if a good many of them enter our houses only to live there in disunity, one can easily imagine to what sort of end the whole business will come. The third is that they are natives and we are foreigners. Once they have studied and become priests, and once there are many of those, there is no doubt that they will be able to do with us and with the Society what they wish. The fourth is that unless we achieve a more perfect unity with them and they with us, they will never enter into the spirit. Without it, they will not have the strength to defeat the dangers and occasions of vice that abound in Japan, and as a consequence the Society could easily be cast into perdition.

What is the way to ensure unity? Next to the grace and charity extended by Our Lord, it consists principally of keeping the following rules.

The first is that the Japanese members of the Society be in every respect treated equally to the European *irmãos*, the same applying in proportion to the *dōjuku*, because nothing destroys unity and brotherly love in congregations as much as the unequal treatment of *irmãos*.

The second is that the Japanese be treated and governed gently and lovingly, in accordance with the constitution of the Society. One should make the effort to instruct them in virtue and religious discipline in such a way that they have no reason to sense any asperity, anger, or choleric agitation in us, and no occasion to endure affronts and discourteous language, because all this is so incompatible with the Japanese mode of behavior. On the contrary, they should always be guided and persuaded by reasoning, in such a way that even when they are being penalized or chastised, they realize that they are being treated not in anger but with love, their own good and benefit being the objective in all respects.

The third is that our regulation enjoining the members of one nation not to think or speak ill about the customs and behavior of another be rigorously observed. Accordingly, notwithstanding how contrary the customs, ceremonies, and sensibilities of the Japanese may be to ours, no ill shall be said of them, and our Europeans shall not show that they find them strange, wishing to convince the Japanese that those of Europe are better; for that is the nursery of discord.

The fourth is that inasmuch as for the love of God we leave our countries and pass through so many hardships in order to come help the Japanese, we should not waste our labors and their fruit by not wanting to accommodate ourselves to them. Because for Japan its own customs, ceremonies, and modes of behavior are better; because from our observing them a more perfect unity follows, more abundant fruit is reaped among our neighbors, and the reputation of the Society and of our holy law increases; and because the contrary follows from our not observing Japanese mores, let us make every effort to learn them diligently and observe them enthusiastically. . . .

The fifth is that we mortify our taste buds and accommodate ourselves to their food, entirely forswearing our European foods. This is one of the principal things expected from us by the Japanese, who are amazed and disgusted at many of the things we eat. If, all at one stroke, we make up our minds and apply ourselves, we shall easily succeed in this. . . .

And so by these means and especially, as already stated, with the grace and help of Our Lord, it may without any doubt be expected that the due and desired unity will develop between the Japanese and us Europeans.

[Valignano, *Sumario de las cosas de Japon*, pp. 131–34, 198–202; JSAE]

A JESUIT PRIEST'S OBSERVATIONS OF WOMEN

Padre Luís Fróis, S.J. (1532?–1597), is best known as the author of the monumental *History of Japan* (*Historia de Japam*) and of voluminous other reports on the progress of the Christian enterprise in that country during his lifetime. A native of Lisbon, he entered the Society of Jesus in that city in 1548. The same year, he sailed to India, where he was active in various missions before he completed his studies of rhetoric, philosophy, and theology at the Jesuits' college in Goa and was ordained a priest in 1561. In 1563 Fróis arrived in Japan, where he spent thirty-one of the next thirty-four years and where he died. He personally knew and vividly portrayed many of the leading Japanese figures of his day, from Oda Nobunaga on down. Moreover, Fróis's lengthy experience in Japan gave him the opportunity to observe and the authority to dissect the peculiarities of that country's customs. This is the topic to which the treatise introduced next is devoted. The device that Fróis uses is to juxtapose European practices with Japanese, point by point, in the form of short, couplet-like statements. There emerges the image of total contrariety. Since Fróis goes into the most banal of details, the picture he paints—one that calls to mind the genre scenes depicted on contemporary Japanese folding screens—is more colorful, if less affecting, than the weighty treatment of the same topic found in Alexandro Valignano's *Summary of Japanese Matters*. In this treatise at least, Fróis is content with making observations without constantly being judgmental. It is left up to the reader to draw the conclusions.

JESUS MARIA: A TREATISE IN WHICH SOME CONTRADICTIONS AND DIFFERENCES OF CUSTOMS BETWEEN THE PEOPLE OF EUROPE AND OF THIS TERRITORY OF JAPAN ARE COMPRISED VERY BRIEFLY AND SUCCINCTLY. AND EVEN IF SOME MATTERS ON WHICH THE JAPANESE APPEAR TO AGREE WITH US ARE MET WITH IN THESE PARTS OF XIMO, THAT IS NOT BECAUSE THEY ARE COMMON AND UNIVERSAL AMONG THEM BUT BECAUSE THEY HAVE ACQUIRED

THEM THROUGH THEIR DEALINGS WITH THE PORTUGUESE WHO COME HERE IN THEIR SHIPS TO TRADE WITH THEM. —AND MANY OF THEIR CUSTOMS ARE SO FAR-FETCHED, STRANGE, AND DISTANT FROM OURS THAT IT ALMOST SEEMS INCREDIBLE THAT SO OPPOSITE A CONTRARIETY COULD EXIST IN A PEOPLE OF SUCH COURTESY, SUCH LIVELY WIT, AND SO MUCH NATURAL INTELLIGENCE. AND IN ORDER TO AVOID CONFUSION AMONG THE VARIOUS TOPICS OF THIS TREATISE, WE SHALL, WITH OUR LORD'S GRACE, DIVIDE IT INTO CHAPTERS. — DONE IN CANZUSA ON THE 14TH OF JUNE OF THE YEAR 1585.

The selection presented here is from Luís Fróis's chapter "On Women." As a priest engaged in the cure of souls, he would certainly have been familiar with many of the problems of all classes of Japanese women. As one who was received in the high circles of the Japanese military aristocracy, he was no doubt knowledgeable about the fashions and conventions of "women of the Japanese nobility," as he calls them. More problematic is the extent of his knowledge of European actualities. It is clear that the "Europe" of his experience was limited to Portugal, a country that he left at about the age of sixteen, never to revisit. Moreover, when he departed, he was already a Jesuit. Before he became one, however, Fróis had held a post in the chancery of the king of Portugal. His career as a courtier, however brief, suggests that he knew more of the world than might ordinarily be expected of one so young.

The epigraph of Fróis's manuscript not only provides the title of his treatise but also indicates its thesis. Ximo (Shimo) was the Jesuits' name for their mission area of northwestern Kyushu. Canzusa (Kazusa), a town in the Arima domain (now part of Nagasaki Prefecture), was an important mission station.

Chapter the 2nd: On Women, Their Character, and Their Customs

1. In Europe, a young woman's sense of shame and the inviolate tabernacle of her purity are her highest honor and supreme treasure; Japanese women make nothing at all of virginal purity, and they lose neither honor nor nubility for lack of it.

2. European women are proud of their light hair and go to great efforts for it; Japanese women abhor it and do all they can to keep their hair black.

4. European women perfume their hair with fragrant essences; Japanese women always smell of the oil with which they grease their hair.

5. European women rarely use someone else's hair to tie into their own; Japanese women buy many wigs imported from China.

9. European women wash their head and their hair at home; Japanese women do so in public baths, where there are special washstands for hair.

11. European women take pride in well-formed and cultivated eyebrows; Japanese women pull them out with a pair of tweezers, leaving not a single hair.

14. European women pierce their ears and fill the apertures with ornaments; Japanese women neither pierce their ears nor wear earrings.

15. Among European women, conspicuous makeup is a defect; Japanese women consider the more face paint, the better.

16. European women value white teeth and expend much artifice and labor on keeping them so; Japanese women laboriously apply vinegar and iron to make their mouth and teeth black as [illegible].

19. European women's sleeves reach down to their wrists; Japanese women's sleeves go only halfway down the arm, and they do not consider it dishonorable to expose their arms and the breast.

20. Among us, a woman who went barefoot would be considered crazy or shameless; Japanese women, whether noble or base, for the greater part of the year always go barefoot.

21. European women gird themselves tightly with a belt; Japanese noblewomen so loosely that the belt keeps slipping down.

24. The dresses of European women are closed in front and cover the feet down to the ground; those of Japanese women are open in front and reach down to the ankles.

29. In Europe, men go first and women behind; in Japan, the men behind and the women first.

30. In Europe, property is held in common by the married couple; in Japan, each has his or her property separately, and sometimes the wife lends hers to the husband at interest.

31. In Europe, apart from its being a sin, it is considered the worst sort of infamy to divorce one's wife; in Japan, one can divorce as many wives as he pleases, and the women lose neither their honor nor their nubility on that account.

32. It is the men who divorce the wives, on account of the corruption of nature; in Japan, it is often the wife who divorces the husband.

34. In Europe, daughters and young ladies are kept strictly sequestered; in Japan, the daughters go wherever they please for a day or more without bothering to tell their parents.

35. European wives do not venture outside the house without their husband's permission; Japanese women are free to go wherever they wish without their husband's knowledge.

38. In Europe, although the practice does exist, the abortion of infants is infrequent; in Japan, it is so common that some women have aborted twenty times.

39. In Europe, infants are rarely or almost never killed after birth; Japanese women, by stepping on the infant's neck, kill all those whom they think they will not be able to bring up.

43. In Europe, the discipline of the cloister is strict, and nuns are kept under

rigorous monastic seclusion; in Japan, the nunneries of the *biqunis* (*bikuni* [female religious]) serve, in effect, as prostitute quarters.

44. Among us, it is uncommon for nuns to set foot outside the cloister; the Japanese *bikuni* are always to be found at entertainments and sometimes go along on military expeditions.

45. Among us, it is not very common for women to know how to write; among women of the Japanese nobility, it is considered degrading not to know how.

49. European women ride on chair saddles or sidesaddle; Japanese women ride the same way as the men.

51. In Europe, the women ordinarily prepare meals; in Japan, the men do that, and even knights consider it an elegant accomplishment to know how to cook.

54. In Europe, it is considered disgraceful for a woman to drink wine; in Japan, it is very common, and at feasts they sometimes indulge to the point of drunkenness.

[Fróis, *Tratado*, . . . pp. 118–33; JSAE]

JAPANESE DOCUMENTS

THE ANTI-CHRISTIAN EDICTS OF TOYOTOMI HIDEYOSHI

In July 1587, after concluding his conquest of Kyushu, Toyotomi Hideyoshi made the decision to ban the Christian padres—Bateren—from Japan. His rationale is laid out in the first document translated here, the "Notice" dated on the day before the actual decree of expulsion and intended for an internal audience, the Japanese lords. Two major indictments are set down in detail. First, the hegemon considers the forced conversions of the populace of entire domains to Christianity to be "miscreant." Second, he accuses Christians of being "even more given to conjurations" than Buddhists of the Single-Minded sect (Ikkōshū), also known as the True Pure Land sect (Jōdo shinshū), which emphasized faith in Amida Buddha.

There is no doubt that Hideyoshi had ample evidence for the first indictment. Whether or not there was any substance to the second charge—that Christian "conjurations" represented a threat to the realm—is a moot question. Regardless of its accuracy, the comparison between Christianity and the Single-Minded sect of Buddhism was the most dangerous assessment that could have been made in the historical context of the struggle waged by the regime of the unifiers against the power of organized religion. It had taken Hideyoshi's predecessor Oda Nobunaga more than ten years to reduce the Ikkō sect's citadel,

the temple-fortress Honganji, in Osaka; to conquer the provinces that owed allegiance to that sect's pontiff; and to destroy his medieval religious monarchy. The Single-Minded sectarians fought to the bitter end for the belief that faith alone brought salvation. That this was a "Lutheran" proposition was a theological point clearly perceived by the Catholic missionaries, who damned both the European Protestants and the Japanese Amidists as children of Satan. But Hideyoshi was incognizant of such distinctions. He was a man of power, not a theologian.

On the site of the Honganji, Hideyoshi built his own nonesuch, Osaka Castle, from which he presided over the creation of a new order in Japan. When it matured under the Tokugawa shogunate in the seventeenth century, that new, early modern order developed its own political ideology, in which there was little room for anything but secular loyalties.

Hideyoshi's "Decree" of July 24, 1587, was not yet the final verdict passed on Christianity and its servants in early modern Japan. The Portuguese merchants were specifically exempted from the edict of expulsion. The missionaries, too, were able to stay in Japan; that is, Hideyoshi closed his eyes to their presence. Knowing that they must behave discreetly or face dire consequences, the Jesuits trimmed their sails to the prevailing wind. Their partners in the policy of forced conversions had their wings clipped. With the striking exception of the daimyo of Akashi, Dom Justo Takayama Ukon (1552?–1615), who refused to compromise his faith and was disenfeoffed, the "Kirishitan daimyo" bent before their lord and master Hideyoshi and forswore their militant Christianity.

NOTICE

Item 1 of the following "Notice" is not a guarantee of religious freedom; rather, it is a prohibition of forced conversions. Items 5 and 9 raise the "question of the Eight Sects or Nine Sects (*hasshū kushū*)" and let it be known that sectarian affiliation per se is not a matter of vital interest to the state. The Eight Sects include the six Buddhist schools introduced to Japan before and during the Nara period along with the two classical schools of Heian Buddhism—that is, Tendai and Shingon. The Nine Sects are these eight plus Zen. There also were conventional lists of the Ten Sects, Eleven Sects, and Twelve Sects of Buddhism active in Japan at the time this document was written. Item 10 implicitly associates the Bateren with the Portuguese trade in slaves, but that is a false imputation, as the missionaries sought to counteract the practice in Japan. To be sure, a book attributed to Alexandro Valignano and published in Macao in 1590 asseverates that the Portuguese bear "no guilt at all" for that traffic, as "after all, they are merchants, hence are not to be blamed if they buy [Japanese] human beings in the hope of profit." Instead, the blame is put squarely on Japanese who "force" their compatriots onto the foreign traders by low prices and importunate solic-

itations. Toyotomi Hideyoshi is then praised for his prohibition of the sale of Japanese overseas, and his subordinates are rebuked for their lax enforcement of that law.[6]

1. The matter of [becoming] a sectarian of the Bateren shall be the free choice of the person concerned.

2. Whereas provinces, districts, and localities are granted in fief by His Highness, it is miscreant for the recipient to force farmers belonging to Buddhist temples, and others in his fief, against their will into the ranks of the Bateren sectarians by ordering them, unreasonably and unjustly, to become such.

3. Provinces, districts, and fiefs are granted to their recipients on a temporary basis. Although the recipient may change, the farmers do not change. In case of unreasonable demands exerted on any point, the recipient shall therefore be declared miscreant by His Highness. Be heedful of this.

4. Persons holding more than two hundred *chō*, two thousand or three thousand *kan*,[7] may join the Bateren only upon obtaining permission from the public authority (*kōgi*; i.e., Hideyoshi).

5. Persons holding fiefs smaller than the aforementioned: It being a question of the Eight Sects or Nine Sects, each head of the house may decide individually as he pleases.

6. The sectarians of the Bateren, it has come to His Highness's attention, are even more given to conjurations with outsiders than the Single-Minded sect. The Single-Minded sect established temple precincts in the provinces and districts and did not pay the yearly dues to the enfeoffed recipients. Moreover, it converted the entire province of Kaga into its own sectarians; chased out Togashi, the lord of the province; turned over the fiefs to priests of the Single-Minded sect; and, beyond that, even took over the province of Echizen. Everyone knows that this was harmful to the realm.

7. The priests of the Honganji sectarians had temples built on every cove and inlet. Although they have been pardoned, His Highness no longer permits them to run their temple precincts as they did before.

8. That daimyo in possession of provinces and districts or of localities should force their retainers into the ranks of the Bateren sectarians is even more undesirable by far than the Honganji sectarians' establishment of temple precincts and is bound to be harmful to the realm. Those senseless individuals shall therefore be punished by His Highness.

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6. *De missione legatorum iaponensium ad Romanam curiam*, pp. 139–40.

7. One *chō* equals 2.541 acres, so a fief of 200 *chō* was an area of 508 acres. The *kan* (one thousand pieces of copper cash) was a monetary unit used in calculating the size of a fief under the so-called *kandaka* system. The measure of "two thousand or three thousand *kan*" represents the annual cash assessment of rents and dues to be obtained from a fief by its recipient, whose service requirements to his lord would, in turn, be assessed on its basis.

9. Those among the common people who freely choose to become sectarians of the Bateren may do so, it being a question of the Eight Sects or Nine Sects.

10. The sale of Japanese to China, South Barbary, or Korea is miscreant. Add: In Japan trade in human beings is prohibited.

11. To buy or sell cattle and horses for slaughter and consumption shall also be considered miscreant.

The above are strictly prohibited. Any transgressor shall swiftly be brought to justice for his offense.

Tenshō 15.VI.18 [July 23, 1587] VERMILION SEAL [Hideyoshi]

DECREE

1. Japan is the Land of the Gods. That a pernicious doctrine should be diffused here from the Kirishitan Country is most undesirable.

2. To approach the people of our provinces and districts, turn them into [Kirishitan] sectarians, and destroy the shrines of the gods and the temples of the Buddhas is something unheard of in previous generations. Whereas provinces, districts, localities, and fiefs are granted to their recipients temporarily, contingent on the incumbent's observance of the laws of the realm and attention to their intent in all matters, to embroil the common people is miscreant.

3. In the judgment of His Highness, it is because the Bateren amass parishioners as they please by means of their clever doctrine that the Law of the Buddhas is being destroyed like this in the Precincts of the Sun. That being miscreant, the Bateren can scarcely be permitted to remain on Japanese soil. Within twenty days from today they shall make their preparations and go back to their country. During this time, should anyone among the common people make unwarranted accusations against the Bateren, it shall be considered miscreant.

4. The purpose of the Black Ships is trade, and that is a different matter. As years and months pass, trade may be carried on in all sorts of articles.

5. From now on hereafter, all those who do not disturb the Law of the Buddhas (merchants, needless to say, and whoever) are free to come here from the Kirishitan Country and return. Be heedful of this.

That is all.

Tenshō 15.VI.19

[Kuwata, *Toyotomi Hideyoshi kenkyū*, pp. 347–49; JSAE]

LETTER TO THE VICEROY OF INDIA

On his second visit to Japan, Valignano traveled with an ambassador's credentials and presents from the Portuguese viceroy of India to Hideyoshi. After being made to cool his heels for half a year, Valignano was at length permitted to proceed to Kyoto, where

Hideyoshi, by then the all-powerful ruler of Japan, received him in audience in March 1591. Valignano delivered a courtly letter from the viceroy, who professed admiration for Hideyoshi's unprecedented victories, avowed that he undoubtedly enjoyed the protection of Heaven, and recommended the padres to his continued, favorable attention. Hideyoshi's response was a typical example of the fustian that he considered the proper stuff for his foreign correspondence. Shocked at the letter's rude tone, its insults, and its threats, Valignano concluded that he could not possibly bear such an undiplomatic note to the viceroy, and the Jesuits requested that Hideyoshi change his wording. This boon was granted them, according to Luís Fróis's *Historia de Japam* (*History of Japan*), which includes an evidently doctored Portuguese version of the revised message.

Fatuous bombast is not all there is to Hideyoshi's original letter, which was drafted for him by the Buddhist priest Seishō Shōtai (1548–1607) of Shōkokuji, one of the Five Great Zen Temples (Gosan) of Kyoto. On the contrary, it has very serious contents. Japan is proclaimed the "Land of the Gods," but its divinity is multifaceted, resting on the concomitance of godlike functions and essences drawn from all the Three Countries: India, China, and "these Precincts of the Sun." In other words, as a basis for condemning Christianity, the universality of East Asian concepts of the divine is contrasted with the particularity of the current European concept of God. The critique begins by referring to *shin*—mind—as the base ground of all existence. *Shin* (Skt. *citta*) is a fundamental Buddhist term with a wide range of significations, "the Prime Meaning" and "the True Aspect of Transcendental Wisdom" among them; it is further described as an entity that "encompasses all space and generates the ethereal."[8] Mind is neither created nor is it a personal Creator, but it can signify something akin to the all-encompassing consciousness that is the seedbed of all elements. (The Stoic and Neo-Platonic analogues termed *nous*—mind—were surely familiar to the better-educated Jesuits of Japan, such as Valignano.) Having subordinated the universe to "the one mind," Hideyoshi goes on to plumb "the unfathomable functioning of yin and yang" and then enunciates the principle of the ultimate identity of the Three Teachings: Shinto, Confucianism, and Buddhism. He sets forth the Confucian formula for social ethics and concludes his argument by censuring the Christians for their narrow-minded and deluded insistence that they have a monopoly on the truth.

You have sent me a letter from afar. Opening it and reading it, I feel as though a vista of myriad miles of seas and mountains had opened before my eyes.

As your letter intimates, this empire, which comprises more than sixty regions, for many years knew more days of disorder than of peace. Hence evildoers fomented foul plots, provincial warriors banded together, and the imperial court's orders could not be enforced. In the prime of my life, I spent all my days and nights deploring and lamenting this state of affairs. I studied the art

8. See de Bary et al., eds., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, p. 312.

of self-cultivation and the essentials of governing the country, formulated deep designs, and made plans for the future. Founding myself in the three virtues of humanity, perspicacity, and martial valor, I nourished the warriors with affection and treated the farmers with compassion. I rectified rewards and punishments and set the state on a safe course free of perils. Consequently, before many years had passed, the realm was unified and now rests solid as a rock. There is no foreign land or territory however distant that fails to offer tribute. East and West, North and South: I order and they obey.

And now, disseminating His Sacred Majesty's decrees throughout his dominions and brandishing the authority proper to his worthy captain as far as the borderlands, I have opened all the barriers and bridges within the Four Seas, permitting free passage. I have struck down the bandits on land and the pirates on the sea, bringing peace to the state and the people. Our country is now secure. For all that, I have formed the ambition to rule over the country of Great Ming. Any time now, I will set sail for China aboard my palace-ship, and it will be as easy as pointing to the palm of my hand. Then I will have a convenient route for proceeding to your part of the world. Why should we let distance or differences come between us?

Now, then: Our empire is the Land of the Gods. God is mind. The universe and the myriad phenomena do not exist apart from the one mind (*shin*). Were it not for this god, no spirit would be generated; were it not for this god, no Way would be established. During all the kalpas of degeneration, this god does not diminish; during all the kalpas of regeneration, this god does not increase. The unfathomable functioning of yin and yang is called god.[9] That is why we say that god is the root and wellspring of all the myriad things. In India, this godlike functioning is called the Law of the Buddhas (Buppō); in China, the Way of the Sages (Judō); in these Precincts of the Sun, it is called the Way of the Gods (Shintō). To know the Way of the Gods is to know the Law of the Buddhas and to know the Way of the Sages as well.

As long as humans are active in society, humanity will be their basic principle. Were it not for humanity and rightness, a lord would not act as a lord or a subject as a subject.[10] It is by applying humanity and rightness that the essential ties between lord and subject, father and son, and husband and wife are perfected, that the Way of these relationships is established. Should you want to learn about the gods and the Buddhas in depth, kindly ask, and I will explain.

In lands like yours, one doctrine is taught to the exclusion of others, and you are unaware of the Way of humanity and rightness. You therefore fail to revere the gods and the Buddhas or to distinguish between the lord and the

9. "Xizi shangjuan," in *Concordance to Yi Ching* [*Yijing*], p. 5.

10. Allusion to *Analects* 12:11.

subject. Instead, you seek to destroy the True Law by means of a pernicious doctrine. Hereafter, stop fabricating wild, barbarous nonsense in ignorance of right and wrong!

Some years ago that notorious group, the Bateren, came to this country, seeking to bedevil and cast a spell on religious and lay folk, men and women alike. At that time I subjected them to only some slight punishment. Were they to return to these parts with the intention of proselytizing, however, I shall extirpate them without sparing any of their ilk, and it will then be too late for the gnashing of teeth. Should you have the desire of maintaining friendship with this land, however, the seas have been rid of the pirate menace, and merchants are free to come and go anywhere within these borders. Think this over.

I have received the products of the south as itemized. The list of the local products that I bestow upon you is on a separate paper. All the rest I have entrusted to the envoy for oral presentation, so I will not go into detail.

Tenshō 19.VII.25 [September 12, 1591] The Imperial Regent

[To] Injia Bisorei

[separate paper]
Bestowal

Long sword: Kunifusa
Side sword: Mitsutada
Short sword: Sadamune
Halberd: Akihiro
Armor: two suits
Gorget
Shoulder guards
Helmet: *tetsugai* type
Greaves

Tenshō 19.VII.25

[Kuwata, *Toyotomi Hideyoshi kenkyū*, pp. 253–55; JSAE]

STATEMENT ON THE EXPULSION OF THE BATEREN

The following is the fundamental anti-Christian statement of the Tokugawa shogunate. It was prepared at the behest of the retired shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu (r. 1603–1605) by the Zen monk Ishin Sūden (1569–1633), who was the abbot of Nanzenji, another of the Five Great Zen Temples of Kyoto, when he was called to Ieyasu's residence in Sunpu in 1608. One of the principal services that Sūden performed for Ieyasu was drafting foreign correspondence and other important documents, such as the Kinchū

narabi ni kuge shohatto (Code for the Imperial Court and Court Nobility) of 1615. In 1612 Sūden was put in charge of Buddhist and Shinto institutional affairs, a responsibility he shared with the shogunate's Kyoto deputy (*shoshidai*), Itakura Katsushige (1545–1624).

According to the *Diary of Foreign Affairs* (*Ikoku nikki*), a calendar of state papers kept by Sūden between 1608 and 1629, he was summoned into Ieyasu's presence at Edo Castle on Keichō 18/12/22 (January 31, 1614) and ordered to produce a statement on the expulsion of the Bateren. He worked through the night to write this document and presented it to Ieyasu the next day. The statement was issued over the vermilion seal of Shogun Hidetada (1579–1632; r. 1605–1623), and instructions were given to disseminate it throughout the country so that "everyone would be aware of its purport." It was then taken to Itakura's office in Kyoto, where it was reproduced in multiple copies. It is known that daimyo who received this notification interpreted it as an order to rid Japan not only of the padres but also of their adherents. In the Kyoto area, the order was put into effect on February 14. The missionaries were packed off to Nagasaki, and there was a mass roundup of Kirishitans, who were exposed to public humiliation in an effort to make them apostatize.

Sūden's basic argument resembles the one advanced by Seishō Shōtai, his fellow diplomatist of the Gosan school of Kyoto, on Hideyoshi's behalf. Sūden, too, exalts Japan as the "Land of the Gods," a realm triply blessed because the sublime traditions of all the Three Countries were amalgamated to form its unique national polity. Shinto, however, retains primacy in that fusion: it is through the assistance of the Shinto gods, Sūden asserts, that Buddhism and Confucianism were brought to Japan.

> Heaven as father, Earth as mother, and Man born between them: here the Three Powers are determined.
>
> Japan is by origin the Land of the Gods. The unfathomable functioning of yin and yang, given a name, is called god. Who would fail to hallow and revere the sacredness of the sacred, the spirituality of the spirit? All the more so because it is entirely as a result of the functioning of yin and yang that man gains life! None of the five bodily parts or the six senses, indeed no human action or undertaking, is for as much as an instant separate from god. God is not to be sought anywhere apart. What human beings are all endowed with, what each and every individual is invested with—that is the substance of god.
>
> Japan is also called the Land of the Buddhas, and not without reason. It is written: "This is the land where the Buddhas manifest themselves as gods, the homeland of Dainichi."[11] And the Lotus says: "As saviors of the world, the

11. Dainichi (Great Sun) is the Japanese name of Mahavairocana (Cosmic Buddha). Opportunely, if the characters for "the homeland of Dainichi" (Dainichi no honkoku) are written without being interrupted by a possessive case marker, the resulting compound may be read Dainihonkoku (Great Japan).

Buddhas abide by their great godlike faculties; for the sake of bringing joy to sentient beings, they display boundless divine powers."[12] These are golden words, wonderful phrases. The names "gods" and "Buddhas" differ, but their purport is the same; they are just like the two halves of a tally joined.

In antiquity priests and laymen, each blessed with the gods' assistance, crossed the ocean and went to faraway China, exerting themselves in the endeavor to seek out the Law of the Buddhists and the teachings of the Way of humanity and to bring back the interior and the exterior scriptures. Their latter-day successors have passed on the learning of those scholars from one master to another, transmitting it generation by generation. The Law of the Buddhas flourishes here with greater vigor than in other lands. How could this be anything but the Eastward Progress of Buddhism!

And now the band of Kirishitans has unexpectedly come to Japan. They do not merely sail trading vessels here to traffic in commodities. Rather, they recklessly desire to spread a pernicious doctrine, confound true religion, change the governmental authority of this realm, and make it their own possession. These are the germs of disaster. This band must not be left unsuppressed.

Japan is the Land of the Gods and the Land of the Buddhas. The gods are hallowed here and the Buddhas revered; the Way of humanity and rightness is followed assiduously, and laws regarding good and evil are perfected. Any malefactor is subjected to the Five Penalties—tattooing the forehead, slicing off the nose, cutting off the legs, castration, and capital punishment—according to the severity of his offense. It says in the *Rites*: "There are many kinds of death, but only the Five Types of Mourning; there are many kinds of crime, but only the Five Penalties."[13] Should there be some doubt regarding culpability, then a divine proof is administered, the categories of crime and punishment determined, and innocence distinguished from guilt beyond a hairbreadth of uncertainty.

Criminals who commit the Five Violent Acts or the Ten Evil Deeds are execrated by the Buddhas and the gods, by the Three Treasures, and by the multitude of humans and of heavenly beings. To escape retribution for an overplus of evil is not easy. Either the sword or the stake—that is what the consequence of crime is like. This is the way of encouraging good and inhibiting evil. For all the desire to suppress evil, however, evil accumulates easily; for all the desire to promote good, good is difficult to preserve. How, then, could one not issue a clear warning: If this is what it is like in the present world, then what of the world to come? All the Buddhas of the Three Worlds will not save

12. Lotus Sutra 21, probably cited from the Kyoto Gosan monk Zuikei Shūhō's preface to the compendium of diplomatic correspondence, *Zenrin kokuhō ki* (1470), which also contains a statement similar to the previous quotation.

13. *Liji* (*Record of Rites*) 36:8.

you from the torments meted out by Enma, the ruler of the Realm of Darkness, and all the generations of your ancestors will not be able to do anything. Dreadful, dreadful!

All of that notorious band, the Bateren, contravene the aforesaid governmental regimen, traduce the Way of the Gods, calumniate the True Law, derange righteousness, and debase goodness. When they see that there are criminals to be executed, then they rejoice, then they rush to the scene, then they do reverence and pay obeisance in person. This [sort of death] they make out to be a consummation to be devoutly wished in their religion. If this is not a pernicious doctrine, then what is it? These are truly the enemies of the gods and the enemies of the Buddhas. If they are not banned immediately, the state will be sure to suffer grief in the future. Indeed, unless they are checked, those in charge of enforcing the ordinances shall themselves become the targets of the punishment of Heaven. So purge Japan of them! Expel them quickly without giving them an inch of land to grasp, a foot of ground to stand on! And if any dare resist these orders, they shall be executed.

Happily, these Precincts of the Sun have for some years now been ruled by a recipient of the Mandate of Heaven to hold sway over the state. Outwardly, he manifests our cardinal virtues, the Five Constants; inwardly, he turns to the great teachings of the Tripitaka. Therefore the country prospers and the people are at peace. The sutra says: "Peace and tranquillity in the present world, a good repose in the life to come."[14] And Confucius says: "Our bodies, down to the hair and the skin, are received by us from our fathers and mothers. Not to let them be injured or disfigured presumptuously: this is the beginning of filial piety."[15] To keep that body whole: this means to revere the gods. To repulse the pernicious doctrine of the foreigners without delay is to prosper our True Law all the more. Although the world may already have entered an age of decline, our government pursues an excellent course: It steadily increases the traditional patronage of the Way of the Gods and the Law of the Buddhas. Let all under Heaven and within the Four Seas take note! Let no one dare to err!

Keichō 18, the year of water junior and the ox, XII. VERMILION SEAL [Hidetada]

[Sūden, "Bateren tsuihō no fumi," pp. 33–34; JSAE]

FABIAN FUCAN PRO *AND* CONTRA

Fabian Fucan (1565?–1621?) has few, if any, competitors for the billing as the principal intellectual actor in the drama of the "Christian century" or the des-

14. Lotus Sutra 5.

15. *Xiaojing* (*Classic of Filiality*) 1.

ignation as the most notorious Japanese defector from the Society of Jesus. A native of the Kyoto area who was raised in a Zen temple, where he evidently received an excellent education, he abandoned the Buddhist cloister for a Jesuit seminary in his late teens and in 1586 entered the society as an *irmão*. By 1592, Fabian was teaching Japanese literature to other *irmãos* at the Jesuit college of Amakusa, where his duties included making an adaptation of the great military romance *Tale of Heike* (*Heike monogatari*) in colloquial Japanese "for the sake of those desirous of learning the language and history of Japan." His version of the medieval classic was published by the Jesuit mission press in a romanized edition entitled *Feiqe no monogatari*. "Fucan Fabian" is how he signed the preface, dated 1592.

In the following years, Fabian built a formidable reputation as a rhetorician. In 1605 he wrote the elaborate Christian apologetic work *The Myōtei Dialogue* (*Myōtei mondō*), signing its epilogue, in Chinese characters, with the name Fukansai Habian. This work, which has been transmitted in manuscript, has the design of a popular treatise (*kana zōshi* [feuilleton in simple letters]), one with a fine fictional frame containing a colloquy between two women: Myōshū, a widow who seeks solace in religion, and Yūtei, a religious recluse who guides her "from the shallows to the depths" by exposing the emptiness of Buddhism, refuting Confucianism and Shinto, and exalting Christianity. The names of the participants in this three-part dialogue are contracted into "Myōtei" in the work's title. The epilogue identifies the target audience as "ladies of quality and widows" who "cannot easily find a proper way of conversing with men, even with monks, and even to inquire about true doctrine," but that is nothing more than a literary convention. It is known that such luminaries of the age as the Neo-Confucian scholar Hayashi Razan (1583–1657) and the shogunal adviser Honda Masazumi (1565–1637) were made familiar with Fabian's apologetic by the Jesuits. *The Myōtei Dialogue* puts on display not only Fabian's extraordinary range of knowledge of East Asian systems of thought but also his great skill with words. He presented his complex and challenging argument in plain Japanese (the Sinophile Razan called his language "plebeian"), reducing its alien character and making it accessible to the public. For that, if nothing else, Fabian deserves also to be considered one of the lead actors on the literary scene of the Azuchi-Momoyama era. Yet *The Myōtei Dialogue* is not a satisfactory performance from all points of view. For all the vigor of Fabian's defense of Christianity—or rather, paradoxically, because of the cerebral fervor with which he tries to demonstrate the rationality of his religion's underpinnings—he gives the impression of being a Christian out of persuasion rather than faith. His Jesuit superiors would surely have considered that a severe defect in his spiritual makeup.

Whatever the reason, despite his long and distinguished service as an *irmão*, Fabian was not promoted to the priesthood. Resentful, he avers, of what he viewed as the perfect example of a general pattern of discrimination within the

society against its Japanese members, by 1608 Fabian had quit the Jesuits. There is evidence, however, that righteous indignation was not his sole reason for leaving their company; he apparently decamped together with a woman from a Christian religious community adjoining the society's rectory in Kyoto. In the event, Fabian was co-opted by the enemies of his former confreres. As the persecution gained force, he turned informant. In 1620 he published the corrosive anti-Christian tract *Deus Destroyed* (*Ha Daiusu*), a work organized in seven steps in emulation of the seven-step sequence of instruction undergone by Christian proselytes in Japan. In this recantation of Fabian's previous career, Christian claims are rebutted by his counterclaims just as vigorously as he upheld them in *The Myōtei Dialogue*. *Deus Destroyed* became the foundation of the subsequent anti-Christian polemic of the Tokugawa period.

THE MYŌTEI DIALOGUE (*MYŌTEI MONDŌ*)

In the following texts, Fabian Fucan is presented as a debater against himself, *pro* and *contra* Christianity. The selections from *The Myōtei Dialogue* and *Deus Destroyed* deal with the same crucial question: Can the Christians be loyal to the Japanese state, in view of the exclusive loyalty to God demanded by the First Commandment? It is hard to say who wins the debate, Fabian or Fucan, because these two treatises are equally forceful.

Seeking to avoid unwelcome analogies with Japanese religious concepts, the Christian missionaries had since the early 1550s shied away from indigenous terminology and used the unmistakably orthodox Latin and Portuguese word *Deus* for God. To make assurance double sure, the Holy Name and a few other sacrosanct terms were usually tabooed in Christian texts composed in Japanese, being represented in them by monograms consisting of Roman or Greek letters. In Fabian's anti-Christian work, too, Deus—the un-Japanese notion of God—is written with the stylized letter 𝔇. The term translated as "adherents of Deus" is *Daiusu*, which occurs in *Ha Daiusu*, the original Japanese title of *Deus Destroyed* and recurs throughout that work. It is a different case, being a synonym for "followers of Christianity," the same general group that Hideyoshi called "sectarians of the Bateren." Not referring directly to God, Daiusu need not be singled out. Fabian writes this term with Chinese characters.

Points of Doubt Regarding the Kirishitan Teachings

MYŌSHŪ: There is something else I want to talk to you about, something about the Kirishitan teachings that may perhaps be considered dubious; in any event, the people of this realm think so. I mean simply this. Japan is a territory where the Law of the Buddhas has been widely propagated. Land of the Gods is the special name applied to our coun-

try by custom. It is by virtue of the Buddhas' and the gods' protection that the nation enjoys peace. Moreover, the Royal Sway could not possibly exist apart from the Law of the Buddhas and the Way of the Gods. Therefore, if all Japan were to become Kirishitan, the land would be in tumult and the Royal Sway would perish. "O what an insufferable religion!" is what everyone seems to be saying about the Kirishitan faith. How do you respond?

YŪTEI: "A woman or a preacher will talk on for seven days": that's it, more or less. Whatever people may say, let them say it. You, however, must have understood this much by now: All this talk that the Japanese nation enjoys peace because of the power of Buddhism and Shinto, and that the Royal Sway cannot exist without the Law of the Buddhas and the Way of the gods is laughable. Why do I say that? To start with, . . . Shinto may in the immediate sense be taken, in terms of the human body, to signify the Way of intercourse between man and wife. Its more distanced interpretation points to the functioning of the twin energies of Heaven and Earth, yin and yang. But yin and yang are what our religion calls creatures of 𝔇; they are things that have no mind and no wisdom. Accordingly, they are incapable of bestowing rewards or inflicting punishments on human beings. So what will it profit one to pray to them? What miracles will result?

The claim that the nation enjoys peace by virtue of the gods' power is nonsense. Even more unreasonable is the claim that the majesty of Buddhism ensures good order. That is because the Law of the Buddhas, in the final analysis, is a doctrine posited on the absolute void. Accordingly, it considers good and evil undifferentiated, perniciousness and righteousness the same; its postulate is that our mind in itself is void and that there is no master over condemnation or bliss. How can such a doctrine be construed into a basis for peace? On the contrary! Here is the origin of revolts and disturbances.

Let us look at the proof. In China, too—wasn't it about the seventh or eighth year after the accession of Emperor Ming of the Later Han dynasty?—when Buddhism was first introduced from west India and began its spread through society, there followed continuous disturbances in the realm, and the sovereigns who succeeded did not last long on the throne. This is what the Han Confucians abominate. Especially remarkable is the case of Emperor Wu of Liang. He turned his back on Confucianism and became a devotee of Buddhism. He built temples and made Buddhist priests his companions. Some three times he abandoned his responsibilities in order to become a drudge of the monks. And in the end, we are told, he was oppressed by Hou

Qing and died of starvation at Tai-cheng.[16] So that's the kind of benefit one gets from Buddhism! Is it really the way to bring about peace in the realm? Then what else shall we designate, what else abominate as the root of rebellion?

Shaka had not yet been born in the reigns of Yao, Shun, Yü, Tang, Wen, and Wu. Of the Law of the Buddhas no one had yet heard the words "Buddhas" or "Law." For all that, when you come right down to it, there is no report either in China or in our empire of a time when the Royal Sway was as blessed with felicity as it was then. The superior treated his inferiors with compassion; and since the sovereigns acted as sovereigns, the subjects also acted as subjects; inferiors honored their superiors. People's hearts were gentle, and that is because "the people of Yao and Shun patterned their hearts on the hearts of Yao and Shun."[17] They conceded the partitions of their rice fields to one another and did not stoop to quarrels. Thus the land was prosperous and the people wealthy, and there was no one to strike the Drum of Plaints. Now this is what I call an example of the reign of order! Japanese as well as Chinese may with right call this the propitious mirror of the Royal Sway. To say that without the Law of the Buddhas, the Royal Sway is forsaken, and that without reverence for the Way of the Gods, the land cannot be safe is the verbiage of people who know nothing. My advice to you is: Don't believe a word of it!

Let alone during the disturbances of the Shōhei and Tengyō eras, at the time of the Hōgen and Heiji incidents not even the syllable "Ki" of "Kirishitan" had been heard in our empire. Buddhism and Shinto were in flower. And the realm was in uproar; the Royal Sway was held for trifles; warrior subjects showed no sign of submission to the imperial court. From that time on, beginning with the wars between the houses of Minamoto and Taira, steeped in pride, through the Jōkyū disturbance, all the way down to our times, you will find in the histories nothing but the assault on this place, the battle at another.[18] As for the recent past, our elders will tell you how this place was burned, that one ruined in the rout of such-and-such a year, the uprising of another. That's all you'll hear. Peace by benefit of the

16. Ming Di of the later Han dynasty ruled from 58 to 76 C.E. Liang Wu Di, who ruled from 502 to 549, abandoned his throne more than once, declaring that he was a slave of the Buddhist clergy, in order to have his courtiers "ransom" him. When the rebellious general Hou Qing seized the capital city and assumed prime ministerial powers, the emperor refused to recognize the usurpation and vacate the palace. Hou Qing then cut off the supply of essential provisions, and Wu Di "became ill from anxiety and indignation and died" at the age of eighty-five. See *Liangshu*, 3, 56.

17. *Shiba shi lüe* 1: *Xia*.

18. The disturbances of the Shōhei (931–938) and Tengyō (938–947) eras were the rebellion of Taira no Masakado in eastern Japan (935–940) and the massive disorder in western Japan (940–

Buddhas and the gods, indeed! What period in our empire's history does that designate? Because of the worship of the pernicious Buddhas and gods, Japan has been cursed with the punishment of Heaven, so military conflicts have proliferated here more than in any other land—that's the one thing I'm sure of.

In any event, unless all of Japan turns Kirishitan, the country cannot be put to order perfectly. That is because Kirishitan doctrine teaches: Worship the Lord 𝔇. Next, love and honor your master from the bottom of your heart; serve and obey him, from the emperor and shogun on down to each and every lord below. This is the constant exhortation of our faith. For that reason, I have heard it said, for more than one thousand years there has been nothing describable as war, and not the slightest trace of treason or rebellion in Kirishitan lands.

If all of Japan turned Kirishitan, the land would be in tumult and the Royal Sway abandoned—on what kind of reasoning do these assertions rest? In the Kirishitan countries there is no Law of the Buddhas, but the Royal Sway flourishes there, and its virtue abounds within the Four Seas.

[Fabian, *Myōtei mondō*, part 3, in *Kirishitan sho*, in *NST*, vol. 25, pp. 173–75; JSAE]

DEUS DESTROYED
(*HA DAIUSU*)

Seventh Step

The adherents of Deus claim: The First *Madamento* (*Mandamento* [Commandment]) is "You shall hold 𝔇 dear above all things and Him shall you worship." It means that one should esteem this 𝔇 above even one's master, above even one's father and mother. If complying with your master's or your parent's orders would mean acting contrary to 𝔇's will, then refuse to obey, not grudging your life! . . .

To counter, I reply: So you propound a statute in ten articles called *mandamentos*. But apart from the first of the ten articles, nothing here falls outside the scope of the Five Commandments [of Buddhism] that prohibit killing, theft, adultery, falsehood, and drunkenness. . . . The initial article states, in effect, "In case complying with your lord's or your father's orders would mean acting contrary to 𝔇's will, then disobey them, making light of your life!" In this article

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942) caused by Fujiwara no Sumitomo and his pirate fleet. The Hōgen (1156) and Heiji (1160) incidents were coups d'état fomented by courtiers with the connivance of military aristocrats in Kyoto. The wars between the houses of Minamoto and Taira are usually called the Genpei War (1180–1185). The Jōkyū disturbance (1221) was the failed attempt organized by the retired emperor Go-Toba (r. 1184–1198) to overthrow the Kamakura shogunate by force of arms.

lurks the intention to subvert and usurp the country, to overthrow and destroy the Law of the Buddhas and the Royal Sway. Quick, quick! Put this gang in stocks and shackles.

"One does not usually expect to find precepts for attaining to ultimate good outside the realm of morals constantly preserved in the people's daily life."[19] There are many components in moral law, but in sum they amount to no more than the Five Human Relationships. Lord and subject, father and child, husband and wife, elder brother and younger brother, friend and friend—once they discharge their proper duties, what more can they do? And one who deranges these—to what iniquity, to what atrocity would such a one not stoop?

The duties proper to the lord and the subject are loyalty and its reward. The duties proper to the father and the child—filial piety and parental affection; the duties proper to the husband and the wife—the righteous observance of their separate functions; the duties proper to the elder brother and the younger brother—fraternal service and love; and the duties of friend and friend to each other are fidelity and sincerity. To bestow on humans a nature concordant with these Five Human Relationships is the proper part of Heaven's Will. And here is how you regard this, you adherents of Deus! To keep from acting contrary to 𝔇's will, you say, cast aside the subject's loyalty to the lord, repudiate the bonds of filial piety and of fraternal service! What greater iniquity than this?

The expression "acting contrary to 𝔇's will" means, first and foremost, repudiating 𝔇 to adhere to the Buddhas and the gods. Consequently, even if the ruler commands, "Convert from the Deus cult to the Buddhas and the gods!"—no matter how strict his orders may be—the adherents of Deus, not grudging their lives, would rather be subjected to the Five Penalties and would delight in it. Look, look! They value the directives of the Bateren above the ruler's command. They feel a greater debt of gratitude for the preachments of the Bateren than for their own parents' beneficence.

Japan is the Land of the Gods. The generations of our sovereigns have received the imperial dignity from Amaterasu Ōmikami through U-gaya-fukiawasezu no Mikoto and his August Child Jinmu Tennō, who became the progenitor of our hundred kings. The Three Divine Regalia are the protectors of the realm; hence, among all the customs of our empire, there is not one that does not depend on the Way of the Gods. The divine Prince Shōtoku, a Buddha manifest in human form, took on the intention of Amaterasu Ōmikami to extend the Way of our land, and to that end he made Buddhism flourish. Since then, our land has also been the Land of the Buddhas.

And this, this the adherents of Deus plan to subvert! They bide their time with the intent to make all of Japan into their own sectarians and destroy the Law of the Buddhas and the Way of the Gods. Because the Law of the Buddhas

19. Zhu Xi, introduction to *Daxue zhangzhu*.

and the Way of the Gods exist here, the Royal Sway also flourishes; and since the Royal Sway exists, the majesty of the Buddhas and the gods increases. The adherents of Deus therefore have no recourse but to subvert the Royal Sway, overthrow the Buddhas and the gods, eliminate the customs of Japan, and import the customs of their own countries. Then only will their plan of usurpation advance.

They have sent troops and taken over such countries as Luzon and Nova Hispania, lands of barbarians close to animals in nature. But our empire surpasses other lands by far in its fierce bravery. For that reason the ambition to usurp this country by diffusing their doctrine, even if it takes a thousand years, has penetrated the very marrow of their bones. But what a gloomy prospect awaits them! For the sake of their doctrine they value their lives less than dust or ashes. *Maruchiru* (*mártir*), they call this. When a wise ruler governs the realm, good is promoted and evil chastised. Rewards promote good and punishments chastise evil. There is no greater punishment than to take away life, but the adherents of Deus have no fear of being killed and will not change their religion. How horrible it is! And where did this flagrant wickedness arise? Its origin, one look will show, is in the First *Mandamento* (Commandment): "You shall hold 𝔇 dear above all things and him shall you worship." The spread of such a pernicious doctrine is completely the working of the devil.

There is, however, no need for me to dissect these pernicious teachings into little pieces to proffer to His Highness. Our ruler truly possesses perspicacity and sagacity; he has to hear only one part in ten to understand the whole ten.[20] He has banned this gang and thoroughly stamped it out—a beneficent action that surpasses hundredfold the blessings bestowed on humanity by the sage rulers of another land who, as tradition has it, in ancient times subdued the wild beasts, tamed the flooding waters, and put at ease the dwellings of the people. Wild beasts and flooding waters are inimical to the body. This gang, however, would subvert the truth. They are the enemies of the Buddhas and all law. Worst of all, this is a perfidious band that plots to usurp the country. Who is there that would not hate them? . . .

[Fabian, *Ha Daiusu*, *Hai-Ya sho*, in *NST*, vol. 25, pp. 440–42; JSAE]

A BUDDHIST REFUTATION OF CHRISTIANITY

Suzuki Shōsan (1579–1655) and Asai Ryōi (d. 1691), who collectively produced the work excerpted here, *Christians Demolished: Tract and Glosses* (*Kirishitan hakyakuron den*), first published about 1664, enjoy high literary reputations.

20. Allusions to *Lüshi chunqiu: Shenshi*, and *Analects* 5:9. The rhetoric is addressed to Shogun Tokugawa Hidetada.

Both are considered representative authors of the early Tokugawa period and are frequently included in anthologies of *kana zōshi*, the literary genre that dominated Japanese prose from the 1590s to the 1680s. Both were Buddhist priests.

Suzuki Shōsan traced his lineage to those legendary stalwarts of the Tokugawa vassal band, the Mikawa samurai. He fought for Ieyasu at the battle of Sekigahara in 1600 and in both Osaka campaigns of 1614/1615. In 1620 he entered religion, but he retained a samurai temperament throughout his life. Apart from his notoriety as a practitioner of "ferocious" Zen and an advocate of "practical" religion, Shōsan is known for seven popular tractates on Buddhism published in the 1650s and 1660s. In 1642 this combative Zen priest was called to the Amakusa Islands, a breeding ground of the recently suppressed Shimabara Rebellion. His brother Suzuki Shigenari governed the area as the Tokugawa shogunate's *daikan* (administrative deputy), and Shōsan assisted him on the spiritual front in an effort to root out all traces of Christianity, refashion the religious allegiances of the populace, and reintegrate Amakusa into the social order of the Tokugawa realm. In the three years that Shōsan spent on the islands, he is said to have founded as many as thirty-two Buddhist temples and to have deposited a manuscript copy of his treatise *Christians Countered* (*Ha Kirishitan*, 1662) in each. This tract, which he intended to be a manual for continued anti-Christian propaganda, was also known under the name *Christians Demolished* (*Kirishitan hakyakuron*).

Shōsan's critique of the "Southern Barbarian" religion was taken up by Asai Ryōi, a priest of the True Pure Land sect, who not only incorporated Shōsan's text—subjecting it to a redaction and amplifying it with glosses (*den*)—but also borrowed the alternative title of Shōsan's tract (*ron*) in composing his own *kanazōshi* on the Christian peril, which he called *Kirishitan hakyakuron den*. (Ryōi has been called Japan's first professional writer. With more than forty-five titles to his credit, he was certainly prolific, but originality was not his strong suit.) The first two parts of the *Tract and Glosses* are an account of the Shimabara Rebellion. Part 2 concludes with a biographical sketch of Suzuki Shōsan. Part 3 consists of Shōsan's text interspersed with commentaries intended by Ryōi "to make it easier for the ignorant to understand." The initial argument of this part is presented here.

A remarkable aspect of Ryōi's contribution to this joint polemic is his ingenuity in creating bizarre transcriptions in Chinese characters for derivatives of Western terms that appear in the Japanese *kana* syllabary in Shōsan's *Ha Kirishitan*. For example, Ryōi writes the name Zezu Kirishi (from the Portuguese "Jesu Christo") with a set of five logograms meaning "this–head–demon–profit–history." In his work's title, *Kirishitan* is represented with the four-character compound "demon–reason–ambition–extremity." The Japanese approximation of the European word *padre* (or its plural) is commonly rendered "Bateren" by

Suzuki Shōsan and other contemporary authors, but Asai Ryōi specifies the reading "Batere" for "punish–heaven–society" and various other strange Chinese-character compounds that he invented for this term.

CHRISTIANS DEMOLISHED: TRACT AND GLOSSES (*KIRISHITAN HAKYAKURON DEN*)

According to the Kirishitan teachings, the Great Buddha named Deusu is the Lord of Heaven and Earth and is the True Buddha, self-sufficient in everything. He is the creator of the myriad things. This Buddha manifested himself on earth more than sixteen hundred years ago in South Barbary under the name of Zezu Kirishi. That other lands do not know him, worshiping instead the worthless Amida and Shaka, is the depth of stupidity. Thus they claim, as I have heard.

To counter, I reply: If Deusu is the Lord of Heaven and Earth and if he created the terrestrial domain and the myriad things, then why has this Deusu abandoned those innumerable countries where he has yet to make an appearance? Ever since heaven and earth were opened up, the Buddhas of the Three Worlds have manifested themselves one after the other in the endeavor to save sentient beings, for how many thousands and tens of thousands of years! Meanwhile, Deusu has failed until now to make an appearance in any other country and has appeared, quite recently, in South Barbary alone. Or so they say, but what proof is there? If Deusu indeed is the Lord of Heaven and Earth, then it has been great inattention on his part to permit subordinate Buddhas to take over countries that he personally created, allowing them to spread their law there and save sentient beings, from the opening up of heaven and earth down to the present day. In truth, this Deusu is a stupid Buddha. Could anything be so bereft of reason?

But the Batere of the present day will not leave the salvation of sentient beings up to the Buddhas. Misappropriating one Buddha, they have come to this country to proclaim an opinionated but baseless law without authority. How can they escape Heaven's punishment? And then there are the unenlightened who fail to see through their clumsy claims and revere their teachings, for which they even throw away their lives. Is this not a disgrace on our country? The notoriety in foreign lands! This is a sad state of affairs.

The gloss says: "Upon inquiry into what the Buddhist scriptures mean, we find that these Three Worlds and Six Realms came into existence as a consequence of the actions and their effects generated by sentient beings. A Buddha did not construct them."

According to the teachings of the infidels, however, Daibon tennō (the king

of Mahabrahman Heaven) constructed this world.[21] Since he made all things, anyone who acts contrary to his intentions incurs punishment—is what they said. Could it be that these teachings of the infidels were adopted by those who now claim that this world and all things in it are Deusu's creation? But in that case, if everything were indeed Deusu's creation, then what about the differences between rich and poor, noble and mean, that exist among humans? Tigers and wolves, fleas and lice, devour humans; arsenic, *Chin toxicornis*, *Rhus toxicodendron*, and cantharides are horrible poisons.[22] For what purpose were they created? And there are many other things that would never be missed if they did not exist but cause harm as long as they do. So there is no sense to Deusu's creation.

Next: His appearance on earth in South Barbary—was it not overdue, coming such a long way into this Latter Age of Decline? The Tathagata manifested himself on this earth in order to expound the truth of the Middle Way, in the country called Magadha in Central India, which is the center of the Triple-Thousand Chiliocosm of ten billion worlds. Thence Buddhism was transmitted to Great Tang and Japan without any divergence from the way the Tathagata taught it and from his prophecies. Zezu Kirishi, however, made his appearance in the hinterlands of South Barbary. In other countries no one knows him, and there is no certain proof of him. Not to speak of this: If even the Buddha who endeavors to save all sentient beings is his creature, then what are we to make of this Deusu who could not foresee the future well enough to realize that he would harm his own religion by creating this Buddha for no reason? He is no different from the fool who invites disaster on himself.

By putting forward their utterly nonsensical falsehoods they seek to delude this empire.

[Shōsan and Ryōi, *Kirishitan hakyakuron den*, in *Kana zōshi shūsei*, vol. 25, pp. 61–63; JSAE]

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21. Among the various schools of thought that Buddhists classified as heterodox are the "Brahman infidels" (Bonten gedō), further subdivided into "advocates of Veda, of Vishnu, and of Maheshvara" (Ida, Ichū, Makeishura ronshi), depending on the relative degree of primacy they attribute to Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva.

22. Unlike the other three poisons, *Chin toxicornis* is not found in the pharmacopoeia. Rather, it appears in mythology under the name *chinchō* (bird Chin). Wine in which a feather of this bird has been dipped is deadly.

Chapter 24

CONFUCIAN REVISIONISTS

FUNDAMENTALISM AND REVISIONISM IN THE CRITIQUE OF NEO-CONFUCIANISM

Neo-Confucianism in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Japan, as represented by the Cheng–Zhu learning of the Way, was only the culmination of a movement begun much earlier in the Song period to revive the original Confucian tradition and reassert its validity for later times. One feature of this movement had been a strong reaction against Buddhism as being antithetical to the Confucian belief in an enduring moral order, the moral self, and the value of social action. For the most part, Tokugawa scholars appreciated the role that Song thinkers had played in reasserting and revitalizing the basic teachings of the Confucian school. Some, however, came to recognize and deplore the extent to which these teachings had been amplified and, they thought, distorted by the Neo-Confucians in ways adapted to a Song spiritual climate much influenced by Buddhism and Daoism.

The thinkers represented in this chapter were not members of the same school or scholarly lineage, but together they represent a tendency—both revisionist and fundamentalist—to reexamine the Neo-Confucian synthesis and purge it of later interpretations (as, to some extent, the Song thinkers themselves had done in revising the Confucian scholarship of the Han and Tang periods).

As revisionists with regard to received tradition, they manifested a broader trend and stage in the evolution of East Asian Neo-Confucianism, continuing the critical reexamination of tradition. Often this critique combined an urge to simplify and reduce the teaching to its bare essentials (presumed to be based on the original Confucian classics), but that process itself reflected revisionist inclinations adapted to local culture and contemporary trends. Thus, in the case of Yamaga Sokō, the new formulation was adapted to the mentality and changing social role of the samurai class; in that of Itō Jinsai (an independent teacher, not a samurai), to the tastes and interests of the new bourgeois culture of the townspeople (*chōnin*); and in that of Ogyū Sorai, to the growing scholarly awareness of conceptual change and sophistication in regard to historical, linguistic, and contextual study. In each case also, these claims to rediscover and repossess the authentic classical Confucianism were adapted to major long-term trends in Japan: the military code ("feudal" values combined with "Confucian" ethics), which remained powerful into the twentieth century; the importance of middle-class culture in the later process of modernization; and the increasing diversity and sophistication of Japanese scholarship into the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

YAMAGA SOKŌ AND THE CIVILIZING OF THE SAMURAI

The first important thinker to challenge the Neo-Confucians was Yamaga Sokō (1622–1685), a figure known for his intellectual powers and independence of mind. A brilliant student of Hayashi Razan, he had established while still a young man a wide reputation for his mastery of Shinto, Buddhism, and Daoism as well as Neo-Confucianism. It was especially as a student of military science, however, and one with decided convictions about the role of the warrior class in peacetime, that Sokō attracted attention from numerous samurai eager to employ their leisure time in self-improvement.

Like Kumazawa Banzan, Sokō was concerned about the prolonged inactivity of the warrior class under peaceful Tokugawa rule. Even in these circumstances, he believed that samurai had an important function to perform that justified their special status, something more than simply keeping themselves fit for possible military service, important as that was. If samurai were given a stipend by their lord, it was not so they could enjoy a parasitic existence at the expense of the other social classes—eating the food of the peasant and using the goods of the artisan or merchant—but so they would be free to cultivate those arts and virtues that would enable them to serve as models and leaders for all others. Above all, samurai should set a high example of devotion to duty (*gi*, or rightness). If this sense of duty required the other classes to perform their respective functions conscientiously, it specifically required samurai to serve their lord

with the utmost loyalty and in general to put devotion to moral principle (rightness) ahead of personal gain. The achievement of this high ideal involved a life of austerity, temperance, constant self-discipline, and readiness to meet death at any time, qualities long honored in the Japanese feudal tradition but now given systematic form by Sokō in terms of Confucian ethical philosophy. To set forth the lofty mission of the warrior class and its attendant obligations, he wrote a series of works dealing in detail with "the teaching for warriors" (*bukyō*) and "the Way of the samurai" (*shidō*). In the twentieth century, this series was taken to be the first systematic exposition of what came to be known as the Way of the warrior (*bushidō*).

It is good to remember, however, that for Sokō the Way of the warrior was not all moral indoctrination and martial discipline, and his contribution to it was more than simply codifying and providing a philosophical basis for Japanese feudal traditions. Sokō also stressed the so-called peaceful arts—letters and history—as essential to the intellectual discipline of the samurai. In this he reflects a characteristic feature of the age: the union of military power, as represented by the shogunate, with the civil arts, as the Tokugawa encouraged them through a Confucian type of humanistic studies. At the same time, Sokō exemplifies a historical trend of momentous significance: the conversion of the samurai class during the long Tokugawa peace from a military aristocracy to an increasingly political and intellectual leadership. This development helps explain why instead of becoming an idle and effete class relying on its hereditary privileges, the samurai could serve as the brains of the Restoration movement, take the initiative in dismantling feudalism itself, and play an important role in Japan's subsequent modernization.

Significantly, however, Sokō's intellectual interests did not conform exactly to the Confucian pattern of civil arts and peaceful pursuits. He was intensely concerned with military science, devoting himself to the study of strategy and tactics, weapons, and the acquisition of military intelligence, subjects for which the average Chinese Confucian would have expressed great disdain. But considering later Japanese thinkers' emphasis on moral indoctrination as the essence of *bushidō*, Sokō's affirmation that intelligence, too, was one of the martial virtues had important implications. He himself drew attention to the need for studying and adopting Western weapons and tactics as introduced by the Dutch, and it is striking that his claimed heirs in the nineteenth century, antiforeign though they were, quickly realized the necessity for "knowing the enemy" and thus for learning more about the West. Yoshida Shōin, the hero of the Restoration era who was arrested for stowing away on one of Commodore Matthew Perry's ships in order to visit the West, was from a family that ran a military school based on the teachings of Yamaga Sokō.

Considering the purpose to which he wished to put his Confucianism in a feudal age, it is not surprising that Sokō should have chosen as his teacher Confucius himself, who had lived in a period of feudal transition, rather than

the Neo-Confucians, whose social concerns were those of a highly developed civil bureaucracy in a centralized state and whose philosophical outlook reflected the greater urbanity of the Song. In 1665, however, no such allowances could be made to mitigate Sokō's offense when he publicly avowed his antipathy for Neo-Confucianism in the *Essential Teachings of the Sages* and was sent into exile the following year at the instigation of Hoshina Masayuki, lord of Aizu, a prominent member of the Tokugawa house and a stout defender of Zhu Xi. In this work, Sokō proclaimed his belief that the unadulterated truth could be found only in the ethical teachings of Confucius and that subsequent developments in the Confucian tradition—especially the metaphysical theories of the Song Neo-Confucians—represented perversions of the original doctrine.

A main target of Sokō's attack was the notion that through quiet sitting, one might contemplate one's nature in its quiescent state. This he compared with the "direct apprehension of one's own nature" in Zen.[1] For Sokō, man's moral nature, as Mencius had defined it, consisted in the innate seeds or sprouts of goodness that, if cultivated and acted on, would become perfected in true humanity. Sokō's was a dynamic conception of human nature and principle, which could be fulfilled or realized only in action.[2] Because there was no such thing as a static, unitary principle or quiescent nature, whatever principle one attained in quiet sitting was, to him (using Zhu Xi's own language), like the "principle of dead and withered wood."[3]

It would be a mistake to conclude from Sokō's dynamic, functional view of the individual that he was a purely secular man without a religious dimension. For Sokō, Neo-Confucian "reverence" remained an essential value but directed outward in the form of respect for Heaven-and-earth and the objective standards exemplified in the ritual system of the sages. Moreover, for Sokō, the rituals also extended to the Shinto traditions of Japan. In this respect, his religiosity has a theistic quality that contrasts with the undifferentiated, rationalized "reverence" of the Cheng–Zhu school, which recognized no external object of devotion but was largely internalized.[4]

After Sokō was sent into exile, in the custody of the lord of Akō, his studies and writing turned more toward the Japanese tradition than to the Chinese. He became convinced that the civilization of Japan was even more glorious than that of its neighbor and wrote *True Facts Concerning the Central Kingdom* (*Chūchō jijitsu*) to show that his own country, not China, was the center and zenith of all culture. This claim Sokō based on the fact that Japan was divinely created and ruled by an imperial line coeval with heaven and earth. The truths

1. Yamaga, *Seikyō yōroku*, pp. 21, 24–25; *Haisho zanpitsu*, p. 334; and *Yamaga gorui* 33:233.
2. Yamaga, *Seikyō yōroku*, pp. 24–26, and *Yamaga gorui* 33:185–200.
3. Yamaga, *Yamaga gorui* 41:265–72, 296–97.
4. Yamaga, *Seikyō yōroku*, pp. 21–22.

that Confucius taught had already been revealed by the divine ancestors of the imperial house and, of course, were no less true on that account. But the Japanese alone had been true to the highest concept of duty as set forth by Emperor Jinmu and Confucius; they alone had set an example of unswerving loyalty to the dynasty. Conversely, in China, dynasties had come and gone, and Confucian teaching itself had been corrupted almost beyond recognition.

By pointing to the emperor as the focus of all loyalties, Sokō had no intention of undermining the shogunate's authority. Indeed, he contended that the recognition by Japan's successive military rulers of the imperial sovereignty was proof of both the continuity of imperial rule and the legitimate exercise of power by the shoguns as deputies of the emperors. Loyal service to the shogunate was therefore one more manifestation of that hierarchy of loyalties uniquely upheld by the Japanese. After being pardoned in 1675, Sokō was allowed to return to Edo and continue his teachings, albeit in a very circumscribed way. During his final decade, his thinking moved away from the relatively nativistic themes extolling Japan espoused in the *Chūchō jijitsu* and toward an exploration of the numerical foundations of change permeating the cosmos. Sokō's *Exploring the Origins of Things and Our Springs to Action* (*Gengen hakki*), vaguely modeled on the Chinese *Classic of Changes* (*Yijing*), a work crucially important to Neo-Confucians, signaled in part Sokō's coming full circle, returning to the kind of philosophical abstractions that he had earlier criticized Neo-Confucians like Zhu Xi for expounding.

PREFACE TO THE *ELEMENTARY LEARNING FOR SAMURAI* (*BUKYŌ SHŌGAKU*)

This preface, written by two of Yamaga Sokō's students, illustrates the transition from Neo-Confucian studies to the Way of the warrior, showing how Zhu Xi's primer, the *Elementary Learning*, was adapted to instruction for the samurai, taking into account the very different tradition and lifestyle of the Japanese military elite from the more civil-minded literati whom Zhu addressed. Although ostensibly intended for young people eight to thirteen years of age, Zhu's "primer" actually presupposed much familiarity with Chinese classical culture and history. Sokō (and his students) simplified this greatly, but in presenting the very different and more rigorous standards to which samurai must adhere, they invoke the prestige of the prevailing culture by citing Confucian texts (e.g., the *Record of Rites*, *Classic of Filiality*, *Great Learning*, and even the Song thinkers referred to in the text) to support the idea that Japanese traditions are native forms embodying universal truths.

In the Song dynasty [960–1279], the Chinese philosopher Zhu Xi wrote a book entitled *Elementary Learning* [J. *Shōgaku*, Ch. *Xiao-xue*]. It is a textbook for children between eight and fourteen (*sai*), teaching everything from sweeping

up, responding to others, when to advance or retire, love for parents, respect for elders, and kindness for friends. Zhu's *Elementary Learning* is tied together by its emphasis on felicitous speech and goodness in action. Its contributions to elementary education have been notable.

Nevertheless, Japanese customs and traditions differ from those of China. Times and circumstances change. The conduct of common samurai in this country has become thoroughly corrupt. Even while living in this country, they are attracted to Chinese customs or study rites and ceremonies in a foreign way or perform Shinto rituals in a strange manner. This is all the fault of not investigating principles. Learning consists in investigating things and extending knowledge, not imitating Chinese customs. How could the Way of the samurai (*shi taru no michi*) be fulfilled by practicing common Chinese customs? Truly the pursuit of the Way of the Sage [Confucius] lies in studying it from childhood, being transformed by the wisdom gained from its practice, and having it become thoroughly integrated into one's own mind-and-heart. Our teacher Sokō's military instruction is quite lucid. Those who wish to become his disciples and study the Way of the samurai (*shidō* or *samurai no michi*) must accept his instructions as if they were commands! They must never allow their commitment [resolve (*shi*)] to lapse into self-indulgence or selfishness. . . .

The eighth lunar month of Meireki 2 [1656]

Respectfully recorded by Teacher Yamaga's disciples

Sokō's Elementary Learning *deals with many of the same matters of daily life, training, and comportment as Zhu Xi's text does, but it speaks to the samurai as mature men (not to the early training of children, as in Zhu Xi's case) and as a class (with little of Zhu Xi's emphasis on the cultivation and formation of the individual self). The following excerpts from the first and last chapters include a notable section about the education and treatment of women in samurai families.*

Early to Bed, Early to Rise

The samurai code requires that samurai rise at dawn, wash their face and hands, groom themselves, dress properly, and prepare their weapons. Then samurai should harmonize themselves with the soothing, calm ethers (*ki*) of the early morning air. With due appreciation for the graciousness of their lord and their father, samurai should deliberate on their daily responsibilities to them, remembering the adage of the *Classic of Filiality*:

> I received my body, its skin and hair, from my father and mother. Keeping myself from harm is the first duty of filial piety. Establishing myself, practicing the Confucian way, leaving an honorable name to posterity, and thus conferring distinction on my parents, that is the consummation of filial piety.

Then samurai should attend to their family affairs and receive guests. [When] serving their lord, samurai must be prompt. [When] attending their parents, samurai should call on them, personally looking after their comfort. When executing tasks, samurai must not exceed their station or their lord's directives. When serving their superiors, samurai need to treat them with respect as they would their own parents, being deferential and not quarrelsome. "They should make friends through culture and learning and, through friendship, cultivate humaneness."[5] When among comrades, samurai should exchange many questions.[6] Samurai must be honest, never deceitful. Avoiding laziness, they should remember their proper duties. Such is the Way of intercourse with friends.

For samurai the path of official service finds them first out in the morning and ahead of others in dispatching business; in the evening they are the last to go home. [When] returning to their families, samurai should greet their parents first, then relax. [When] seated, they should ask what happened in their absence. They must deal with urgent matters promptly. In their free moments samurai should reflect on the events of the day; read philosophy, history, and biographies; and reflect on the true Way of the samurai (*shi no seidō*) so that they will understand the nature of righteous and unrighteous conduct. At dusk samurai must prepare for the evening hours, taking the necessary precautions to guard against accidents from fires and darkness. Having secured the safety of their household, samurai should retire to their bedroom to rest. Thus they give ease to the body and rest to those who serve them.

Precepts for Posterity

[When] instructing their daughters, samurai must use exceptional care. Often femininity and softness are deemed—albeit quite mistakenly—to be the norm in teaching them. Because samurai are invariably preoccupied with official matters, they are not fully aware of the problems of the inner household. In their stead, their wives must administer family matters. Given these responsibilities, how can they be soft and effeminate? Men should not override their wives in domestic matters; women should not have the final say in official matters. In order to differentiate their concerns, official life and that of the home, husband and wife should not presume to judge each other's domains.[7] Nor should men and women share a clothing rack, as their apparel should not be mixed together, and women should never dare to hang their robes on a man's clothing rack. In addition, the wife of a samurai should treat her parents-in-law properly.

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5. *Analects* 12:24.
6. *Analects* 16:4.
7. *Record of Rites [Liji]*, "Family Regulations" (chap. 10).

In the Han and the Tang dynasties, many Chinese women chose death for the sake of rightness in defending their duties. Likewise in Japan the wives and daughters of samurai have not let considerations of success or failure alter their sense of rightness, nor have they allowed matters of life and death to change their minds about what is right. Thus some sacrificed themselves [while] fighting rebels, and others died [while] combating enemy warriors. What can femininity and softness have to do with defending propriety or standing for what is right? In women the yin forces predominate; their bodies are naturally weaker and they are more submissive in mind and heart. Therefore yielding and compliance characterize their activities, but these are to be governed by resoluteness. Lewdness should never, not even at play or in jokes, be part of one's relations with women. Taught by the moral Way of rightness and duty, shown in what is essential to the Way of the samurai, the Way of husband and wife will then be correct, and the great Confucian Way of human moral relations will be illumined [made manifest in action].

[Adapted from *Yamaga Sokō zenshū*: *Shisōhen*, vol. 1, pp. 481–82, 485–86, 495–97; JAT]

THE WAY OF THE SAMURAI (*SHIDŌ*)

The opening passage of *The Way of the Samurai*, which follows, lays the groundwork for Sokō's exhaustive discussion of this subject as recorded by his disciples. Reflecting the general Neo-Confucian approach to ethics (compare, for example, Yamazaki Ansai's discussion of the guiding principles of Zhu Xi's school), it is entitled "Establishing One's Fundamental Aim: Knowledge of One's Own Function." Here Sokō stresses the correct understanding of one's place and function in a feudal society and its application to Confucian ethics based on personal relationships.

The master once said: The generation of all men and of all things in the universe is accomplished by means of the marvelous interaction of the two forces [yin and yang]. Man is the most highly endowed of all creatures, and all things culminate in man. For generation after generation, men have taken their livelihood from tilling the soil, or devised and manufactured tools, or produced profit from mutual trade, so that peoples' needs were satisfied. Thus the occupations of farmer, artisan, and merchant necessarily grew up as complementary to one another. But the samurai eats food without growing it, uses utensils without manufacturing them, and profits without buying or selling. What is the justification for this? When I reflect today on my pursuit in life, [I realize that] I was born into a family whose ancestors for generations have been warriors and whose pursuit is service at court. The samurai is one who does not cultivate, does not manufacture, and does not engage in trade, but it cannot be that he

has no function at all as a samurai. He who satisfies his needs without performing any function at all would more properly be called an idler. Therefore one must devote all one's mind to the detailed examination of one's calling.

Human beings aside, does any creature in the land—bird or animal, lowly fish or insect, or inanimate plant or tree—fulfill its nature by being idle? Birds and beasts fly and run to find their own food; fish and insects seek their food as they go about with one another; plants and trees put their roots ever deeper into the earth. None of them has any respite from seeking food, and none neglects for a day or an instant in a year its flying, running, or going about [for food]. All things are thus. Among men, the farmers, artisans, and merchants also do the same. He who lives his whole life without working should be called a rebel against Heaven. Hence we ask ourselves how it can be that the samurai should have no occupation, and it is only then when we ask about the function of the samurai that [the nature of] his calling becomes apparent. If one does not apprehend this by oneself, one will depend on what others say or [will understand] only what is shown in books. Since one will not then truly comprehend it with one's heart, one's purpose will not be firmly grounded. When one's purpose is not firmly grounded, owing to one's long ingrained bad habits of lethargy and vacillation, one will be inconstant and shallow. [In this condition] can the samurai's purpose by any means mature? For this reason, one must first establish the basic principle of the samurai. If one follows the suggestion of someone else or leaves matters to the shifting dictates of one's own heart, even though one may, for example, achieve what one wants in a given instance, it will be difficult for one to fulfill one's purpose in any true sense.

If he deeply fixes his attention on what I have said and examines closely his own function, it will become clear what the business of the samurai is. The business of the samurai is to reflect on his own station in life, to give loyal service to his master if he has one, to strengthen his fidelity in associations with friends, and, with due consideration of his own position, to devote himself to duty above all. However, in his own life, he will unavoidably become involved in obligations between father and child, older and younger brother, and husband and wife. Although these are also the fundamental moral obligations of everyone in the land, the farmers, artisans, and merchants have no leisure from their occupations, and so they cannot constantly act in accordance with them and fully exemplify the Way. Because the samurai has dispensed with the business of the farmer, artisan, and merchant and confined himself to practicing this Way, if there is someone in the three classes of the common people who violates these moral principles, the samurai should punish him summarily and thus uphold the proper moral principles in the land. It would not do for the samurai to know martial and civil virtues without manifesting them. Since this is the case, outwardly he stands in physical readiness for any call to service, and inwardly he strives to fulfill the Way of the lord and subject, friend and friend, parent and child, older and younger brother, and husband and wife. Within

his heart he keeps to the ways of peace, but without, he keeps his weapons ready for use. The three classes of the common people make him their teacher and respect him. By following his teachings, they are able to understand what is fundamental and what is secondary.

Herein lies the Way of the samurai, the means by which he earns his clothing, food, and shelter and by which his heart is put at ease; and he is able to pay back at length his obligation to his lord and the kindness of his parents. If he did not have this duty, it would be as though he were to steal the kindness of his parents, greedily devour the income of his master, and make his whole life a career of robbery and banditry. This would be very unfortunate. Thus I say that he first must study carefully the duties of his own station in life. Those who have no such understanding should immediately join one of the three classes of the common people. Some should make their living by cultivating the fields; some should pass their lives as artisans; and some should devote themselves to buying and selling. Then the retribution of Heaven will be light. But if by chance he wished to perform public service and to remain a samurai, he should commit himself to performing even menial functions; he should accept a small income; he should reduce his indebtedness to his master; and he should be ready to do simple tasks [such as] gatekeeping and nightwatch duty. This then is [the samurai's] calling. The man who takes or seeks the pay of a samurai and wants a stipend without understanding his function at all must feel shame in his heart. Therefore I say that what the samurai should take as his fundamental aim is to know his own function.

[*Yamaga Sokō bunshū*, pp. 45–48; RT, WTdB]

SHORT PREFACE TO THE *ESSENTIAL TEACHINGS OF THE SAGES* (*SEIKYŌ YŌROKU*)

In this preface to the *Essential Teachings of the Sages* (1665), Sokō's pupils explain the risks of publishing this work and the reasons why Sokō nevertheless insisted on going ahead with it. Indeed, the year after its publication, Sokō was sent into exile.

The sages lived long ago in the past, and their precise teachings have gradually been lost. The scholars of the Han, Tang, Song, and Ming dynasties have misled the world, piling confusion upon confusion. And if this has been true in China, how much the more has it been true in Japan.

Our teacher appeared in this country two thousand years after the time of the sages. He has held to the Way of the Duke of Zhou and Confucius and was the first to address their essential teachings. Whatever the problem—of the individual, of the family, the state, or the world—and whether it has concerned the arts of peace or the arts of war, his teaching has never failed to solve it and

deal with it effectively. Truly the presence of such a teacher among us is a sign of the beneficial influences emanating from our good government.

In order to preserve his teachings for posterity but not knowing whether the general public should be allowed to share in its benefits, we, his disciples, collected his sayings and then made this request of our master: "These writings should be kept secret and sacred to us; they should not be spread abroad among men. Your criticisms of Confucian scholarship in the Han, Tang, Song, and Ming dynasties contradict the prevailing view among scholars. Some readers might complain to the authorities about it."

The master answered, "Ah, you young men should know better. The Way is the Way of all-under-Heaven; it cannot be kept to oneself. Instead, it should be made to permeate all-under-Heaven and be practiced in all ages. If this book can help even a single man stand on his own convictions, that will be a contribution to the moral uplift of our times. The noble man must sometimes give his life in the fulfillment of his humanity. Why should my writings be kept secret?

"Moreover, to talk about the Way and mislead people concerning it is the greatest crime in the world. The textual exegesis of the Han and the Tang, the Song and Ming school of principle, so clever in speech and full of talk, wanted to clear up the confusion but ended up only making it worse. The sages were left sitting in filth and mud—a dreadful spectacle!

"The sages' scriptures are self-evident to all-under-Heaven; there is no need for lengthy comment. And I, deficient in scholarship and no master of letters—how could I aspire to write a new commentary on these sacred texts or engage in controversy with other scholars about them? And yet unless this is done, the filth and defilement of these other scholars cannot be cleansed away and the texts restored to their original purity.

"I am 'mindful of future generations' and aware of my own shortcomings. Once my sayings are out in public, all the world will publicize them, condemn them, and criticize them. Should these reports, accusations, and criticisms help correct my mistakes, it will be a great blessing to the Way. They say, 'A pig of a barbarian invites ridicule; the boastful ass is apt to fall on his own knee.' The weakness of us all lies in seeing only our own side and not seeing that of others, in the lack of open-mindedness.

"I look up to the Duke of Zhou and Confucius for guidance, but not to the Confucians of the Han, Tang, Song, or Ming. What I aim to master is the teaching of the sages, not the aberrant views of deviationists; in my work I occupy myself with everyday affairs, not with a transcendental feeling of being 'unconstrained.'[8] . . . The Way of the sages is not one person's private possession.

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8. Reference to the serenity of mind that Zhu Xi attributed to his teacher Li Tong, attained through quiet sitting.

That which can be practiced by one individual, but not by all the world, is not the Way. My sole aim is to reveal it to the world and await the judgment of noble men in the future."

[*Yamaga Sokō shū*, vol. 6, pp. 167–68; *NST*, vol. 32, pp. 8–9; RT, WTdB]

ESSENTIAL TEACHINGS OF THE SAGES (*SEIKYŌ YŌROKU*)

The following are excerpts from the distillation by Sokō's students of his *Essential Teachings of the Sages*. They show that despite Sokō's break with the Song Neo-Confucians, the topics he addressed largely follow the Neo-Confucian agenda and conceptual vocabulary. By contesting the latter, he showed why it was difficult to escape from its orbit completely. The classified titles themselves come from Zhu Xi's writings or reflect the ordering of topics in Chen Beixi's *Neo-Confucian Terms Explained* (*Xingli ziyi*).

Establishing Teachings

Unless taught, people do not understand the Confucian Way. When they misunderstand the Way, humans can wreak more havoc than birds and beasts. If not ethically transformed through instruction, people fall prey to heterodoxies, believe perverse theories, worship phantoms, and ultimately even "murder their rulers and parents."[9] In founding states and establishing themselves as rulers, ancient kings thus instituted school systems as one of their first tasks. If rulers govern by morally educating their people, then both their ministers and people will be truly transformed. With sustained instruction, people will see moral teachings as their customs, and then all will live in natural peace and security. Families, states, and the world have teachings specific to them. Nevertheless, when morality is unified, the customs of mankind become the same for everyone.

Reading Books

Books convey the surviving wisdom of ancient and modern times. We thus should read them with all our strength. Indeed, we must read energetically as each day we pursue practical affairs, because Confucian education depends largely on book learning. Education will conflict with daily practical matters if we obsessively read books, neglecting to practice the moral Confucian way as well. If we read books after having made moral learning our purpose in life, we will benefit immensely. But if we read books thinking that learning consists of

9. *Mencius* 3B:9.

nothing else, we will end up like a commoner who, amusing himself with useless playthings, loses his purpose in life.

The books we should read describe the sages' moral teachings. Confucian teachings are very plain and simple. . . .

The Succession to the Way

Sokō's fundamentalism is based on Confucius as the sole authentic source of the Way and regards all his successors as falling short of the Master. But the very term and concept of "Succession to the Way" (J. *dōtō*, Ch. *daotong*) was Zhu Xi's, so Sokō is only perpetuating and redefining Zhu's account of the attenuation of the Way while insisting that the original "pure" Way, shorn of all later, synthetic efforts to embrace new ideas, represents the true universal Way of all humanity.

The ten ancient sages—Fu Xi; Shen Nong; the Yellow Emperor; Yao; Shun; Yu; Kings Tang, Wen, and Wu; and the Duke of Zhou [ca. 1045 B.C.E.]—extended their virtue and knowledge to the world, supplying myriad generations with their blessings. As the Zhou dynasty [1045–249 B.C.E.] declined, Heaven blessed humanity with the birth of Confucius. As Mencius remarked, "Since the creation of humanity, there has never been another as great as Confucius."[10] With his demise, however, the transmission of the sagely teachings nearly ceased. Although they tried, Zengzi, Zisi, and Mencius could not peer beyond the vision that Confucius offered. Some Han and Tang scholars sought to revive the transmission of the Confucian Way, but they could not even match Mencius, Zengzi, and Zisi. Following the rise of Song thinkers like Zhou Dunyi [1017–1073]; the two Cheng brothers, Cheng Mingdao [1032–1085] and Cheng Yichuan [1033–1107]; Zhang Zai [1020–1077]; and Shao Yong [1011–1077], Confucian teachings underwent egregious transformations. Those Song academics believed that Confucianism was yang and heterodoxies were yin, as though the two were complementary halves of some greater whole. In the Song, the transmission of the moral Confucian way was thus obliterated! The situation became even worse with the rise of Lu Xiangshan [1139–1193] and Wang Yangming's [1472–1529] many disciples. Only Zhu Xi made major contributions to studies of the Confucian classics, but even he could not transcend his predecessors' excesses. . . .

From Mencius's demise to the Song [dynasty], Confucianism underwent three degenerations. The first, during the Warring States period [403–222 B.C.E.], was the rise of the amoral schools of the Legalists and the theorists of the horizontal and vertical alliances. The second, evident in Han and Tang literature, was the sterile work of commentators, specialists, and logicians. The

10. *Mencius* 2A:2.

third transformation was the abstractions of the Song schools of principle and the mind. From Confucius's death to the present, more than two thousand years have passed. With these degenerations, the Way of the Duke of Zhou and Confucius lapsed into mere subjective ruminations, deceiving and confusing people.

The Way

The Way is practical. Unless it can be followed everyday, it is not the Way. The sagely Way is the Way of humanity; thus it consists of what everyone should follow in their daily activity, regardless of time and place. If it were artificial or contrived so that only one person could follow it but others could not, or so that the ancients could follow it but moderns could not, then it would not be the Way of humanity, nor would the *Mean* have said that it "follows human nature."[11]

As a concept, the notion of "the Way" arose from the word for a road that people follow. When traveling, people must follow roads. For example, wagons and carriages traverse the great highways linking the imperial capital with every direction. Because these highways facilitate the flow of people and commodities, everyone wants to use them.[12] Back alleys, while convenient for locals, are narrow, cramped, and difficult to navigate; nevertheless, they are occasionally attractive. Confucius's Way is a great thoroughfare, while heterodox ways are mere alleys.

Principle

Principle refers to rational order (*jōri*).[13] Everything has a rational order. If that order is thrown into confusion, then matters of precedence and hierarchy will never be right. A person errs greatly if he views human nature and heaven as principle. A natural and rational order (*shizen no jōri*) pervades Heaven, earth, people, and physical things. Ritual propriety (*rei*) embodies that order.

Rites

Rites are the patterns of behavior that people should follow in their lives. People follow them so that they can regulate their actions to the Mean and bring order

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11. *Mean* 1.

12. *Mencius* 1A:7: "Travelers all would wish to get onto the king's roads (if he ruled humanely)"; *Mencius* 6B:2: "The way is like a large road."

13. *Mencius* 5B:1: "Proceeding along with . . . the rational order of things is the work of wisdom."

to their daily tasks.[14] A person who can both understand and practice rites is a sage. Without rites, people would not know what to do with their hands and feet or what they should look at or listen to! Without rites, people would not know when to advance and when to retreat or when to press on and when to yield.[15] With rites, peace prevails in the home, the community, and the imperial house, as well as in the civilian and military arenas. Rites do not distort feeling, nor do they simply embellish appearances: instead, they provide natural regulation (*shizen no setsu*). Rites are thus the Way from which we cannot depart. The sagely Confucian teachings consist simply of rituals and music.

Reverent Seriousness and Respectfulness

Whereas Zhou Dunyi emphasized "quiescence" (*jing*) as a contemplative ideal, the Cheng brothers and Zhu Xi preferred another *jing*, which combined the classic Confucian virtue of religious reverence with a seriousness focused on moral principle, as preferable to anything redolent of Daoist or Buddhist quietism. For Sokō, even this amendment was unsatisfactory, since it still was associated with the Neo-Confucian practice of "quiet sitting" and a focus on the unity of principle, which Sokō rejected as too metaphysical.

Reverent seriousness refers to being earnest and respectful in conduct and refraining from doing things in a wild and unregulated way. If a person perfectly manifests seriousness in every aspect of the rites, he is behaving with proper vigilance. When discussed apart from the rites, reverent seriousness sounds oppressive, cramped, and uncomfortable.

Confucius's sagely teachings focused on ritual decorum. When practicing the rites, a person becomes reverent and serious. Yet dwelling in seriousness is not the way to master ritual decorum. Song Confucians nevertheless declared that reverent seriousness was the foundation of learning; they also claimed that it was the means by which a person could perfectly embody the sagely Confucian learning from beginning to end.[16] However by following the Song Con-

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14. *Record of Rites*, "Evolution of Rites": "Confucius said, ' . . . to neglect (the rites) is to die, while to follow them enables one to live a proper life'" (Legge, trans., *Li Chi*, vol. 1, p. 367); *Record of Rites*, "Confucius at Ease in His Home": "Confucius said, ' . . . with rituals one adjusts one's behavior to the mean'" (Legge, trans., *Li Chi*, vol. 2, p. 271).

15. *Record of Rites*, "Confucius at Ease in His Home": "Without the rites, one would not know how to dispose of his hands and feet, or how to apply his ears and eyes; and his advancing and retiring, his bowing and giving place would be without any definite rules" (Legge, trans., *Li Chi*, vol. 2, p. 273).

16. Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi quanshu* 2:21b: "Reverent seriousness is the first principle of the Confucian school. From beginning to end, it must not be interrupted for an instant" (Chan, *Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, p. 606).

fucian methods of "concentrating on unity" (*shuitsu*) and "quiet sitting" (*seiza*), people become overly scrupulous, submerged in silence, and oppressively narrow. Confucius explained seriousness as being cautious and apprehensive.[17] Accordingly, the caution and apprehension produced by reverent seriousness in ritual decorum engenders a natural calmness and serenity. Dwelling exclusively on seriousness imprisons the human mind so that it [can] penetrate nothing.

Respectfulness (*kyō*) refers to reverent seriousness displayed externally.

[Yamaga Sokō, *Seikyō yōroku*, in *NST*, vol. 32, pp. 14–21; JAT]

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY IN EXILE (*HAISHO ZANPITSU*)

In *An Autobiography in Exile*, written during Sokō's years in exile, he traces his own intellectual development from Neo-Confucianism through Daoism and Buddhism to his "rediscovery" of the authentic traditions of Confucianism and Shinto.

In the autobiography, Sokō describes his spiritual odyssey and the doubts he experienced, like many Neo-Confucians before him, until he found the teaching that could become his way of life. His early education was in the Cheng–Zhu school, which was, as he came to realize later, very "Chinese." It was also a very "catholic" training, including both orthodox book learning and spiritual discipline. The latter he identified with the practice of "sustained reverence" (J. *jikei*, Ch. *chijing*) manifested mainly in the form of quiet sitting. But apparently, he found it too constraining and wondered whether it was making him too grave, overserious, and withdrawn. Turning to Daoism and Buddhism, especially as synthesized by Zen, Sokō found that their mystical insights provided greater access to spiritual freedom and spontaneity.[18] These were the values that the Neo-Confucians themselves had recognized, and at this stage of his development Sokō found them immensely liberating.

In pursuing an "inexpressible state of selfless purity and mystical freedom," however, Sokō became aware that it took him away from society, not into it. His continued search for a practicable, livable "way" for the Japanese of his time led him back to both the original teachings of the Confucian classics and the original Japanese way of life in Shinto, from which he derived a simplified system of basic ethics that would serve as a kind of common denominator adaptable to any social situation in life, whether that of the samurai, townsman, or peasant.

Sokō's autobiography, written while he was living in exile in Akō following the publication of his *Essential Teachings of the Sages* (*Seikyō yōroku*), reflects the nativistic

17. *Mean* 1.

18. Yamaga, *Haisho zanpitsu*, in *NST*, vol. 32, pp. 33–34.

developments in his thinking as expressed in the *True Facts Concerning the Central Kingdom* (*Chūchō jijitsu*). It does not, however, refer to the final stage of Sokō's intellectual development during his last decade in Edo following his pardon: his numerical analyses of change as explained in *Exploring the Origins of Things and Our Springs to Action* (*Gengen hakki*).

I am taking this occasion to write down some of my views about learning. For a long time I have been fond of studying foreign books. Although I am not acquainted with those writings that have reached this country only in recent years, I nonetheless have gone through all the books received from China a decade or more ago. I feel, therefore, that at least I am well acquainted with things Chinese.

I once thought that Japan was small and thus inferior in every way to China, that "only in China could a sage arise." This was not my idea alone; scholars of every age have thought so and devoted themselves to studying Chinese. Only recently I have become aware of the serious errors in this view. We have "believed too much in what we heard and not enough in what our own eyes could see; we have ignored what is near at hand in our search for the distant." Truly this is, without doubt, the chronic weakness of our scholars. This point I tried to make clear in my *True Facts Concerning the Central Kingdom* (*Chūchō jijitsu*). The following is a short summary of what I said there:

In Japan the one true imperial line, legitimate descendants of the Sun Goddess, has ruled from the divine ages to the present time without the interruption of a single generation. The Fujiwara, too, loyal vassals and supporters of the throne, have survived, with men of every generation serving as premier or minister. Such unbroken succession has no doubt been due to the inability of rebels and traitors to succeed in treachery and intrigue, but has this not in turn been due to the wide prevalence in Japan of the cardinal virtues of humanity and rightness?

From the divine ages for seventeen generations there have been on the throne sovereigns of supreme virtue, supported by wise and eminent ministers, who have upheld the Way of Heaven-and-earth, who established the court administration and control over the provinces, who drew up formal regulations for the four classes of people regarding the necessaries of life—clothing, food, and dwelling, as well as the proper procedures for initiations, marriages, funerals, and festivals—so that in all these things the mean was achieved, and who have pointed out the respective paths of ruler and ruled, setting an example for all ages so that the people were at ease and the country at peace. Is this not all a manifestation of their Heavenly virtues of supreme intelligence and holy wisdom?

No less deserving of mention is Japan's pursuit of the Way of martial valor.

The three kingdoms of Han[19] were conquered and made to bring tribute to the court. Korea was subjugated and its royal castle made to surrender.[20] Japanese military headquarters were established on foreign soil, and Japanese military prestige was supreme over the Four Seas from the earliest times to the present day. Our valor in war inspired fear in foreigners. As for invasion from abroad, foreigners never conquered us or even occupied or forced cession of our land. In fact, in the manufacture of armor for man and horse, the manufacture and use of sword and spear, and, again in military science, strategy and tactics, no other country can equal us. Within the Four Seas, then, are we not supreme in military valor?

Wisdom, humanity, and valor are the three cardinal virtues of a sage. When even one of these three is lacking, a man falls short of being a sage. When we compare China and Japan using these virtues as criteria, we see that Japan greatly excels China in each of them and undoubtedly merits the name Central Kingdom far more than China does. This is no mere fancy of mine but a just estimate made by the world.

Prince Shōtoku was the only one throughout our history who did not esteem China too highly. He was aware that it was enough for Japan to be Japan. But the records were destroyed by fire at the time of the Iruka incident,[21] and all his writings were lost to later times.

Many paths to learning have existed in the past and present. Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism each has its own basic principle. In my own case, from boyhood to manhood I devoted myself to studying the Cheng–Zhu system, and consequently my writings in those days were generally in accord with this system. Then in middle age I became interested in Laozi and Zhuangzi and accepted as basic such mystical concepts as emptiness and nothingness. At the same time I also developed a particular admiration for Buddhism and visited the eminent masters of the five Zen monasteries, including even Abbot Ingen, because of my eagerness to pursue the path to enlightenment.

While I was studying the Cheng–Zhu system, I was too much given—perhaps owing to my own ineptitude—to the practice of sustained reverence and silent sitting and found myself becoming too taciturn and grave. Compared

19. Three kingdoms of Han refers to Korea. The name derives from three early kingdoms in southern Korea known to Japanese as Baken (Na-han), Shinkan (Mu-han), and Benkan (Hin-han). The conquest of Korea referred to here is that of the Empress Jingō (r. ca. 362–380). At the time of this invasion, the three kingdoms of Korea were Silla, Koguryo, and Paekche.

20. Reference to the invasion of Korea by Hideyoshi in 1592.

21. In 645 Nakatomi Kamatari and Prince Naka-no-Ōe (later Emperor Tenchi) brought about the death of Soga no Iruka and his father, Soga no Emishi, in a struggle over the imperial succession. Before his death, Emishi is said to have burned most of the historical records compiled by his father, Soga no Umako, and Shōtoku Taishi in 620 C.E., probably the first histories written in Japan.

with the Cheng–Zhu system, however, the approach of Laozi, Zhuangzi, and Zen proved far more full of life and freedom. The identification of human mental activity with the mystic activity of nature led to a deep insight. From that point on I followed the impulse of my own nature; all was spontaneous. Heaven and earth might fail, but there would be no doubt that the eternal and unchanging principle would remain active and untrammeled.

Nevertheless, there was still much that I did not understand about everyday matters. Thinking that this might again be due to my own ineptitude, I pursued this method all the more diligently in the hope that I might improve. It might be, I thought, that daily affairs are of such little importance that it is better to let them take their own course. Still, we find ourselves bound by the five obligations of human relationship and are so much involved in everyday affairs that we cannot go on in that way; we are held in their grip. If we should make our abode under the trees or on some rock in lonely solitude, scorning worldly honor and fame, we might be able to attain an inexpressible state of unselfish purity and mystical freedom. But when it comes to the affairs of the world or the state, and of the four classes of the people, needless to say we would not be able to accomplish anything in that manner. We would have less understanding of even minor things than does the uneducated man in the street.

Some say that if the perfection of humanity (*jin*) could be fully realized in the mind, all the things of this world and all the affairs of men would be taken care of; others say that if the compassion of Buddha were made the basic principle, all would work out for good in the three existences: past, present, and future. But all these ideas serve only to keep learning apart from the real world. Whatever others may think, I myself cannot believe otherwise or accept that kind of learning as satisfactory. . . .

Then, early in the Kanbun era [1661–1672], it occurred to me that my failure to comprehend might be because I had been reading the scholars of the Han, Tang, Song, and Ming. By going directly to the writings of the Duke of Zhou and Confucius and using them as my model, I could correctly ascertain the guiding lines of thought and study. After that I stopped using later writings but day and night applied myself to the works of the sages. Then for the first time I understood clearly the guiding teachings of the sages, and their underlying principle became firmly fixed in my mind. . . .

Now to learn the guiding principles of the sages, neither language nor scholarship is needed, because [the principles are so simple that] if I am told about them today, I can understand what I am to do today. Neither the "moral training" nor the "sustained reverence" nor the "silent sitting" [of the Neo-Confucians] is required. . . .

Among the paths to learning is one that emphasizes personal virtue and cultivates benevolence through the intensive practice of moral training and silent sitting. Another involves personal cultivation, the guidance of others, the maintenance of peace and order in the world, and the winning of honor and

fame. There also is one arising from a love of books and stressing the writing of poetry or prose. Scholars may be divided into these three classes, each with his own attitude or approach.

As far as I can observe, however, it is difficult in our times for men to reach the degree of rightness that prevailed in the days of the Yellow Emperor and the sage-kings Yao and Shun, so that rule by virtue alone is sufficient through its beneficent influence to keep the country under control without a word of command being given, or to make peace reign supreme within the Four Seas so as to win without coercion the willing submission of an enemy. Even though we should take the sage-kings as our model, no good result would come of it. Scholars who advocate such a course have lofty aims, but in the end they turn their backs on the world and return in solitude to commune only with the birds and the beasts. But the love of books and literary pursuits are merely scholarly diversions, not matters of everyday concern. Writing is a corollary of learning, and I do not cast any aspersions on it. Writing poetry and prose is something that should not be neglected "if one has spare time for them."[22]

To me, therefore, the guiding path to the sages' teaching involves personal cultivation, the guidance of others, the maintenance of peace and order in the world, and the winning of honor and fame. I come from a samurai family, and my person and station are ruled by the five obligations of human relationship. My own thought and conduct, as well as my five obligations in relations with others, are what I as a samurai must first attend to. In addition are the major and minor matters to which the samurai must attend. In minor matters such as dress, food, dwelling, and all implements and their uses, he must live up to the best samurai traditions of good form. This is particularly true in connection with training in the arts of war and with the manufacture and use of armor and horse trappings. Among major matters are the maintenance of peace and order in the world; rites and festivals; the control of feudal states and districts; mountains and forests; seas and rivers; farms and rice fields; temples and shrines; and the disposition of suits and appeals among the four classes of people. In addition, there is military command and organization, strategy in war and tactics in battle, the quartering and provisioning of the troops, and the building of fortifications—all those preparations for war that are the daily concern of generals and officers.

No matter how much training a samurai undergoes, if the studies he pursues do not enable him to get results in all these fields, then they serve no useful purpose and do not follow the guiding principle of the sages' teaching. . . . [But] if a man follows this approach to learning, his intelligence will be renewed; virtue itself will be heightened; humanity will be deepened; and courage will be strengthened. Finally, he will reach a state of mind in which success

22. Paraphrase of *Analects* 1:6.

and fame are of no account, in which unselfishness and self-forgetfulness will be the rule. Thus he starts out with the idea of success and honor but arrives at a stage in which success and honor have no meaning, and he simply goes on fulfilling the Way by which man becomes truly human. The *Classic of Filiality* says: "Cultivate yourself and follow the Way; fame will be the natural outcome of filial piety."

[*Yamaga Sokō bunshū*, pp. 481–88; RT, WTdB]

ITŌ JINSAI'S SCHOOL OF ANCIENT MEANINGS

The tendency to break with Neo-Confucianism and return to the classical sources of Confucianism was given added impetus by a very different type of scholar from Yamaga Sokō, the gentle but persuasive Itō Jinsai (1627–1705). Whereas Sokō stood for the basic Confucian virtues as exemplified in the samurai, Jinsai, the son of a Kyoto townsman (*chōnin*), represented dedication to humanistic ideals, regardless of class. What they had in common was an independence of mind, which Jinsai demonstrated in his thinking and by making study and teaching a profession in itself and refusing all offers of lucrative employment from powerful feudal lords. In this respect, he followed the example of Confucius himself, who was probably the first to establish teaching in ancient China as an independent profession rather than as an official function.

Jinsai himself enjoyed great success as a teacher, attracting students in even larger numbers than Sokō did. The private school that he opened with the able assistance of his son Tōgai was devoted to the study of the original classics and was known as the Kogi-dō, or, roughly, Hall for Study of Ancient Meanings. Here the *Analects* of Confucius and the *Mencius* were the basic texts. Besides reducing Zhu Xi's Neo-Confucian canon, the Four Books, to these two texts, Jinsai even went so far as to impugn the authenticity of the *Great Learning*, which Zhu had elevated to the rank of first importance as a Confucian classic.

In so doing, Jinsai broke with his earlier intellectual and spiritual formation from the standard works of the Neo-Confucian curriculum: in Zhu's lucid commentaries on the Four Books; in his anthology of the major Song philosophers, *Reflections on Things at Hand* (Ch. *Jinsilu*); and in the official Ming compilation of Neo-Confucian thought, the *Great Compendium of Human Nature and Principle* (Ch. *Xingli daquan*). Of special significance in this process was Jinsai's earlier fascination with Zhu's dialogues with his teacher, Li Tong, in the *Dialogues with Master Yanping* (*Yanping dawen*), offering a method of self-cultivation that held out the prospect of attaining the same lofty serenity of mind that Zhu so admired in Li.

This strong spiritual attraction of Neo-Confucianism was indicated by Jinsai's adoption of the pen name Keisai, expressing his dedication to a life of reverent

seriousness (*kei*). (It previously was the pen name of Hu Juren [1434–1484], probably the most religiously inclined of Ming Cheng–Zhu schoolmen.) By the age of twenty-nine or thirty, however, Itō had changed his pen name to Jinsai, indicating a new commitment to humaneness (*jin*) as his highest ideal. From this we learn something about the intensity with which Jinsai devoted himself to studying Zhu Xi. We learn, too, how disenchanted he eventually became with his former spiritual ideal. As in the case of Sokō, what had first recommended itself as a demanding discipline and austere dedication to lofty goals eventually generated a reaction against its very rigorism and scrupulousness. From this experience of disenchantment with the Song model, style, and practice of sagely serenity, when Jinsai tried to articulate the intellectual and philosophical implications of his new stance, he could draw on the earlier work of the Ming Neo-Confucian Lo Qinshun, representing a brand of Neo-Confucian teaching that stressed material force, or ether, as the prime reality.[23]

Here Jinsai took issue with the Neo-Confucians on metaphysical grounds, rejecting Zhu Xi's dualism of principle (*ri*) and material force (*ki*) in favor of a monism that denied any standing to *ri* as a first principle. It was *ki*, conceived as the vital force, that underlay all three realms of existence: heaven, earth, and humankind. By conserving and developing the life force within, a person could achieve self-fulfillment in the virtue of humanity (*jin*), which for Jinsai meant "love."

From this vantage point, Jinsai saw the "reverence" or "seriousness" of the Song school as a deadening, life-denying attitude in much the same way as Sokō had spoken of the Song masters as searching out the "principle of dead and withered wood."

According to Jinsai, Zhu Xi stressed reverence or seriousness as the root and basis of all learning, as the beginning and end of the sages' teaching, and as the guide or ruler of the mind. Regarding every act of man as having value implications and consequences, the Cheng–Zhu school required a strict conscientiousness in both every action and the total ordering of one's life and conduct. This called for a life of extreme self-restraint and close attention to each matter at hand, but it also contrasted with the spiritual openness, naturalness, and receptivity that had been meant to serve as the necessary complement to moral seriousness. For Jinsai, this prime Neo-Confucian value had been reduced to a fretful prudery and total introversion of mind, recalling Sokō's description of it in *An Autobiography in Exile* as making him also too grave, overserious, and withdrawn.

In his mature thought, Jinsai saw the reverence or seriousness of the Song school not as a state of composure or serenity preserved in the midst of everyday affairs but, more narrowly, as an introspective practice that compounded all the

23. See de Bary and Bloom, eds., *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, chap. 24.

evils of Buddhist and Daoist quietism: the suppression of natural desires and the immobilization of the will in achieving a single-minded concentration on the original nature. Like Sokō, Jinsai equated this view with Zen's "directly pointing to one's own mind," and he also saw as Zen-like the experience of a sudden breakthrough that Zhu Xi had described as an "integral comprehension" (*katsuzen kantsū*) of the unitary principle.

According to Jinsai, it was the subtle and pervasive influence of Buddhism that had led to the belief in sudden enlightenment as the culminating experience of sagehood. The Song was a time, he observed, when all educated persons of all classes, ages, and sexes were immersed in Zen, and they read into the Confucian classics Buddhist meanings that were not really there. Jinsai's principal written work, *The Meaning of Terms in the Analects and Mencius* (*Gomō jigi*), is a critical analysis of key terms in the Neo-Confucian lexicon intended to show that their original meanings had been corrupted by Daoism and Buddhism. This corruption arose from the identification of man's essential nature with "principle." To Jinsai, principle was a "dead term," meaning that it applied to fixed norms or to the structure of inanimate objects. Principle was static and morally inert, whereas human nature and the Way were a living, dynamic reality.

In Zhuangzi, who talked most about principle (*li*) in classical times, and in Buddhism as well, Jinsai saw both principle and nature as referring to an unconditioned, disembodied, transcendent state, implying a distinction between substance and phenomena or between a quiescent inner nature and outward activity. When translated into Song doctrine, this equation of man's nature with principle produced the misleading distinction between the unmanifest and the manifest (*wei-fa i-fa*) states of the mind, which for Jinsai undermined any claims for the Confucian view of man's moral nature, as opposed to the amoral view of Buddhism and Daoism. Man's nature thus came to be seen as a static principle to be perceived in a quiescent, desireless state. According to Jinsai, by equating heaven with principle, Song thinkers "sought to contemplate Heaven through 'having no mind' [of one's own], thus falling into empty nothingness."

By contrast, Jinsai insisted, Confucius and Mencius had regarded man's nature as fulfilled in outward activity benefiting mankind. Now, instead of man's "humaneness uniting him with Heaven and earth and all things" through ethical conduct, the impulse to engage in conscientious action had been deliberately stultified in the practice of a false reverence, and instead of practicability serving as the test of reality, practice had been relegated to the realm of the phenomenal and illusory.

According to Jinsai, just as Mencius conceived of the goodness of human nature, it was the impulse to action found in the four seeds or sprouts that, if germinated and cultivated, would lead to the fullness of virtue. It was not until Cheng Yi that this became distorted, and for the first time the virtues of humaneness, rightness, ritual decorum, and wisdom were called "the nature," and

human nature was identified with principle. Then instead of exercising virtue, scholars adopted special practices of self-cultivation to realize the nature or principle, such as "sustained reverence" (*jikei*), "mastering quiescence" (*shusei*), and the "extending of innate knowledge" (*chi ryōchi*). Here, contemplative praxis was substituted for social action, and mind cultivation replaced the active pursuit of the kingly way for the benefit of mankind.

To Jinsai, the significance of humaneness could not be understood apart from the complementary virtues of reciprocity (mutuality) and rightness. Humaneness was given a practical definition only through a loving sense of identification with others and through actions responding appropriately to their needs. In other words, humaneness was expressed in the total context of a Way extending beyond the individual and his self-centered experience.

Jinsai was aware of an "orthodox" Cheng–Zhu school in which a strenuous moralism and activism belied any taint of Buddhist quietism. In Kyoto, this rigorous Neo-Confucianism was championed by Yamazaki Ansai. To Jinsai, it may not have been restricted by a contemplative passivity but was nonetheless dangerous in its simultaneous denial of sensual desires and assertion of the rightness of its own moral claims with a dogmatic fervor.

In Zhu Xi's "broad learning," too, Jinsai saw a danger to man's proper self-cultivation, for the study of "dead" principle—value free and morally inert—could be a distraction from man's humane concerns. Thus he cited the diversity of studies proliferated by the Cheng–Zhu school's "investigation of things," not governed by any sense of human priorities or moral relevance, and besides a long list of sciences—natural, practical, and occult—he denounced Zhu Xi's often-quoted precept concerning the study of principle in even a tree or blade of grass. Clearly, Jinsai saw in Cheng–Zhu learning, just as Wang Yangming did, the potential for a relatively value free intellectuality, and he made a rather typical Confucian effort to restore the balance. But in the end, he elevated the humanized sage, Confucius, to a level of attainment out of reach for most humans. Indeed, he reintroduced a hierarchy of the sages and scriptures and attributed to the *Analects* the same perfection and preeminence as ascribed to Confucius, which may have discouraged the idea, so strong in Song–Ming thought, of a reliable and practicable method for attaining sagehood in the present.

As a Confucian fundamentalist, Jinsai wanted to return to the original "pure" teaching in the *Analects* and *Mencius*. As a Neo-Confucian revisionist, however, his return to the literal meaning of these ancient texts required that he critique the subsequent use of the same terms, as well as sort out the new terms, concepts, and practices that had intruded on the Song revivalist interpretation of Confucianism. In other words, Jinsai's literal reading of supposedly pure scripture had to have been affected by his reactions to the subsequent received tradition as he attempted to purge the latter of unwanted accretions. Finally, both the fundamentalist and revisionist views, albeit projected from a historical

high ground, could not be unaffected by strong currents in the contemporary culture of Jinsai's own day. Thus what he saw as fundamental in the *Analects*—humaneness understood primarily as love—came close to the same theme in the Genroku literature of Jinsai's own townspeople, among whom love and human feeling (*ninjō*) reigned as the supreme values.

THE MEANING OF TERMS IN THE ANALECTS AND MENCIUS (*GOMŌ JIGI*)

From its title, we might assume that this major work of Itō Jinsai is a gloss on the *Analects* and the *Mencius*. Actually it is more a philosophical lexicon of terms prominent in Neo-Confucian discourse, whose prototype is Chen Beixi's *Neo-Confucian Terms Explained* (Ch. *Xingli ziyi*). Reflecting an awareness of the different uses of these terms in successive ages, Jinsai typically gives a historical account of these uses (abbreviated here), critically comparing them with the original meanings as he interpreted them in his two prime sources of authority: the *Analects* and *Mencius*. Jinsai's general approach is to view these key terms as having been distorted by Neo-Confucians in a misguided attempt to theoretically refute, or adapt to, Buddhism and Daoism.

The Way of Heaven

The word *michi* denotes a road or pathway: something that people follow in coming and going. Our conception of "the Way" thus refers to that through which everything comes and goes. The Way of Heaven refers to yin alternating with yang, ceaselessly coming and going. The *Classic of Changes* states, "Yin alternating with yang is called the Way."[24] The word "alternating" describes the ceaseless and successive motion by which yang follows yin and yin follows yang. It also conveys their coming and going, their growth and decline.

A unitary generative force (*ichigenki*) pervades all Heaven and earth. Sometimes it exists as yin, sometimes as yang. These two aspects of the generative force fill things and empty them, promoting both growth and decay. They actively come and go and respond ceaselessly to everything. As the whole substance of Heaven's way and the activating force of nature, yin and yang produce myriad transformations and manifold beings. . . .

The myriad things are rooted in the five elements, which in turn are grounded in yin and yang. If we further seek the origins of yin and yang, we cannot help but return to the notion of principle. That is the conclusion at which common sense inevitably arrives. However, in addition, Song Neo-Confucians devised their theory of the non-finite yet Supreme Ultimate. The

24. *Concordance to Yi Ching* [*Yijing*], p. 40; Legge, trans., *I ching*, p. 355.

analogy of square pegs being jammed into round holes aptly conveys the very mistaken nature of their reasoning. The claims of the Song Neo-Confucians, such as that "principle exists and then generative force exists" and "before the existence of heaven and earth, there was principle," are nothing more than subjective opinions. Like legs added to a picture of a snake or a head growing atop another head, they will never really be confirmed by experience!

The *Classic of Changes* states, "The great virtue of Heaven-and-earth is life-giving productivity."[25] Thus, ceaseless reproduction is the Way of Heaven-and-earth. The Way of Heaven-and-earth consists of life (*sei*), not death (*shi*); accordingly, Heaven-and-earth embrace integration but never disintegration. Death ultimately negates life, and disintegration extinguishes integration. Because the Way of Heaven-and-earth is manifested only in life-giving creation, even though one's ancestors might have passed away, their spiritual essence has still been transmitted to their descendants. In turn the descendants transmit some of the same to their progeny. Spiritual essence is produced and reproduced ceaselessly. It is never exhausted and therefore attains immortality. The same is true with numerous living things. . . . [pp. 14–19]

The Decree of Heaven

Master Zhu Xi's *Collected Commentaries on the Analects* quote Yin Tun's remark "Being employed and being dismissed are not matters that we decide for ourselves. Whether active or retired, we must be at peace with what we encounter. Matters of fate, however, do not merit discussion."[26] Yin's idea was that whereas Confucian learning should emphasize morality, matters of fate are not worth mentioning. His views were not very well thought out.

We must discuss moral issues, but sometimes we must also discuss fate. Why? Going forward or standing still and advancing or retreating are indeed matters over which we have some control. We correctly understand them as moral issues. But matters like the preservation or destruction of a state and the prevalence or neglect of the Way depend ultimately on Heaven. Even the sage Confucius was not able to control them entirely as he wished! Therefore the *Analects* observed that "when the Way prevails, it is due to fate. When the Way is abandoned, that is also due to fate."[27] Mencius furthermore related that "Confucius said that success and failure are matters of fate."[28] The sage Confucius thus deemed fate to be worth discussing. While people must discuss morality,

25. *Concordance to Yi Ching* [*Yijing*], p. 45; Legge, trans., *I ching*, p. 381.

26. Yin Tun (1061–1132), a disciple of Cheng Yi. Zhu Xi quotes him in reference to the *Analects* 7:12, in *Lunyu jizhu*, p. 124 (410).

27. *Analects* 14:36.

28. *Mencius* 5A:8.

in some cases we can attribute circumstances only to fate. We are mistaken, however, in concluding that fate is not worthy of discussion.

When we lack the nobility that Heaven confers, it is morally wrong to claim the noble titles that humans invent.[29] We should simply not accept them. But if we have received the nobility that Heaven confers, then we may rightfully accept those titles bestowed by humanity. Indeed, we should accept them. Yet when we have the nobility that Heaven bestows, but not what man bestows, it is due to fate. [pp. 20–25]

Note in the foregoing Jinsai's assertion of a meritocratic basis for holding rank and office. A person should not accept an office if he is not morally and intellectually qualified to fill the position. According to that standard, townspeople, no less than samurai, could qualify, although fate (circumstances) might not allow for it.

The Way

Michi, meaning "the Way," denotes a road (*michi*), that is, something that all people follow in coming and going. Ancient Confucian writings explained that yin alternating with yang indicates the Way of Heaven. Firmness interacting with resilience embodies the Way of earth. Humaneness practiced along with rightness constitutes the Way of humanity. In each characterization, "the Way" signifies complementary activities.

Another ancient Confucian saying observes, "The Way is like a road."[30] By following it, you make progress. If you do not, you will never make any [progress] at all. Other statements like "Why does nobody follow the Way?"[31] and "We cannot depart from the Way for even an instant"[32] illustrate the same point. They suggest that only by choosing a route and following it can we make real progress. They also indicate that the Way must be followed because it alone allows for complementary activities. While embracing these various nuances, the Way truly exemplifies a single unified principle. . . .

The Way is the path that people should follow in their daily ethical conduct. It does not exist simply because it was taught. Nor does it exist simply because it corrects human tendencies. Rather, it naturally exists. Throughout the four directions and eight corners of the world, everyone understands the moral relationships naturally existing between ruler and minister, parent and child, husband and wife, elder and younger brother, and friends. Everyone also understands the ways of parental affection, rightness, differentiation, precedence, and

29. That is, moral qualities (*Mencius* 6A:16).

30. Yang Xiong (53 B.C.E.–18 C.E.), "Questions About the Way," in *Fayan*, "Wendao" sec.

31. *Analects* 6:17.

32. *Mean* 1.

trustworthiness.[33] For many generations, this has been and will be true. Therefore these are called the Way. The statement in the *Mean*, "People cannot deviate from the Way for an instant,"[34] refers to this very universality of the Way.

The same is not true of the so-called teachings of Buddhism and Daoism. . . . Buddhists, Daoists, and recently "Zen-Confucians"[35] all have advocated principles that are quite empty and abstruse. They apparently enjoy formulating lofty, unattainable notions. They are not pleased with anything that is not mysterious; nor are they fascinated with a doctrine that is not abstract. But how can their supposedly lofty teachings adequately convey the all-penetrating Way that extends throughout time and space, that is, the Way that can never be discarded for an instant? Lengthy arguments are not necessary to distinguish our Confucian teachings from heterodox ones. . . .

Buddha believed that emptiness (*kū*) is the Way. Laozi saw it as vacuity (*kyo*). Buddha thought that mountains, rivers, and continents were all illusions (*genmō*). Laozi claimed that everything was born from nothingness (*mu*).[36] Now for many ages, Heaven and earth have sustained life; the sun and moon have illuminated the world; the seasons have followed one another; mountains have stood and rivers flowed; [and] birds, beasts, fish, insects, trees, and grasses have lived as they do even now. For myriad generations, creatures that metamorphose have been metamorphosing; life-forms that transform have been doing so. Transmitting and mutating, life has been produced and reproduced without limit! How could Buddhists and Daoists claim that everything is emptiness and vacuity? Their views crystallized after they stopped studying and indulged in speculative wisdom! Buddhists and Daoists retired to mountain forests, sat silently (*mokuza*), cleansed their minds (*chōshin*), and indeed achieved a certain perspective on things. But their so-called principles exist neither inside this world nor outside it!

Fathers and sons love each other; husbands and wives love each other; [and] among friends, there is camaraderie. Not only is this true of humanity, the same applies to many animals. These relationships exist even among bamboo plants, trees, and other forms of inanimate life! Among them are distinctions between male and female, parent and child. How much more so must these distinctions be present in the minds of people endowed with the four beginnings,[37] moral

33. The values that attach to the preceding Five Human Relationships (*Mencius* 3A:4).

34. *Mean* 1.

35. "Zen-Confucians" refers to Neo-Confucians and their followers.

36. *Daodejing*, chap. 40.

37. *Mencius* 2A:6. These are (1) the mind of compassion (*sokuin no kokoro*), which is the beginning of humaneness (*jin no tan*); (2) the mind of shame (*shūo no kokoro*), the beginning of rightness (*gi no tan*); (3) the mind of deference (*jijō no kokoro*), the beginning of ritual decorum (*rei no tan*); and (4) the mind of right and wrong (*zehi no kokoro*), the beginning of wisdom (*chi no tan*).

intuition (*ryōchi*), and moral capacities (*ryōnō*).[38] Not only do noble persons (*kunshi*) behave in accordance with such moral relationships, even roadside beggars do! . . . [pp. 26–29]

Principle

The word "principle" (*ri*) is similar in meaning to the notion of "the Way." The Way refers to paths by which we go and come, whereas principle refers to the rational order of physical things. . . .

Someone asked, "Why did Confucius discuss Heaven and humanity in terms of the Way, and physical things in terms of principle?"

I replied, "The Way is a dynamic, living concept (*katsuji*), one capable of describing the reproductive and transformative mysteries of living things. "Principle" is a dead word. Dictionaries classify it under the jade radical, and its pronunciation derives from the word "mile" (*ri*).[39] Principle originally referred to the veins in a piece of jade. By extension, it came to refer to the rational order of inanimate things. Thus, principle can neither convey nor capture the mysteries that Heaven and earth spawn through productive transformative life. . . .

As a dynamic concept (*katsuji*), the Way signifies organisms alive with activity (*kō*). Principle, an inanimate, dead term (*shiji*), denotes things that exist (*son*) but are not alive. Because the sage Confucius saw the Way (*michi*) as real and substantial (*jitsu*), his accounts of its principles were dynamic (*katsu*). Laozi envisioned the Way as emptiness (*kyo*), and so his interpretations of its principles were morbid (*shi*). Confucius regularly discussed Heaven's Way and Heaven's decree, but never Heaven's principles (*tenri*). He explained the Way of humanity and human nature, but never the principle of humanity (*jinri*). Zhuangzi discussed principle more than any ancient thinker. He did so because he believed that the Way was emptiness and nothingness. In describing his vision of the Way, Zhuangzi inevitably turned to principle. We must conclude, therefore, that Neo-Confucians followed Laozi in making principle their main concern. . . .

Emptiness (*kyo*) and quietude (*jaku*) were originally coins of Buddhist and Daoist discourse. They never appeared in our sagely Confucian literature. . . . Zen learning spread across the world during the Song dynasty. Everyone who could read—scholars and soldiers, officials at all levels of government, men and women, young and old—studied Zen. Even Confucian scholars studied Zen!

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38. *Mencius* 7A:15.

39. The *Shuowen*, a Han etymological dictionary, explains the meanings of words in terms of their written forms. Jinsai suggests that "principle" derived its meaning from inanimate things, such as jade, and abstract quantities, such as the measurement for a mile.

Unconsciously they began interpreting sagely Confucian literature in terms of it! Later, students believed that Confucianism consisted of the Zen notions that the Song Neo-Confucians had attributed to it. In particular, they never realized that the Neo-Confucians had so badly distorted Confucianism. [pp. 30–34]

Virtue

Virtue (*toku*) is a comprehensive notion that refers to virtues like humaneness (*jin*), rightness (*gi*), ritual decorum (*rei*), and wisdom (*chi*). . . .

Confucius discussed virtue but not the mind! Neo-Confucians philosophized about the mind, but gave virtue short shrift. Virtue, however, constitutes the world's highest good. It embraces several moral qualities. The sage Confucius thus instructed his students to pursue and practice virtue. . . .

Neo-Confucians emphasized the mind but neglected virtue. Stressing the mind's importance, they devoted all their talents to it. Each of their teachings concluded with a discourse on the mind. Their learning therefore seems withered and dry, lacking the calm composure and energetic magnanimity characterizing the teachings of the sage Confucius. This disparity flows from the very different focus that is at the basis of their learning. [pp. 35–37]

Humaneness and Rightness

Humaneness and rightness are the two great beginnings of the Way and virtue. They also stand as the comprehensive mind that wills all goodness. Ritual decorum (*rei*) and wisdom (*chi*) thus emerge from them. Heaven's Way encompasses yin and yang; earth's Way embraces the firm and resilient. Similarly, humaneness and rightness assist and complement each other, enabling our full realization of the Way of humanity. . . . [p. 38]

Reverence

In the Cheng–Zhu school, *jing* (J. *kei*), which combined religious reverence and moral seriousness, was a generalized attitude toward all life and creation, fundamental to both action and contemplation. Cheng Yi and Zhu Xi preferred it to the quiescence (*jing*) emphasized by Zhou Donyi. Jinsai, however, rejected all such conceptions as too quietistic.

The word "reverence" (*kei*) signifies respect and veneration. Thus the ancient *Classics* discuss "reverencing Heaven,"[40] "reverencing ghosts and spirits,"[41] "re-

40. Legge, trans., *The Shoo king*, p. 437.

41. *Analects* 6:22.

vering a ruler," "reverencing parents," "reverencing older brothers,"[42] and "reverencing duties."[43] In those contexts, the *Classics* use the word "reverence" to signify veneration and worship. But never do they mention "reverence" apart from an object of reverence! . . .

Master Zhu Xi's *Questions and Answers on the Great Learning* claims, "Reverence completes the teachings of the sage from start to finish." Master Zhu also stated, "Reverence is the mind's ruling master and the foundation of the myriad things."[44] I cannot agree with such claims. The sagely learning of Confucius reveres humaneness and rightness while making loyalty and trustworthiness its masters in practice. . . .

Reverence is indeed essential to students. Yet loyalty, trustworthiness, reverence, and diligence all must be observed; none can be discarded! We greatly violate the Sage's teachings by insisting that reverence alone should be preserved. . . .

Humaneness and wisdom are ultimate virtues. Yet if our fondness for them is not enlightened by learning, we will end up being confused. How much more so might this be true of focusing solely on reverence? . . . [pp. 71–72]

The *Great Learning* Was Not by Confucius

Following a growing trend in the Song period, Zhu Xi singled out the *Great Learning* (a chapter in the *Record of Rites*) as a prime text of Neo-Confucian cultivation and first among the Four Books. Jinsai puts the *Analects* and *Mencius* first.

The words of the *Analects* are plain and honest, but its principles are deep and profound. Adding even one word would be excessive. Taking away one word would leave it imperfect. The *Analects* is the most perfect work of literature in the entire world. It exhaustively explains the principles of the world. It is truly the greatest book in the universe!

The *Mencius* explains the *Analects*. The words of the *Mencius* are very clear, and its principles [are] quite pure. The *Mencius* is not like the *Record of Rites*, which was reconstructed by Han Confucians after the first emperor of the Qin dynasty tried to burn all Confucian literature and execute all Confucian scholars. Other than the *Analects*, the only Confucian work that is free of textual corruption is the *Mencius*.

Students should immerse themselves in these books, savor their meanings,

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42. *Concordance to the Hsiao ching* [*Xiaojing*], p. 2.

43. *Analects* 1:5.

44. This remark from Zhu Xi's *Daxue huowen* is quoted in Chen Beixi, "Seriousness," p. 48b; Chen Beixi, *Neo-Confucian Terms Explained*, trans. and ed. Chan, p. 102.

never depart from them in speech, nor refrain from following them as guides in action. . . .

The *Great Learning* was originally part of Elder Dai's *Records of the Rites*. No one knows who edited it. . . . My view is that while Confucius and Mencius often discussed the outline of learning, they never articulated a sequential learning formula as that in the opening paragraphs of the *Great Learning*.

The *Analects* states that the sage Confucius "taught four subjects: culture (*bun*), moral conduct (*kō*), loyalty (*chū*), and trustworthiness (*shin*)."[45] Clearly these were Confucius's teachings. The *Analects* also says, "A person of wisdom has no doubts; a humane person, no worries; a courageous person, no fears."[46] These three—wisdom, humaneness, and courage—refer to the ultimate virtues of the world.[47] Progress in learning involves nothing more than progress in these. . . .

But the *Great Learning* suggests that progress along the moral way is as difficult as climbing a nine-story pagoda.[48] We climb up story after story, until finally reaching the top. Yet the Confucian way is nothing other than the moral way of humanity. Because it was meant to be cultivated, how could it be so remote? Confucius himself remarked, "Is humaneness far away? As soon as I want it, there it is."[49] Mencius added, "The Way is close but can be sought even in distant places."[50] These passages imply that the Way is very close by! Why must we climb a tall pagoda to reach it? . . .

According to the *Great Learning*, not being provoked, frightened, attracted, or worried is essential to preserving the mind's correctness. But the *Classic of Documents* explains, "We should regulate our minds with rites."[51] . . .

Anger, fear, affection, and anxieties are activities of the human mind. Human minds simply react to circumstances in these ways. When they do, we cannot refrain from experiencing anger, fear, affection, or anxiety. If we preserve our minds with humaneness and rites, as Mencius advised, these four will be manifested as humaneness and ritual decorum, that is, as the universal way (*tenka no tatsudō*). Why consider them bad? . . .

Mencius's notion of mind rectification applies to all people, not just one. When teaching ordinary people, he encouraged "preserving the moral mind"[52] and "cultivating the moral mind,"[53] but never "mind rectification," as does the

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45. *Analects* 7:25.
46. *Analects* 9:29.
47. *Mean* 20.
48. *Daodejing*, chap. 64.
49. *Analects* 7:30.
50. *Mencius* 4A:2.
51. Legge, trans., *The Shoo king*, p. 182.
52. *Mencius* 7A:1.
53. *Mencius* 7B:35.

Great Learning. Mencius's essentially ethical objectives were thus made quite obvious. . . .

The *Great Learning* also claims, "A state should not deem petty profit to be real profit; real profit comes from rightness."[54] But even this statement endorses a kind of profit-seeking mentality. Mencius remarked, "Must the king mention profit? Humaneness and rightness are my only concerns!"[55] In practicing the Confucian way, the noble person respects rightness but never acknowledges the profitability of any kind of profit.[56] . . . [pp. 160–64]

The Revival of Heterodoxies

Many people think that heterodoxies and heinous deeds arose only in the Warring States period [403–221 B.C.E.] but did not exist before. That is not so. Propagators of heterodox ideas and doers of riotous deeds existed even before Yao and Shun. Yet when Yao and Shun appeared, they fled, "afraid and unwilling even to listen"[57] to the sages. . . . Thus, later generations never realized that heterodoxies and violence had actually existed before Confucius. Even after Confucius, however, the dregs of the teachings of the Yellow Emperor and Laozi remained for some time. During the Han dynasty, they resurfaced.

Siddhartha Gautama's Buddhism entered China from abroad and soon spread across the realm. It flourished during the Sui [581–618] and Tang [618–907] dynasties and was still causing an uproar in the Song. The next wave of Confucians angrily rejected Buddhism, sharply distinguishing Buddha's doctrines from their own. They struggled against Buddhism until their energies were spent. But the more they attacked it, the greater it became. The more they rejected its tenets, the more popular it became. Confucians could not extinguish its flames because in combating them, they stooped to use, as the Buddhists use, empty words rather than the moral virtues taught by Yao, Shun, and Confucius.

When the Way and virtue flourish, debate subsides. When the Way and virtue decline, debate and argument abound. When they flourish, the Way and virtue grow more distant. The rise of debate, argument, and rhetoric thus marks the pinnacle of a degenerate age. At the heights of such empty polemics, we arrive at the very extremes of Zen Buddhism! Nothing is further from morality,

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54. *Great Learning*, in Legge, trans., *Confucian Analects, the Great Learning, and the Doctrine of the Mean*, p. 380.

55. *Mencius* 1A:1.

56. *Analects* 4:16: "The Master said, 'The common person only recognizes profit while the Noble Person, only rightness'" (J. *gi*, Ch. *yi*); *Analects* 14:12: "The master said, ' . . . A person who sees profit, but thinks of rightness . . . should be called a complete person'" (J. *seijin*, Ch. *chengren*).

57. *Concordance to Yi Ching* [*Yijing*], p. 32; Legge, trans., *I ching*, p. 33.

more distant from daily life, and more lacking in benefits to society and the state than Zen. . . .

The *Spring and Autumn Annals* shows that the best way to halt heterodoxies is to personally cultivate the Confucian Way and its virtues. Opposing heterodoxies with ethical theories is the next best approach. The least effective strategy is debating whether or not principle exists or whether we should remain still or respond ethically. Han Yu and Ouyang Xiu chose the second method, and the Cheng brothers and Zhu Xi followed the last strategy. Sadly enough, since Confucius and Mencius, no one has used the best approach. [pp. 165–67]

[Itō Jinsai, *Gomō jigi*, in *NST*, vol. 33, pp. 14–38, 71–72, 160–67; JAT]

OGYŪ SORAI AND THE RETURN TO THE CLASSICS

Umegaka ya	The scent of plum blossoms!
Tonari wa	And close to it—
Ogyū Soemon	Ogyū Soemon.

Thus wrote the poet Bashō, who at one time was Sorai's neighbor, associating this great Confucian of the Tokugawa period with the plum flower, which thrives despite the vicissitudes of winter and early spring. Having spent more than a decade in the land of his father's exile, during which he kept working away at his studies, Ogyū Sorai (1666–1728) returned at the age of twenty-five to the metropolis of Edo, where he started a free, open-air lecture course beside the front entrance of the famous temple Zōjōji. There he eventually attracted the attention not only of the prelate of that Buddhist center but also of the shogun himself. With the shogun's special permission, equivalent to a recommendation, Sorai was made private secretary to Premier Yanagisawa and thereafter rose rapidly to earn an unusually large stipend.

At his school, which he later set up in the very stronghold of the officially favored Zhu Xi teaching, Sorai offered a radically new approach to Confucian studies. For a time, he had followed both the official school and Itō Jinsai but concluded that they both had failed to fulfill the basic aim of scholarship: to provide for the needs of the people and the general social welfare. The Neo-Confucians were too preoccupied with metaphysics, philosophical idealism, and personal cultivation. Although Jinsai was correct in trying to rediscover the original basis of Confucian teaching, he had likewise concerned himself with personal ethics, to the neglect of political issues and social questions. By insisting on the authority of the *Analects* alone, Jinsai had failed to recognize that this work could be properly understood only in relation to its historical context. Taking a broader view of things, Sorai could see that the Six Classics (including the *Classics of Documents*, *Odes*, *Rites*, etc.) were the basic depository of China's classical heritage and that the Four Books (including the *Analects* and

the *Mencius*) merely represented personal interpretations. In fact, from Sorai's point of view, the classical philosopher Xunzi was a much better guide in such matters. Sorai upheld Xunxi's realism in regard to the evil nature of man and the necessity for correcting it through social institutions, against Mencius's more subjective, idealistic, and optimistic view that social betterment had to be achieved through self-cultivation in order to fulfill the original goodness of human nature. Sorai therefore stressed the importance of rites (understood broadly to include virtually all social institutions) and political administration, as opposed to the virtues of humaneness and rightness emphasized by Mencius and Jinsai. Indeed, Sorai is utilitarian in asserting that morality, as embodied in the traditional Confucian "Way," has no other basis than the social function of bringing peace and security to the people, which is what the ancient sage-kings intended. In this respect, Sorai did not hesitate to give primacy to law, its strict enforcement through a system of punishments and rewards, and the need to reform institutions as well as men.

Sorai's key manifesto, *Distinguishing the Way* (*Bendō*, 1717), presents his view of the Confucian Way in the broadest terms. It opens with a sweeping critique of previous Confucian thought but leaves no doubt about his basic intellectual orientation toward the Confucian tradition or the unprecedented role he says that Heaven entrusted to him as the rediscoverer of its true significance after the Way had been obscured for more than a thousand years. Implicitly working within Zhu Xi's concept of the "succession to the Way" (*daotong*) but adapting it to his own purposes, Sorai clearly presents himself as fulfilling the Confucian teaching, not breaking with it.

The issues that Sorai takes up in the *Bendō* are those shaped by the Neo-Confucians and later redefined by Jinsai. He joins Jinsai in challenging the Cheng–Zhu theory of human nature, sharing with both Yamaga Sokō and Jinsai the view that in seeming to deprecate the physical nature, the Song school had allowed Buddhist and Daoist influences to distort the original Confucian teaching. Like Sokō and Jinsai, too, Sorai went over the heads of the Song masters and invoked the original teaching of the Confucian classics as the test of orthodoxy. It was for this that the three have been classed together as advocates of the "Ancient Learning," even though this did not represent a single school.

The crux of the issue between Sorai and his Neo-Confucian predecessors was their central doctrine of sagehood as the ultimate goal of self-cultivation. Earlier, in accordance with the universality of the moral nature in all human beings, Neo-Confucians had asserted that sagehood could be acquired through individual study and self-discipline. In the *Bendō*, however, Sorai attacks the "fatuous idea that sagehood could be attained through study or that one could become a sage all by oneself."[58] Here he directly repudiated the words of Zhu

58. Ogyū, *Bendō* 2, in *NST*, vol. 36, p. 12 (200).

Xi in his commentaries on the Four Books, as well as Zhu's essential message in *Reflections on Things at Hand*. Sorai further analyzed this prevalent fallacy in terms of the Daoist notion of "sageliness within and kingliness without." For Sorai, true sageliness and kingliness were inseparable. The true sages were not those who claimed to have subjectively realized their ideal human nature within, but the early kings who displayed their virtue outwardly through the construction of an all-encompassing social and political order.

In part, Sorai's rejection of the Song model for sagehood can be seen as a defense of man's physical nature against the excessive demands of a moral ideal that spoke of achieving "complete unity with Heavenly principle without a trace of selfish desire."[59] Against this, Sorai quoted both Confucius and Zisi to the effect that even the early sages had their human limitations and Confucius himself was not without human desires. Moreover, in his commentary on the *Great Learning*, when Zhu Xi spoke of the sage as "plumbing the ultimate of Heavenly principle and being without so much as one iota of selfish human desire,"[60] it meant for Sorai a lack of realism in three respects.

First, individual natures differ and cannot be made to conform to a single ideal. To set up such a goal for human cultivation is to do violence to individual natures. The more a man becomes aware of the discrepancy between himself and the norm, and the more conscious he becomes of his own shortcomings, the more dissatisfied he will be with himself and the further he will be from achieving a sense of fulfillment. "To force on the common man a standard that he is not capable of achieving is to make him lose all hope in goodness."[61]

Second, Sorai insisted that man's psychophysical nature could not be changed and that attempting to curb fundamental human desires would lead only to frustration and resentment:

> The physical nature is the Heavenly nature. To try to use the force of man to overcome Heaven and thwart nature is not possible.[62]
>
> The scholars of later times, ignorant of the Way of the early kings, have presented their own superior wisdom, thinking to promote the performance of good and the avoidance of evil and to enlarge [the effective domain of] Heavenly principle while restricting human desires. Once such a view is adopted, however, it will become evident to all that their rulers are not Yaos or Shuns, that men are not sages, and that evil inevitably abounds while good is scarcely to be seen. Accordingly, a deadly spirit of faultfinding will spread throughout the world. Thus when [Zhu

59. Ogyū, *Bendō* 11, in *NST*, vol. 36, p. 22 (204).
60. Zhu Xi, *Daxue zhangju*, commentary on chap. 1.
61. Ogyū, *Bendō* 6, in *NST*, vol. 36, p. 17 (202).
62. Ogyū, *Bendō* 14, in *NST*, vol. 36, p. 24 (204).

> Xi's version of] the *General Mirror* is followed in government and the [*Great Compendium on*] *Human Nature and Principle* is the guide to moral discipline, no one will be able to endure their rigors, and everyone will end up thinking that the Confucians take delight in oppressing people.[63]

Third, given the differences in men's natures, as well as the extent of their common needs, it is apparent that only an all-encompassing approach to the human economy will allow for individual differentiation while providing for the needs of all. To try to deal with the governance of men through self-cultivation and the practice of reverence—that is, through self-examination and mind control to root out unworthy desires—is fatally to misconceive the nature of the problem: to meet the needs of human society as a whole, not just to achieve individual serenity of mind. The early sage-kings had dealt with the larger needs of the state and society, leaving the finer points of individual cultivation to be taken care of in the natural course of events. Action to meet the needs of mankind could not await the ruler's attainment of a lofty frame of mind. Similarly, for men in later ages, their task was to study and follow the pattern established by the early kings, not to engage in quiet sitting, "sustained reverence," or the other disciplines of Neo-Confucian mind-control.[64]

Here Sorai betrays a basic ambiguity concerning the autonomy of the individual and his independent role in society. On the one hand, he takes a radical stand on the fundamental individuality of each man's nature:

> The inborn nature differs with each individual, and for him, virtue varies according to his nature. There is no single way for men to achieve fulfillment or for their talents to be perfected.[65]
>
> Heaven's decree is not the same for all . . . the gentleman understands this and does not try to force it [i.e., conformity to a specific norm or model]. In regard to perfecting their own talents, even the sages did not achieve complete success, and therefore they did not try to force it on others. Consequently, the idea that all men can achieve sagehood is false, and so is the idea that men's natures can be changed.[66]

Sorai resisted any solution to the problem that would further enhance the status of the subjective self or assert a single principle on the basis of which anyone could achieve sagehood. In his view, if it was not possible by studying

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63. Ogyū, *Bendō* 9, in *NST*, vol. 36, p. 21 (203).
64. Ogyū, *Bendō* 10–12, in *NST*, vol. 36, pp. 21–23 (203–4).
65. Ogyū, *Gakusoku* 7, in *NST*, vol. 36, p. 196 (258).
66. Ogyū, *Gakusoku* 7, in *NST*, vol. 36, p. 196 (258).

the principles of things one by one eventually to achieve a personal integration of them (in the way that Zhu Xi did), neither was it possible to assert an a priori principle as the ground on which one could experience unity with Heaven-and-earth and all things.[67]

A man of broad learning himself, Sorai nevertheless believed that neither comprehensive knowledge nor an exhaustive objective investigation of things could be made a condition for one's self-fulfillment. At the same time, he resented what seemed to him the crude and boorish dogmatism of those like Yamazaki Ansai, whose intensely subjective method of self-cultivation enabled them to acquire strong convictions about moral principles, to the extent that their religious "seriousness" and zealotry became quite overbearing.[68] According to Sorai,

> principle is formless; therefore it provides no definite standard. To think that the Mean can serve as the principle of proper conduct is to leave it to each man's view of it, and each man's view of it is different. Then everyone takes his own mind as the judge of what the Mean is and what proper conduct is. . . . It is like the people of two villages disputing the boundary between them, without any magistrate to hear and judge the merits of the case.[69]

Here Sorai's concern is with the question of objective public authority. For him, there could be only one ultimate standard, and it was not the Supreme Ultimate or norm in the mind that the Song school had spoken of as unlimited or open-ended (*wuji*); it had to be something more objectively defined. For him this was the rites of the early kings:

> The norm established by the early kings was the rites. . . . Such concepts as the Supreme Ultimate of the normative principles of things, the transforming of the physical nature, or studying to be a sage have no basis in the original teaching of the early kings and Confucius.[70]

There was indeed such a thing as the kind of sagely wisdom needed to lead the people, but it existed only in the past: "Sages existed in the past, but not in the present. Therefore study today must be addressed to the past."[71] Toward the

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67. Yoshikawa, "Sorai gakuan," in *NST*, vol. 36, pp. 730ff.

68. Imanaka, *Sorai gaku no kisoteki kenkyū*, p. 485; *Ogyū Sorai shū*, in *Nihon no shisō*, vol. 12, p. 14.

69. Ogyū, *Bendō* 19, in *NST*, vol. 36, p. 28 (205–6).

70. Ogyū, *Bendō* 6, in *NST*, vol. 36, pp. 16–17 (201).

71. Ogyū, *Gakusoku* 4, in *Ogyū Sorai zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 10, 76.

sages of the past Sorai held a most worshipful attitude compared with that of the would-be sages of the present:

> The sages' extraordinary intelligence and wisdom were powers received from Heaven; how could one expect to acquire them now through study? The spiritual luminosity of their virtue was beyond all calculation; how could it be sought out and fathomed? Thus even in ancient times, only King Tang, King Wu, and Confucius tried to learn what it was to be a sage.[72]

The early sages were kings whose achievement lay in unifying the world and constructing a whole social order. This would be an unusual ambition in the present and would have to be matched by a natural endowment of extraordinary proportions. Certainly it could not be achieved by intuiting and following a natural principle within the mind, as the Cheng–Zhu school would have it:[73]

> The mind is formless, and there is no way of controlling it. Therefore the Way of the early kings used rites to control the mind. For anyone to speak of governing the mind except through rites is to imagine things. Why? If it is the mind that is to govern and the mind that is to be governed, this means that my mind is trying to govern itself—like a madman governing his own madness. How can there be any governing that way?[74]

Here the real significance of Sorai's views cannot be understood simply in terms of the individual or "individualism." We must distinguish between individuality and individualism: the recognition of individual differences and a realistic acceptance of them, on the one hand, and the active advocacy of an enlarged role for the individual, a wider scope for his autonomous choices, and a generally greater measure of what we call individual freedom, on the other.

There can be no doubt that Sorai was highly conscious of human individuality in the psychophysical sense; he clearly believed in the need to give the individual scope for satisfying his own needs and talents. By stressing man's physical nature *as* his Heavenly nature, Sorai affirmed the inherent value of individual qualities:

> For the scholar/samurai who wishes to study the Way of the early kings in order to fulfill virtue in himself, he must recognize this Way as manifold and multiform and men's natures also as diverse. If he can recognize

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72. Ogyū, *Benmei*, *sei* 5, in *NST*, vol. 36, p. 68 (218).
73. Ogyū, *Bendō* 4, in *NST*, vol. 36, p. 1415 (201–2).
74. Ogyū, *Bendō* 8, in *NST*, vol. 36, pp. 27–28 (205).

> that the Way of the early kings consists in providing peace and security for the world, and on this basis, if he can exert himself for the sake of humanity, then each man should follow what is closest to his own nature in order to achieve his potentiality of the Way.[75]

Sorai realized that in arguing for personal fulfillment on the basis of individual talents, he was exposing himself to criticism for sacrificing a man's essential humanity to his functional utility, that is, for treating him as a mere "utensil" (*ki*). Thus he tried to explain:

> Confucius's teaching of his disciples can be seen as adapted in each case to their individual talents so as to perfect them. His saying that "the noble man is not a utensil"[76] refers to the humane man and to the instruments used by the ruler and his ministers, just like the [tools of the] craftsman and [the medicine of] the physician. Those who say that Confucius refers to [and rules out functional specification like that of] the ship sailing on the sea and the cart traveling by land [but not vice versa] have no reason whatever for this view.[77]

Here Sorai contended that Confucius's pronouncement about "not being a utensil" did not rule out functional specialization, but he asserted that such functionality not only served humane ends but was a moral value itself. What clearly emerges, then, is that his affirmation of the value of the individual in no way enhanced the status of the autonomous self. Man's "humanity" exists only as a part of the collectivity and is fulfilled only in a total polity or cooperative community. Sorai stated that

> the Way of the early kings is the way of bringing peace and contentment to the world. Although it takes manifold forms, they all must conform to this end of bringing peace and contentment to the world. . . . Thus the Way cannot be spoken of in terms of one man but only in terms of millions of men collectively. . . .
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> In general, according to the Way of the early kings and Confucius, everyone had his own function to perform and his own purpose to serve, and the essential thing was to nurture and fulfill that capability. However, later men with a more dogmatic view insisted on "humaneness" as a comprehensive virtue, and they could not help but leap on it as a single

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75. Ogyū, *Bendō* 7, in *NST*, vol. 36, p. 18 (202).
76. *Analects* 2:12.
77. Ogyū, *Bendō* 14, in *NST*, vol. 36, p. 24 (204).

> all-encompassing principle. In the end, however, it comes down to no more than the Buddhist doctrine of the law-body (*dharmakaya*) as the ultimate principle embracing all things.[78]

Sorai set two significant limits on the early kings' effective authority: first, their Way could be followed only in general terms, rather than as a precise model for later times; and second, this Way could be known only through the most exacting contextual study and was not immediately knowable for direct application. Thus Sorai was skeptical of present-day pundits and would-be sages because they failed to meet the demanding requirements of his critical scholarship and objective, evidential inquiry. But belief in the early kings did not have to meet the same test. On the contrary, it was the inherent limits of human knowledge that made the sages' achievements not credible in rational terms but compelling in their extraordinariness. To believe in the sage, man must make a leap of faith, and to do so is reasonable enough when he recognizes that his own rational powers fail to produce certain knowledge. Thus Sorai was skeptical of man, not the divine, and his faith in the sages sustained him while he engaged in the scholar's critical tasks:

> The sages' extraordinary intelligence and wisdom were powers received from Heaven. How could one expect to acquire them through study? The spiritual luminosity of their virtue was beyond all calculation. How could it be sought out and fathomed?[79]

While thus redefining sagehood and eliminating it as a model of personal self-cultivation, Sorai made it into a remote, though nonetheless commanding, symbol of external authority. Here there can be no mistaking his deep distrust of the Neo-Confucian idealism and individualism that drew so powerfully on the moral egalitarianism and ethical mysticism of Mencius, or his fearful reaction to the liberal humanism of the Song and the Ming, which proclaimed that every man had within him the making of a sage.

The fact that Sorai was permitted to propagate these ideas openly in competition with the Hayashi family school suggests that the enforcement of Zhu Xi orthodoxy was much less strict than is commonly supposed. From a political point of view, however, Sorai's nonconformism held no great risks for the shogunate. His respect for the rule of law backed by superior force accorded well with the realities of this period, seeming to justify the maintenance of a military government rather than reliance on the virtue of the imperial house and its

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78. Ogyū, *Bendō* 7, in *NST*, vol. 36, pp. 17–20 (203).
79. Ogyū, *Benmei*, *sei* 3, in *NST*, vol. 36, p. 68 (218).

subjects to keep order. Moreover, Sorai's dim view of individual autonomy, his deep respect for higher authority, and his insistence on the recognition of superior expertise rather than trust in the judgments of the common man were easily adapted to the authoritarianism of the *bakufu* regime.

It is understandable, then, why Sorai's ideas were positively received by the eighth shogun, Yoshimune, who was greatly impressed by the breadth of his scholarship and his practical approach to political problems. Sorai's *Discourses on Government* (*Seidan*), written expressly for Yoshimune, offers detailed suggestions about a wide variety of such problems, pointing to the need for stricter controls and more uniform policies to achieve a stable social order. Yoshimune, it is said, was about to give him a high post in the government when Sorai, who had been in poor health much of his life, suddenly died at the age of sixty-three.

Although Sorai was much concerned with political and social institutions in contemporary Japan, it was with the study of ancient China that his school became most closely identified. Sorai's strong point was scholarship, and from the start he put a premium on a thorough knowledge of the Chinese language. Thus, as the leading Sinologist of his time, he communicated to his disciples a love of all things Chinese and perhaps also a touch of intellectual snobbery, which made the most of his own Sinological mastery while deprecating the competence of other Japanese scholars in Chinese studies. It was this attitude that carried over to his leading disciple, Dazai Shundai (1680–1747), a committed Sinophile. Thereafter, the tide ran strongly in a nationalistic direction, as if in reaction to the excessive adulation of Sino-Confucian culture. But it is significant that here, too, Sorai's teaching was felt. One of his own students was the first to show that the study of antiquity and classical learning could be applied to Japan as well as to China, which led to the National Learning school.

THE CONFUCIAN WAY AS A WAY OF GOVERNMENT

In the following passage from Ogyū Sorai's *Distinguishing the Way* (*Bendō*), which is aimed at both Itō Jinsai and the Neo-Confucians, he tells how the Way arose from cumulative human efforts to meet social needs and not from Confucius's unique discovery of a constant moral order or natural process, or something within the power of a single sage-king to produce.

The Way of Confucius is the Way of the early kings. The Way of the early kings was the way by which all under Heaven were brought peace and contentment. Confucius always wished to serve the Eastern Zhou dynasty by training his disciples and perfecting their talents so that they could be employed in the government. In the end, however, failing to achieve a position of authority, he devoted himself to editing the Six Classics so that they might be handed down

to posterity. Thus the Six Classics[80] embodies the Way of the early kings, and they are quite wrong who say today that the Way of Confucius is not the same as the Way of the early kings.

The basis for bringing peace and contentment to all-under-Heaven was personal cultivation, but always with a mind to achieving peace in the world. This was what one called humaneness. After the appearance of Zisi and Mencius, when the Confucians became a separate school, they devoted themselves to the reverent following of their master's way and foolishly thought that through study alone they could achieve sagehood. Having once achieved sagehood, they could then set an example for all-under-Heaven, and the world would govern itself. This was like the theory of Laozi and Zhuangzi concerning "sageliness within and kingliness without." But to deprecate the importance of what lies outside [politics] and to attach all importance to what lies inside [personal virtue] is quite contrary to the old Way of Confucius and the early kings. Therefore, inside their schools the Confucians have been unable to train students to develop their capacities, and outside their schools they have been unable to mold the character of the nation by perfecting its customs. This is why the Confucians could not escape the charge that their learning was useless.

The Way is an all-embracing term. It brings together rites, music, law enforcement, and political administration—everything the early kings established—under one designation. There is no such thing as the Way apart from rites, music, law enforcement, and political administration. . . . The Way of the early kings was something the early kings themselves created; it was not the natural Way of Heaven and earth. Through their high intelligence and perspicacity, the early kings received the mandate of Heaven and ruled over the world. They were of one mind in making it their duty to bring peace and contentment to the world. Thus by expending all their spiritual resources and exerting their mental capacities to the utmost, they produced this Way so that all men in later generations might act in accordance with it. How could Heaven-and-earth themselves have produced it? Fu Xi [who first domesticated animals], Shen Nong [who started agriculture], and the Yellow Emperor [who invented writing, etc.] also were sages, although what they produced contributed to the Way in only a utilitarian and material sense. After the intervening reigns of Zhuan Xu and Di Ku, there came Yao and Shun, who first inaugurated rites and music, and only after the Xia, Shang, and Zhou dynasties did rites and music become fully established. Thus it took several thousands of years, as well as the combined spiritual resources and mental capacities of several sages, before the Way was fully developed. It was not something that could be established by the efforts of just one man in one lifetime.

[Inoue, *Nihon rinri ihen*, vol. 6, pp. 12–14; RT, WTdB]

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80. The Six Classics are the *Classics of Documents*, *Odes*, *Changes*, *Rites*, and *Music* (later lost) and the *Spring and Autumn Annals*.

DISTORTION OF THE WAY THROUGH IGNORANCE OF THE PAST

Sorai's critique of the later Confucian tradition, which appears as a kind of prolegomenon to his *Distinguishing the Way*, points to the need for broader and more intensive study of the classical age and ancient Chinese writing in order to rescue Confucianism from the effects of historical change and subjective partisanship.

The Way is difficult to know and difficult to express because of its magnitude. What the Confucians of later times saw of the Way was only one aspect of it. The true Way is the Way of the early kings of China, but after the appearance of Zisi and Mencius it degenerated into the Confucian school, which began to contend for supremacy among the "hundred philosophers" of the late Zhou, and, by so doing, itself demeaned the Way. Take the case of Zisi, who wrote the *Mean* in opposition to Laozi. Laozi had called the Way of the sages artificial. Zisi therefore declared that the Way was in conformity with nature, in order to show that the Confucian Way was not artificial. This eventually brought him to his theory of absolute sincerity. . . . In ancient times an originator [founder] was considered a sage, but because Confucius was not an originator, the *Mean* spoke of absolute sincerity as the virtue of the sage, and the threefold explanation [of the virtue of the sage] was offered in order to rescue Confucius from embarrassing criticism.[81] Sincerity, however, is only one virtue of the sage. How could it be thought of as all-sufficing and all-inclusive?

Mencius's conception of human nature is an example like Zisi's. By comparing human nature to the willow [which can be bent into any form], Gaozi had said all that could be said about it. Mencius's attempt at refutation went too far. What Zisi had really meant to say was that when the sages established the Way, they did so in conformity with nature; he did not mean to say that every human being was in conformity with nature and that therefore all men naturally were in conformity with the Way. It is true that while other trees cannot be bent or twisted, the willow is by nature bendable and twistable; but this does not mean that to be bent and twisted is the natural state of the willow. The sense of sympathy and shame point to the fact that humaneness and rightness have their origin in nature, but the sense of sympathy is not all there is to humaneness, and the sense of shame and aversion may not necessarily constitute rightness. This is a slight misstatement that has led to a tremendous error.

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81. That is, since Confucius had not been an "originator" (like the early kings whom Sorai speaks of in the preceding selection), the Confucian author of the *Mean* offered a new conception of the sage that would fit Confucius, even though he had modestly disclaimed establishing anything new. This threefold conception is referred to in chap. 29 of the *Mean* and has been variously interpreted. Sorai seems to have in mind the threefold conception found in chap. 26, where the attributes of Heaven, Earth, and Infinity are ascribed to absolute sincerity.

The latter-day Learning of the Mind had its inception in this. Xunzi's criticism of it was correct. So I say that Zisi and Mencius were defenders of the Confucian school while Xunzi was a loyal minister to Zisi and Mencius.[82]

Nevertheless, this was not long after Mencius's time, and things had not changed greatly, so their world of discourse was essentially the same. But by the time Han Yu appeared in the Tang [dynasty], writing had undergone a great change. Thereafter came the two Chengs and Zhu Xi, admittedly scholars of great stature yet nonetheless unacquainted with the ancient language. Unable to read and understand the Six Classics properly, they showed a preference for the *Mean* and the *Mencius* because these texts were so easy to read. Thus, the writings of philosophers contending with other philosophers came to be regarded as the true expression of the Way of the sages in its original form. In addition to that, they read the ancient style of writing as if it were the modern style, and since they were ignorant of what was actually referred to, a discrepancy arose between reality and discourse, in which sense and reasoning took separate paths. Consequently, the teaching of the early kings and Confucius disappeared.

In recent years Itō Jinsai, also a scholar of great stature, has become aware of this general state of things. Nevertheless, in his interpretation of the *Analects* he depended on *Mencius* and read the ancient style of writing as if it were the modern one, just as the people in the Cheng and Zhu school did. Moreover, he [Jinsai] openly divided the Way of the early kings and Confucius into two ways and put aside the Six Classics in favor of the *Analects* alone. He also did not succeed in avoiding the errors of those who read Chinese in Japanese fashion. So when I read what Jinsai presented as the ancient meaning, I wonder indeed how it could ever be called "ancient"!

Alas, the Way of the early kings degenerated into the "Confucian" school and there appeared Xunzi and Mencius; then it degenerated again with the appearance of Zhu Xi and Lu Xiangshan. As if it were not enough to have them opposing one another, each created his own partisan following. The sharper the division was, the greater the contention grew; and the greater the flow of words was, the less important what was said would be. Who could not but be saddened by all this?

Thanks to Heaven's special favor, this writer obtained access to the works of two eminent scholars, Wang and Li,[83] and for the first time became acquainted with the ancient style of Chinese writing. Thus equipped, I painstakingly went through the Six Classics for many years. Gradually I began to understand the

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82. In Confucian parlance, "loyal minister" is most often used to signify a forthright critic devoted to his master's best interests.

83. Wang Shizhen and Li Panlong were sixteenth-century Chinese scholars who advocated a return to the language and prose style of ancient times.

terms and their corresponding realities, and after that the interpretation of the texts became clear. Only then did I feel able to discuss the Six Classics properly. The Six Classics contain facts, whereas the *Record of Rites*[84] and *Analects* offer interpretations. Interpretations must be supported by facts, however, before they can be accepted as definitive explanations of the Way. If we disregard the facts and accept interpretations at face value, it will scarcely be possible to avoid generalizations, exaggeration, and arbitrary judgment. These are the faults found among scholars following Han Yu and Liu Zongyuan, the Chengs, and Zhu Xi.

I am already past fifty. If I do not exert myself before I die, what will be Heaven's judgment? Mindful of this, whenever I have had time to spare, I have begun writing in appreciation of Heaven's favor. The contents of this work include many tens of items, all intended for students who may come under my guidance.

[Inoue, *Nihon rinri ihen*, vol. 6, pp. 11–12; RT, WTdB]

DISTINGUISHING TERMS (*BENMEI*)

Sorai's major work, *Distinguishing Terms*—which is in the same Neo-Confucian genre as Yamaga Sokō's *Essential Teachings of the Sages*, Itō Jinsai's *Meaning of Terms in the Analects and Mencius*, and Chen Beixi's prototypical *Neo-Confucian Terms Explained*—is a philosophical lexicon explaining how key concepts have changed from ancient times to the present. The change, usually seen as a distortion from the true meaning to be found in the correct contextual interpretation of the Confucian classics, reflects Sorai's fundamentalist faith in the possibility of arriving at a literal reading of the scriptures. Using this golden age of revelation as the basis for a critique of his own predecessors, Sorai liberates himself from received tradition and gains the freedom to adapt the Way to his own contemporary situation.

Preface

. . . Because terms convey teachings, rulers (*kunshi*) must use them cautiously. Confucius thus observed, "If terms are used incorrectly, then language will not accord with the truth."[85] Even if a single word is misused, people may be unable to secure their livelihoods. Can we afford not to be cautious?

After Confucius's death, the hundred schools of philosophy proliferated. These philosophers first misrepresented things by using words according to their

84. The compilation containing the *Great Learning* and the *Mean*.

85. *Analects* 13:3: "The Master said, 'If terms are used incorrectly, then language will not be in accord with the truth. If language is not in accord with the truth, then things cannot be

own various perspectives. . . . Thereafter, words and the meanings assigned to them changed over time. In the Tang dynasty with Han Yu, literary studies were divided into the "ancient" and "modern" schools. During the Song dynasty, philosophical scholarship also was divided into the "ancient" and "modern" schools.[86] Possessing preeminent natural genius, those gentlemen heroically scrutinized their age, indignant over its degeneracy. Accordingly, they decided that manifesting the Way of the sages would be their own personal mission.

But in doing so, the Song scholars indulged their subjective views without ever recognizing how words and their meanings had changed over the generations. Instead, they selected some of their personal ideas, calling them "principles." Moreover, they claimed that the Way of the sages existed in them. Most egregiously, however, the Song scholars failed to understand that contemporary language was not identical with that of the ancient sages. . . .

No one has ever comprehended the Way of the sages while misunderstanding the right relationship between language and reality. The concepts defined by the Cheng brothers and Zhu Xi were indeed little more than their own subjective ideas. . . .

Those who wish to seek the Way of the sages must do so through the Six Classics. Then those things that the sages created will be correctly understood. Students of the Way of the sages must also seek it in the various texts written before the Qin and Han dynasties. When we completely understand language and reality, we will understand the Way of the sages. To make this easier, I have written *Distinguishing Terms*.

The Way

1. The Way is a comprehensive term, signifying something that is followed. In antiquity, the early sage-kings defined this concept so that later generations would follow it in their conduct. . . . The early kings were sages. Some passages thus refer to "the Way" as "the Way of the early kings," and others call it "the Way of the sages." Since rulers regard following the Way as their duty, some passages call it "the Way of rulers." Confucius transmitted it, and the Confucian scholars (*ju*) preserved it. The Way is therefore known as "Confucius's Way" or as "the Way of the Confucian scholars." Nevertheless, it is only one single reality, the Way. . . .

Because of the ineffability of the Way, the early kings formulated both philosophical concepts and practical tasks to enable people to adhere to it. And

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accomplished. If things cannot be accomplished, then ceremonies and music will not flourish. If ceremonies and music do not flourish, then punishment will not be just. If punishments are not just, then the people will not know how to move hand or foot.'"

86. Reference to the "new" commentaries that Zhu Xi and other Song scholars produced.

they had the *Classics of Documents, Odes, Rites,* and *Music* compiled to teach people the Way. . . .

Commenting on the *Analects,* Kong Anguo observed that "the Way refers to rites and music." How could subsequent scholars have hoped to surpass that statement? . . .

In formulating the Way, the early kings focused on the problem of bringing peace and security to all-under-Heaven and posterity. . . . Therefore, the early kings followed the mind of all people to love, nourish, support, and perfect one another. And the early kings appropriated the people's ability to work together and undertake tasks cooperatively. . . . The Way of the early kings is best displayed in external things. The six arts, for example, are parts of the Way of the early kings. Thus, in antiquity, "the Way" and "the six arts" were spoken of in tandem. . . .

The expression "the universal Way" refers to the accessibility of the Way of the early kings: all people, the elite and the despised, the wise and the foolish, the worthy and the unworthy—everyone can follow it. Other ways, like "the Way of the Son of Heaven" and "the Way of the feudal lords," cannot be practiced by everyone. Similarly, "the Way of the ruler" cannot be practiced by everybody. "The universal Way" thus differs from these more restricted ways. . . .

Later Confucians misconstrued the meaning of "universal" and mistakenly explained that it meant "the universally acknowledged filial piety of King Wu and the Duke of Zhou." Alas! If all the world acknowledged filial piety, why would they restrict their praise to only King Wu and the Duke of Zhou? [pp. 41–48]

The Sage

Fuxi, Shennong, and the Yellow Emperor all were sages. But during their time, the Way of correct virtue had not been fully founded. Rites and music were not propagated until later ages. Yao and Shun systematized the rites and music, first completing the Way of correct virtue. Then rulers were able to complete their virtues, and the common people, to perfect their vulgar customs. Corporal punishments were unnecessary. The world was so well ordered that from it emerged the Way of the true king. This age thus manifested the perfection of morality. . . .

In their vastness and profundity, the virtues of Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen, Wu, and the Duke of Zhou were such that all people everywhere benefited from them! How can these individuals be adequately described? We can say only that their "field of action" was so immense and their spiritual transformations so perfect that absolutely nothing surpassed or transcended the foundations of civilized life that they systematized. We therefore call them "sages.". . .

The sages were merely men, and the virtues of men differ with their natures. Even among the virtues of the sages, why would we expect them all to be the same? They are called sages because they systematized the civilized order. Traces of their systematization can still be seen. We call them sages because of what we can see. But we dare not discuss their virtues! This approach conveys our utmost respect for the sages. And such indeed was the Way of the sages. . . .

The sages received from Heaven their virtues of quick apprehension, intelligence, perception, and wisdom! How could these virtues possibly be acquired through study? How could anyone ever fathom such unfathomable mysteries? . . . Although Mencius did not emphasize following the rites and music of the sages, that was precisely what he meant when he stated that people could become Yao or Shun by wearing the clothes, using the words, and practicing the actions of Yao and Shun. He never meant to suggest that people should try to become sages!

Instead of considering the contexts of Mencius's and Zisi's writings, later Neo-Confucians embraced the absurd notion that they might try to become sages. In the process they advanced theories minutely detailing the virtues of the sages. Their accounts were meant to serve as models for students hoping to become sages. In them the Neo-Confucians described the mind of the sage as completely embodying the principles of Heaven, with its yin and yang harmonizing the virtues of their human nature without partiality or prejudice. With their supposedly sharp methods of mind control, Neo-Confucians tried to control themselves with sagely wisdom, naively hoping to fathom the unfathomable. . . . [pp. 62–68]

Reverence

Reverence means never being irreverent when there is something that one should worship and revere. . . . The Way of the early kings referred to Heaven as its basis; therefore, the early kings devised many words meaning reverence so as to encourage people to practice their Way and thereby serve the Way of Heaven. . . .

The ruler (*kun*) is the heir of the early kings and the very representative of Heaven. The ruler, therefore, must be reverenced! But Heaven itself decreed that the people be the subject of government. Therefore, they too should be reverenced! . . .

Neo-Confucians who value rational principle and esteem knowledge neither believe in ghosts and spirits nor revere Heaven. Rather, they view Heaven as principle and ghosts and spirits as the spiritual forces of yin and yang. They claim that principle exists within us and that if we can exhaust principle, then Heaven will dwell within us as well! Thus, their minds are rather presumptuous and disrespectful. . . . Stressing the maintenance of stern dignity, the Neo-Confucians, to some extent, distance their outlook from human emotions. They

have failed to realize that this reverence is rooted in the reverence for Heaven. Because of their ignorance of the latter, they vainly insist on "holding onto reverence" instead. . . .

Without bothering to learn how the Way of the sages should be studied, the Song Confucians tried to attain sagehood by studying what they pleased. After reading the words "Perfect sincerity is ceaseless," they immediately tried to make them an object of study. Thus they theorized about the mind before and after the arousal of human feelings, hoping to realize a state in which there was no gap between them. Their solution was "being cautious, apprehensive, and careful about oneself." Because they tried to relate everything to the mind, the Neo-Confucians understood "about oneself" as a state of solitude in which other people were ignorant of a person's actions, even though he remained aware of them. Thus the Neo-Confucians advocated focusing a person's mental energies on even their most minute and trifling thoughts. That is a fabricated and absurd notion. It has never been part of the Way of the early kings and Confucius! [pp. 96–97]

[Ogyū Sorai, *Benmei*, in *NST*, vol. 36, pp. 41–48, 62–68, 96–97; trans. adapted from Tucker, *Benmei*, pp. 1–21, 58–67, 122–29]

CONCLUSION TO *DISCOURSES ON GOVERNMENT* (*SEIDAN*)

Sorai's *Discourses on Government* take up at great length and in great detail a variety of problems affecting Japanese society. In this conclusion, Sorai sums up his general approach and principal recommendations. Note his emphasis on strong legal controls and his comparative deprecation of the ruler's personal example (such as leading a life of austerity) as an influence on the people.

The Way of government is not a series of disconnected affairs; [rather,] a knowledge of the whole world and what goes on in it is essential to the ruler. The important thing to understand today is that all the present conditions are based on two facts: first, that people are living like transients in a hotel and, second, that everything is out of legal control. Therefore, family registration should be instituted so that people would settle down in a fixed residence. Controls should be adopted to maintain the distinction among military households, merchants, and farmers. Controls over the daimyo should also be established. Finally, the government should stop buying in the rice market.[87]

For the most part, these measures will help the nation recover and become prosperous. Other measures will follow in natural sequence as things improve.

87. This was an attempt to control the price of rice by buying when the price was low and

The ruler himself may adopt economic and austerity measures to put his household on a sound basis, but they will do no good if the people continue to suffer from poverty. My fervent desire is to see that both ruler and ruled grow rich and prosperous together, so that Your Highness's [Yoshimune's] reign will last forever.

[*Ogyū Sorai shū*, pp. 214–15; RT, WTdB]

FOR A MERIT SYSTEM IN GOVERNMENT

As we have seen, Sorai not only favored the hereditary class system but also advocated strict controls to preserve it. For government, however, he believed that the hereditary succession to high office inevitably resulted in power falling into the hands of incompetents. Although he did not recommend a general replacement of the hereditary system with a civil service, like many Confucians before him Sorai had to plead for a man of ability if he was to have an opportunity to put his own ideas into effect. No doubt Sorai's criticisms were directed in part at the Hayashi family, whose hereditary position in state education he attacked elsewhere in the *Discourses*.

It is a general law of nature that old things gradually disappear and new things appear. All things in heaven and earth are like this. We might like to keep old things forever, but that is beyond our power. Timber rots; grain varies in yield from year to year. So too with men: the old die, and the young come of age. In this they follow the law of nature, by which things from below rise gradually to the top and, upon reaching the top, decline and disappear. This is an invariable rule, with which even the law of [the *Classic of*] *Changes* accords. It is in keeping with the principles of good government that a family that has rendered distinguished service be well treated so as to preserve it as long as possible. In a family with old people, prayers are said for great-grandparents, grandparents, and parents in hopes of their living until the end of time. It is only human not to be concerned that they die easily, but the law of the universe is one thing and human sentiment is another; the things of old, which you want to preserve so much, are destined to disappear. To say that things of the past might just as well disappear immediately is to go too far in the other direction and is not in accord with the Way of the sages. Nonetheless, trying to preserve the things of the past forever is sheer stupidity and also not in accord with the Way of the sages. The Way of the sages gives due place to human sentiments so that human feelings will not be outraged, but at the same time the everlasting law is abundantly clear and there is no way of ignoring it. Consequently, not dwelling foolishly on human sentiment is the key to fairly treating all mankind.

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selling when the price was high. It also aimed at storing surpluses that could be used for relief in times of famine.

Because of this law, the descendants of Kings Yao and Shun, Yu and Tang, Wen and Wu, have vanished without a trace in China. In Japan there is no longer any trace of the once great shoguns Yoritomo and Takauji. It is the same with all famous families. But the powerful families we call daimyo today were of little account in earlier days. Because of their achievements in war they have risen to the top. Even so, today few powerful families have maintained a direct, legitimate succession. To try foolishly to preserve hereditary status by forever keeping those on top at the top and those below at the bottom violates the law of the universe, for it helps preserve from oblivion those at the top who have reached the point that they should give way. When men of talent and wisdom are no longer at the top, it signifies the end of a regime; confusion and disorder will open the way for men of talent and wisdom to rise up and overthrow the dynasty. Being aware of this truth and careful to preserve the dynasty, the sages instituted the system of punishments and rewards in order to raise up men of talent from below and at the same time leave to Heaven's will the elimination of those who have no legitimate heir to succeed them or whose wickedness has doomed them to destruction.

If this [advice] were followed, the wise would always be on top, and the stupid would always stay at the bottom, in perfect accord with the universal law; and thus the reign would go on forever. To be unaware of this natural balance is to be ignorant of the law that prevails over heaven, earth, and humankind. In turn this means to be out of accord with Heaven's will, which again is not the true way of government. . . .

Why is it that during a period of prolonged peace, men of ability are found only in the lower classes, while men of the upper class grow increasingly stupid? As far as I can see, men's abilities are developed only through hardship and tribulation. In the case of our bodies, use makes the members strong. Use your hands and your arms will grow strong; use your legs and your feet will become hardened. If you practice aiming, as in archery or gunnery, your eyesight will improve. Likewise, when you use your mind, your intelligence will develop. If you encounter hardship and tribulation in different forms, these experiences will bring out your abilities; that is the natural law. So the *Mencius* notes that when Heaven has a great mission for a man to perform, it first puts him to an acid test. When he develops his ability through such an acid test, he is especially fit for the task of government because he is familiar with conditions among the people. Therefore, in the Way of the sages, too, it is recommended that able men be advanced by bringing them up from below. . . .

Even when men of the hereditary nobility have come to that high estate, it is because their forebears risked their lives during the Warring States period, developed their abilities the hard way through bitter experience, and rendered distinguished service in order to attain high office and large feudal stipends. Their descendants, however, having held high office and large feudal stipends for generations, find themselves on top from birth and suffer no hardship at all.

How, then, can they develop their abilities? . . . Although they may be intelligent and clever enough, they live so far apart from the people that they are simply unaware of how the people feel. . . . For this reason, the Way of the sages placed the prime importance on raising up wise and talented men of low station and strongly disapproved of hereditary succession in high office from generation to generation.

[*Ogyū Sorai shū*, pp. 124–28; RT, WTdB]

SETTLEMENT ON THE LAND

In general, Sorai believed that owing to adverse circumstances, Japan had not had proper laws and institutions for several shogunates. Although it would not be possible, he thought, to reverse this situation all at once, a proper government could not be established except with a sound agrarian economy, for which it would be necessary to settle people—and especially the military class—on the land.

The main point of Sorai's policy was that the system of alternate residence of military households in Edo should be modified to allow the members of the military class to return to the country and make their permanent homes on their land and to establish institutions that would enable the military government (*bakufu*) to maintain control over the country and ensure future stability. Through these measures, the military class would be freed from its dependence on the merchants, and in the future the *bakufu* would be able to prevent the changes in status and occupation that had taken place throughout the preceding century. The benefits that Sorai expected from the return of the military class to its land were, first, that the "extravagance" of town life, with its debilitating effects, would cease; second, that relations between the military class and the peasantry would be improved; and, third, that the military class would be able to overcome the power of the merchants by no longer being dependent on them to supply its needs.

If the members of the military class lived in the country, they would not incur any expenses in providing themselves with food, clothing, and shelter, and for this reason their financial condition would be much improved. Now it is generally true that extravagance originates among the female members of the family, and since the wives and daughters of the military class have lived in Edo, increasing extravagance has weakened their health and made them a prey to disease, with the result that the children whom they bear are weak and unfit for the service of the *bakufu*. But if these women were also[88] made to live in the country, they would exercise their bodies by working at the loom and, having few luxuries, would become strong and healthy, as befits the wives and daughters of warriors. The men, too, would have strong limbs from walking and riding all over the countryside. . . .

88. That is, as well as their husbands.

The members of the military class would be at leisure most of the time, which would be of more benefit to them than is the case in Edo, for they have no other forms of recreation than the practice of the military arts and the pursuit of learning. If their retainers were given plots of land assessed as yielding five or ten *koku*[89] and they were allowed to keep the produce of that land, its yield would soon increase from five *koku* to ten *koku* and from ten *koku* to twenty *koku*. And since they would be living in a country style, five *koku* would be equivalent to twenty, and ten *koku* to forty, and hence it would be possible to keep many retainers amply supplied, and any military duties that might be required would be easily discharged. . . .

If the members of the military class settled on the land, the peasants, from their earliest childhood, would look up to their steward (*jitō sama*) with feelings of respect that would become deeply impressed on their minds, and good order would be preserved in the district. . . . Again, if the military class lived in the country, they would become familiar with the land, with the construction of river dikes and with other such matters. . . .

Once the military class had settled on the land, their period of attendance at Edo would be fixed at one month or one hundred days. . . . By going through the country on foot and horseback, by fishing and hunting, they would become more familiar with the topography of their districts, used to moving over rough country, and expert in all the matters making up the warrior's art. At present they live in Edo and have neither familiarity with nor feelings of obligation toward the people of their distant fiefs. The peasants think of them merely as the men who take the rice tax from them, while warriors regard the peasants simply as the source from which they collect the rice tax. The only feeling that exists between them is, on the one side, a desire to exploit and, on the other, a determination not to be exploited, and some members of the military class inflict great cruelties on their peasants. If they lived on their lands and grew used to seeing and speaking with their peasants, they would naturally acquire feelings of sympathy for them, and naturally, too, would not treat them with excessive severity. . . .

A major consequence of the existing system was the impoverishment of the samurai because of their dependence on the merchant class. Sorai wished to "restore" a proper four-class system by reversing the relations between samurai and merchants.

At least one-quarter of the harvest must be stored, and when possible, no rice in excess of this proportion should be sold. For if rice is kept in the hands of the military class, the merchants, who will be forced to buy the rice in

89. One *koku* is approximately five bushels. *Koku* was the unit used to measure rice as well as the productivity and value of land, reflected in the stipends for the military class.

exchange for money, will be utterly confounded, and it will be possible to lower prices to any level desired. The question is who will be in the dominant position and who will be in the subordinate position. At present, the merchants are in the dominant position, and the military class is in the subordinate position because the military class lives as though they were at an inn where they cannot do without money and must sell their rice in exchange for money with which to buy their daily necessities from the merchants. It is for this reason that the military class has no control over prices. If the military class lived on their land, they would have no need to sell their rice, while the merchants would wish to buy it, and thus the military class would be in the dominant position and the merchants in the subordinate one. In that case, the military class would be able to determine prices at their pleasure. . . .

If these proposals were carried out, the price of rice could be set very high and the townspeople of Edo would be obliged to eat coarse grains. In this way a distinction would arise between the food of the rulers (*kunshi*) and the ruled (*shōjin*), which also is in accordance with the ancient Way. . . . [pp. 59–63]

Economic Policy

The most important recommendations in Sorai's economic policy were a part of his measures for ending the state of "living in an inn" at Edo. The military government would no longer make purchases from the townspeople but would accept payment directly from the daimyo and the producers of the goods that the state required. Natural resources such as forests and mines would be brought under the *bakufu*'s direct control. At the same time, the practice of contracting work by townspeople would be discontinued, and artisans would work directly under the *bakufu*'s officers. Unskilled laborers would be selected from the servants of the middle-ranking samurai and from the townspeople.

Ending the situation of "living in an inn" requires ending money purchases by the *bakufu*. Now, as to how this is to be accomplished: during the Three Dynasties the feudal lords presented tribute (*gong*) [to the emperor], and it is clearly recorded in the histories that since that time, under the rule of successive emperors in China and in ancient Japan during the period of the centralized (*gunken*) administration, local products were always presented to the court from the provinces. But if you ask why the lords should present tribute when they have been given complete control of their lands, observe that because they have received these lands, the lords have the duty of supplying rice and labor to their sovereign from the grain that their lands produce and from the people who live there. In the case of other products, certain localities produce goods of particularly high quality; in this respect not all the fiefs are alike. Thus presenting local products to the overlord is not at all unreasonable but is quite logical and indeed has been the established practice in both ancient and modern times. That the

daimyo of the present day, who correspond to the feudal lords of ancient times, do not make presentations of local products despite the requirements of both logic and precedent, is because at the end of the rule by the Muromachi, when the country was in a state of civil war, the military lords (*buke*) seized the provinces and prefectures and stopped paying even the three taxes *so*, *chō*, and *yō*[90] long established under the centralized system of government, quite apart from any presentation of local products. Later, Toyotomi Hideyoshi unified the country, but because he was illiterate, he was ignorant of these matters, and when the succession passed to the Tokugawa, Ieyasu died in the year after the siege of Osaka without establishing this institution. It is entirely wrong for the daimyo to accept this as a precedent for believing that they need not make presentations of local products. . . . [pp. 95–96]

Law

Sorai did not propose compiling an all-embracing code of law, believing, as a Confucian, that the fewer laws (as opposed to moral sanctions) a state had, the better its government would be. His proposals were limited to systemizing and simplifying the existing legislation.

The *bakufu* has issued scores or hundreds of edicts (*ofure*) since the Tokugawa took power, and there now are so many that it is impossible for the middle-ranking samurai or the people in the city and in the provinces to remember all of them. Some edicts reverse those previously issued, and the people are often confused when they do, not knowing which edict is in force. I have also heard that the *bakufu* authorities have been prosecuting people not under recent edicts but under edicts issued as much as forty or fifty years ago. The issuing of a large number of legal enactments (*hatto*) confuses people and has the opposite effect of that intended. I would advise that the provisions of all the legal enactments issued up until the present should be reviewed, selecting those to be observed and revoking those not to be observed. One of the principles in antiquity was to have as few legal enactments as possible. If there are [too] many, the common people will not be able to remember them and [so] will not observe them. . . . [p. 122]

Education

In his discussion of education, Sorai was concerned with only higher education, "learning" (*gakumon*)—that is, studies in the Chinese language conducted from a

90. Taxes in grain, cloth, and labor.

Confucian standpoint. Such studies, Sorai believed, should be pursued only by members of the upper classes, for they could be of no use to the lower orders and, indeed, might encourage rebellion:

> It is not necessary that the common people be taught anything apart from the virtues of filial piety, brotherly submission, loyalty, and trustworthiness. . . . The study of other works will merely increase their cunning and will lead to disruption. For when the people are filled with cunning, they are difficult to rule. The techniques of government should be employed for their instruction.

Sorai held that the function of Confucian studies was to train members of the military class in matters that would prepare them to govern. Instruction was to begin with thorough training in the Chinese language, and later this linguistic knowledge was to be used to study subjects of practical utility in government, of which history was the most important.

Sorai particularly objected to lectures by Confucian scholars at the shogunate. Known as *kōshaku*, these lectures were an adaptation of a Neo-Confucian practice in the Song, Yuan, and Ming, and, in Korea, were known as the "lectures from the Classics Mat."[91] They were so identified with the whole system of Zhu Xi learning that Sorai dismissed them as unsuitable for Japan.

Lectures on the texts of the classics (*kōshaku*) are one of the greatest evils of the day. People of all classes believe that undertaking scholarly studies (*gakumon*) necessarily means attending *kōshaku* lectures. These lectures follow a particular pattern, which consists of reading through from beginning to end the texts of the Four Books, the *Jin si lu* (*Reflection on Things at Hand*), and other books of that sort. In the Song Confucians' system of study, this reading of the Four Books and the *Jin si lu* is a form of religious exercise meant to teach a person to become a sage. Since, of course, no one ever "became a sage," this means that the Song Confucians have a mistaken view of the nature of the classics. There can be no more roundabout method of doing things than to insist that we must set aside all consideration of government matters until we have become sages. . . .

Zhu Xi's commentaries, however, are generally regarded as the correct interpretation, and the idea that *kōshaku* lectures are an indispensable part of scholarly studies has also come to be accepted as a general rule, so that now no other form of scholarly study is recognized. The attitude of those who attend the lectures is reverence for the books, rather than confidence in the lecturers, and the aim is to have the lecturer explain the meaning of the text so that his audience may apply it at their own discretion. But if someone tries to discern

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91. See de Bary and Bloom, eds., *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, pp. 628–38.

the meaning of what is written in these books with a mind completely immersed in the customs of the time, the result will merely be a statement of his prejudices. . . .

Shogun Tsunayoshi had some fondness for learning, but even though this made learning fashionable, the *kōshaku* lectures were emphasized, and composition in prose and verse was neglected. Because people had no experience using the Chinese written language, these lectures were of no use. Since that time, scholars in the *bakufu*'s service have neglected their studies. Chinese poetry competitions would be of much greater benefit than the *kōshaku* lectures of the time of Shogun Tsunayoshi. If learning were encouraged to the same degree in the households of all the daimyo in Japan, scholars would be encouraged, many fine scholars would appear as a result, and the scholars in the *bakufu*'s service would be forced to attend to their studies. . . .

Furthermore, if the Hayashi family is favored by being the only school of Confucian scholars (*jusha*) employed by the *bakufu*, those scholars not employed by the *bakufu* will probably neglect their studies. The Way of the sages is essentially the Way of ruling the state, and in ancient and modern times its first concern has always been with matters of government. . . .

I would propose that the *bakufu* have the scholars in its service select one of the eight subjects—Chinese poetry, [Chinese] prose, history, law, Japanese studies, military science, mathematics, and calligraphy—and that they instruct their pupils in their subject with the object of preparing them for the *bakufu*'s service. . . . If this became an established procedure, all scholars would be of service to the *bakufu*, and nonprofessional scholars would be directed to study matters that also would be of use to the *bakufu*. All the futile discussions of the method of the mind-and-heart (*xinfa*) and arguments about metaphysical points may properly be described as useless learning.

[Adapted from McEwan, *Political Writings*, pp. 59–63, 95–96, 122, 133–34, 140–44]

MURO KYŪSŌ'S DEFENSE OF NEO-CONFUCIANISM

Muro Kyūsō (1658–1734), the son of a physician (as were many other thinkers of his time), defended Zhu Xi's philosophy at a time when it was being criticized by such able men as Yamaga Sokō, Itō Jinsai, and Ogyū Sorai. Having acquired his belief in the rightness of Zhu Xi only after a long intellectual struggle, it was a matter of intense personal conviction for Kyūsō and not just a passive acceptance of the established teaching. Therefore, he did not try to formulate any new philosophy of his own but was far more effective in revitalizing the Neo-Confucian teaching than was the official Hayashi school. In this role, he strongly reinforced the ethical attitudes that the Tokugawa shoguns had endorsed as a means of stabilizing their own rule. Among these was the sense of

duty (*gi*, or rightness), as manifested in personal relationships, especially in service to one's lord or ruler, which in Japan was regarded by many as the highest duty. Related to this was a deep sense of one's indebtedness or obligation (*on*) to one's parents for the original gift of life and to one's ruler for sustaining and protecting it.

In contrast to Sokō, however, whose sense of loyalty was increasingly directed to the imperial house, Kyūsō remained a staunch supporter of the shogunate, for which he found a justification in Mencius's theory of the Mandate of Heaven being conferred on those who best served the interests of the people. On this basis, for instance, he regarded Ieyasu as virtually heaven-sent to bring order out of chaos and establish a benevolent regime after centuries of bloodshed and disorganization. Indeed, Kyūsō contributed in no small measure to the hero-worshiping cult of Ieyasu, which persisted until the end of the Tokugawa period, and to the general buttressing of the shogunate's position and authority. By thus identifying himself so wholeheartedly with the existing regime and Zhu Xi's teaching, however, Kyūsō stood squarely in the face of two powerful currents of thought that eventually swept all before them: incipient nationalism (particularly as embodied in the revival of Shinto, which he considered unworthy of association with Neo-Confucianism) and the growing sense of loyalty to the imperial house.

IN DEFENSE OF ZHU XI'S NEO-CONFUCIANISM

In his prefatory remarks to the *Conversations of Suruga-dai* (*Shundai zatsuwa*), Muro Kyūsō, identified as the "Old Man," describes how he became a convinced Neo-Confucian only after many years of study. Now, with the Cheng–Zhu school under attack from many quarters, he feels that he has a mission to defend it similar to that of the great Han Yu in Tang-dynasty China, who turned the tide against Buddhism and Daoism and led the way to the later revival of Confucianism. Kyūsō sees himself not only as a follower of Zhu Xi but also as another in the line of Zhu's successors upholding the True Way during the Yuan and Ming periods.

One day as the Old Man was talking with his students, the discussion turned to developments in Confucian thought since the Song school, and one of those present expressed doubts about the Cheng–Zhu philosophy. The Old Man said to him:

"When I was young I pursued conventional Chinese studies, memorizing and reciting the classics and studying composition. I had devoted many years and months to this when suddenly I realized the folly of it and thought of devoting myself to that teaching of the ancients that was concerned with one's true self. Unhappily, however, I had neither able teachers nor worthy friends to guide me and was simply bewildered by the many theories of the different

philosophers. I half believed in the Cheng–Zhu system and half doubted it. Unable to arrive at any settled view of things, I saw the years and months pass by without gaining anything. Then at about the age of forty I arrived at the realization that nothing could take the place of the Cheng–Zhu teaching. For thirty years I have studied the writings of the Cheng–Zhu school, considering them in my heart and reflecting on them in my mind. Neither too abstruse nor too superficial, these teachings would undoubtedly obtain the full assent of even a sage, should one rise again. For the Way of Heaven-and-earth is the Way of Yao and Shun; the Way of Confucius and Mencius is the Way of Cheng and Zhu. If we refuse to follow the Way of Cheng and Zhu, we cannot attain the Way of Confucius and Mencius; if we refuse to follow the Way of Confucius and Mencius, we cannot attain the Way of Yao and Shun; and if we refuse to follow the Way of Yao and Shun, we cannot attain the Way of Heaven-and-earth." . . .

At this everyone seemed to listen all the more intently, and the Old Man went on:

"What I say has already been confirmed by five centuries of scholarly opinion and consequently does not need an oath from me to affirm it today. After the time of Zhu Xi, beginning with such eminent scholars as Zhen Xishan (Dexiu) and Wei Haoshan (Liaoweng) in the Song dynasty, Xu Luzhai (Heng) and Wu Caolu (Cheng) in the Yuan dynasty, and Xue Jingxuan (Xuan) and Hu Juren (Zhuren) in the Ming dynasty, many others were devoted to studying the True Way, and all of them believed in Cheng and Zhu. . . . Thus until the middle of the Ming period, scholarship was conducted along correct lines, and the true teaching suffered no decline. But when Wang Yangming appeared, he proclaimed the doctrine of innate ["good"] knowledge and attacked Zhu Xi. Thus the temper of thought in the Ming changed, and after Yangming's death, such followers of his as Wang Longqi turned toward Zen Buddhism. Thereafter scholars became intoxicated with intuitive knowledge and grew tired of pursuing first principles. By the end of the Ming the deleterious effects of this were such that scholars throughout the land became Confucians by day and Buddhists by night. . . . Men with only a particle of the learning of Cheng and Zhu criticized them in the most flippant manner, like the wren who makes fun of the [wider knowledge of the far-flying] roc and the caterpillar who presumes to measure the expanse of the sea. As Han Yu said, 'They sit in a well and, looking up at the sky, pronounce it small.'[92] Nevertheless, countless numbers of men, shallow and deficient in knowledge, eagerly accept new and strange teachings and love to echo the opinions of others.

"In our state, peace has endured for a hundred years and learning has flour-

92. Han Yu, "Essentials of the Moral Way" (Yuandao), in de Bary and Bloom, eds., *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, pp. 2, 564.

ished, so that scholars have appeared in great numbers. Their scholarship may not always have been the best, but at least they held firmly to the Cheng–Zhu philosophy and preserved what was worthy of imitation from the past—which must be counted a blessing. More recently, however, some of them have misled men into new and dangerous paths, trying to set up their own schools of thought and gathering followers around them, so that they might enjoy some kind of ascendancy in the company of scholars long used to prostituting themselves and making much of their own wild ideas, without the least sense of shame. All the dogs join in when one starts barking, and that is the reason why vile teachings and outrageous doctrines abound in the world today. Truly the Way is in a critical phase. Therefore, just as Han Yu rose up when Buddhism and Daoism were flourishing and attacked them single-handedly, likening himself to Mencius and swearing an oath by the gods of Heaven-and-earth, so this man swears too, that although his merits may not equal those of Mencius, still he dares not fail to answer the call of Han Yu. And you, too, see that my words are not listened to in vain!"

[Inoue, *Nihon rinri ihen*, vol. 7, pp. 82–84; trans. adapted from Knox, "Japanese Philosopher," pp. 28–31]

ECONOMICS AND TRADITIONAL VALUES

The next two selections from Kyūsō's *Conversations* are typical of the official attitude toward the rising merchant class and the spreading influence of bourgeois life and values. It springs from concern about the deterioration of samurai standards and from a feeling that the merchants' prosperity was gained at the peasants' expense and tended to discourage agriculture. Kyūsō obviously was guided by the traditional Chinese policy, which became established as early as the Han dynasty (second century B.C.E.), of discrimination against the merchant class and at least nominal support for agriculture. His reflections on the contemporary scene are a striking commentary on the rapid social and economic changes Japan was undergoing, despite the shogunate's attempt to preserve the status quo.

Nothing is more important to the samurai than duty [rightness]. Second in importance comes life, and then money. Since both life and money are also of value, when confronted by a life-or-death situation or when faced with money matters, a man is likely to depreciate the precious thing called duty. Hence, only if the samurai is careful not to think or speak of greed for life or greed for money can he remove himself entirely from avaricious desires. What I call avaricious desires is not limited to love of money, for the concern with one's life also is avarice. Is one's life not more precious than money? When faced with an unpleasant duty, the Way of the samurai is to regard his own wishes—even his life itself—as having less value than rubbish. How much less should

he value money? Since [life and money] are of intrinsic value, it is good to take care of one's health and avoid spending money heedlessly. Even so, to cherish one's heart or even to speak of overfondness for one's life or the worship of money may be all right for merchants, but it is hardly so for a samurai. . . .

In ancient Japan, in keeping with its name of "the country of the sages," manners were pure and simple and not perverted by [consideration for] prices and profits. Even when duty was not rigorously defended, the inbred sense of honor had not entirely disappeared. Although manners changed greatly with the coming of military government, the samurai still knew nothing at all about money matters, and they were frugal and direct and not the slightest bit given to extravagance. This was true until recent times. . . .

As I remember in my youth, young men of that time never mentioned prices, and some blushed when they heard erotic stories. Most of them delighted in listening to stories about old battles and loved to discuss duty to their lord or father and the samurai's resolute will. I hear that nowadays when young men get together, they often amuse one another by telling stories of profit and loss or talking about sexual pleasures. Thus the social standards have changed from fifty or sixty years ago. At about that time there was a samurai in Kaga named Aochi Uneme. His son, named Kurando,[93] was a friend of mine. Uneme said to his sons and disciples: "Even though getting rich by exchanging goods with others is practiced freely in the world, you should have nothing to do with it. When buying at a loss, it is all right for the gain to be on the other side. However, winning in trade differs from winning at chess, for when one buys at a profit and the gain is to oneself, there is no satisfaction; on the contrary, the heart becomes spiteful. To rejoice when one makes a profitable transaction or buys valuable merchandise cheaply is part of the merchant's trade, but it is unpardonable in a samurai."

Some years ago, when Arai Chikugo-no-kami [i.e., Arai Hakuseki] was attendant lecturer in the Confucian temple, I heard him say: "Never say, in reporting about another man, that he is greedy, for if he is greedy about money, then you can be sure that he will be greedy about life. In that case, you should use the blunter word and say that he is cowardly." This is quite true.

[Inoue, *Nihon rinri ihen*, vol. 7, pp. 82–84; trans. adapted from Knox, "Japanese Philosopher," pp. 81–84]

THE PEOPLE SHOULD BE AS HEAVEN TO THE KING

Once, at the end of his exposition of the tenth book of the *Analects*,[94] concerning the passage "He bowed to those who bore the tables of the census," the Old

93. Aochi Saiken, who was praised by Kyūsō as a model samurai.

94. *Analects* 10:16.

Man asked his guests: "What is the meaning of the phrase 'The king takes the people to be Heaven, while the people take food to be Heaven'?"

"The people," replied one, "are the foundation of the state; when they are obedient the state remains, but when they rebel it is destroyed. Because the state's preservation or destruction is up to the people, the king must always honor them as Heaven. Food is the people's life. With it they live, but without it they die. . . . Therefore, the people honor food as Heaven."

"You have explained both of them correctly," continued the Old Man. "Both phrases refer to the idea that agriculture should be highly valued. When Heaven begets humankind it brings forth grain for their food. If there are humans there is grain, and if there is grain there are humans; if there is no grain there are no humans. Nothing on earth is more important than food. The farmers produce it and are entrusted by Heaven to the king, who must honor them as he honors Heaven itself. He should not despise even one of them. This is why the census in ancient times was received with honor by the king, and Confucius bowed when he met those who were carrying it. The people too should remember that they are entrusted with producing the most essential thing in the land, given by Heaven for the continuance of human life, and should honor it as Heaven itself. They must not be idle, for their industry is the basis of social standards and customs and has a bearing on the tranquillity of the state. . . .

"From what I have heard about the recent state of the capital, the provinces are full of avaricious officials, and the towns are full of money grubbers. While they seem outwardly to obey the law and be above bribery, many of them work privately for profit and love luxury. Furthermore, they flaunt their cunning and hide their faults; they deceive the government, slander others, and plot shrewdly. From what I hear of their intercourse with one another, they strive for sumptuousness in their banquets; they vie with one another in the elegance of songs and dances and spend immense sums in a day. They take all this to be in refined taste. . . . Gold and silver are scarce. But food is produced every year, so money grows dear while grain grows cheap. The samurai who are paid in rice must exchange cheap grain for expensive cash and do not have enough, whereas the money grubbers buy cheap grain with scarce coins and increase their goods. But with few coins their extravagance is unlimited, and useful money goes for useless things. . . .

"This has not come about in a day. Until sixty or seventy years ago there was greater prosperity than there is today. Some vulgar people liked luxury, but the majority were frugal, for many old men of the former age still remained, men who . . . had endured hardship as soldiers and had known no luxury even in their dreams. They trained their sons and grandsons too in the family traditions. Even though we would speak of them today as having rustic ways, they were naturally without ostentation and were rich in character. They were lacking in falseness and full of genuineness. They were earnest, dependable, hardworking, and kind. Later, such men disappeared. Samurai and officials now wallow in

their hereditary pensions. In times of peace, they know nothing of hardships. All they want is comfort. . . . In the country there still remains some of the old spirit that has already disappeared from the capital. Of course, country folk are often foolish and profligate, and some commit great crimes; moreover, usually having little discretion, they become angry when faced with hard times and sometimes rise against the government. Still, they are not devious like the townspeople. They are naturally honest, simple, easily moved by blessings, quick to follow reason, and satisfied with their daily food.

"When the officials of a province remember the spirit that takes the people to be as Heaven, modify the taxes according to circumstances, and so treat the people that they may nourish parents and children without fear of death from cold and hunger, then the people will be content and will not abandon their land to escape suffering. When the laws are made known, showing the punishments that will be meted out to criminals, forbidding extravagance, and reproving the idle and dissolute, then the people of that province will respectfully obey, and their customs will be improved. As customs improve in one province after another, their influence will naturally be felt in the capital. The townspeople are not one-tenth so numerous as the country folk; yet whatever is in fashion at the capital soon spreads to the provinces. Were the farmers content and prosperous, then still more readily would their fashions go throughout the empire conquering extravagance and evil. Without doubt, extravagance would give way gradually to frugality."

[Inoue, *Nihon rinri ihen*, vol. 7, pp. 155–59; trans. adapted from Knox, "Japanese Philosopher," pp. 81–84]

Chapter 25

VARIETIES OF NEO-CONFUCIAN EDUCATION

Whatever the different views espoused by individual thinkers of the Tokugawa period, as shown earlier, Neo-Confucian education had a significant life of its own. As in China and Korea during the same period, the spread of education was a major factor in the development of these maturing civilizations, and in the case of Japan especially, it had much to do with the readiness of the Japanese to receive and adapt to new civilizational influences in modern times.

This educational development drew on three key features of the Confucian revival in the Song, features that distinguish the new stages of growth from the earlier received tradition. First, while drawing on classical ideals, Neo-Confucianism reformulated them in ways roughly comparable to the neoclassicism of the Western Renaissance and Enlightenment. Hence the prefix "Neo-." Second, it strongly asserted the need for universal schooling. This was a major aim of the Song reformers and particularly emphasized by Zhu Xi, the dominant figure in the cultural and educational movement identified with him as "the learning of Master Zhu" (in Japan, Shushigaku). But—and this is the third feature—Zhu Xi not only advanced schooling (i.e., formalized, institutionalized, "public" learning open to all) but also provided the texts, sequential curriculum, and even an appropriate reading method for general use. Again, these were not wholly new, but they were neoclassical and Neo-Confucian in that Zhu Xi gave them a specific definition, articulation, and codification that proved widely serviceable in the new age. And because of their widespread

adoption as a new educational program in all East Asian countries—spreading as the core texts of the new movement in much the same way as the Lotus, Vimalakirti, Golden Light, Flower Garland, and Pure Land Sutras had done in the earlier Buddhist age—they became the basis of educated discourse in the shared culture of the new East Asia.

Thus schools as physical institutions, texts that had been newly interpreted and codified, and a new core curriculum gave a definite shape and concrete content to education, making it to some extent independent of the interpretations of individual thinkers. Scholars might dispute philosophical issues among themselves and promote distinct schools of thought in that sense. But the shared discourse among educated persons, and the terms and concepts that largely emerged from Zhu Xi's commentaries on the Four Books and ancillary texts that he edited, provided the common ground on which individual scholars erected their own diverse theories.

What contributed to the intellectual diversity was the relative autonomy of the schools that grew so rapidly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Before this, most education had taken place in the home or had been part of religious training centered in monasteries. It had been "private" or privileged in the sense that the transmission of learning—whether in the dominant Buddhist forms or in the more attenuated Confucian learning—was in the hands of teaching lineages that tended to regard themselves as special custodians of their own brand of learning, often as conveyors of exclusive or even secret transmissions. But in contrast to the state-sponsored education of China and Korea, which was closely tied to the civil service examination system, the growth of schools in the Tokugawa period was more like the spread of local semiprivate academies in China (*shu-yuan*) and Korea (*sŏwon*). In other words, Neo-Confucian education spread on its own intellectual and cultural merits and had begun to dominate the cultural scene even before it was officially recognized or to any degree an "enforced" ideology.

To say this is not to ignore the powerful effect on others of the shogun's own patronage of Neo-Confucianism. The prestige of the Tokugawa house was such that many followed the leader and emulated his example in sponsoring such schools in their own domains (*han*), whether in the influential branches of the Tokugawa house itself or in the outlying domains. But the Tokugawa feudal system had enough local autonomy so that independent teachers could operate in their own fashion with the benign support—and usually loose supervision—of the local lord. In addition, there were private schools (*shijuku*) with their own teachers and their own teaching style. What was so striking amid this diversity and autonomy was the extent to which Zhu Xi's basic texts and curriculum were voluntarily adopted as the standard for the basic level of instruction, despite so much independent initiative and diversity on the upper levels and in the higher reaches of Japanese scholarship.

The following selections illustrate both the standard content and the peda-

gogical diversity of Neo-Confucian education, including the ways in which those who took issue with Zhu Xi nevertheless used his system as their point of departure and argued their case largely in the terms of the Neo-Confucian discourse.

PRINCIPLES OF EDUCATION

YAMAZAKI ANSAI

Yamazaki Ansai was a powerful teacher who, as we saw earlier, established a major school of Tokugawa Confucianism and had a strong sense of Zhu Xi's importance as an educator. An independent scholar himself, Ansai had come to appreciate the contribution of the scholarly academies that had survived official repression in the Song and carried on this tradition of learning independently of the state in Yuan and Ming China, as well as in Korea under the Chosŏn dynasty. Many of these academies had adopted Zhu's *Articles of the White Deer Grotto Academy* as their basic charter, and Neo-Confucian scholars had often commented on their significance, among them the outstanding Korean philosopher Yi T'oegye, whom Ansai greatly admired. Although Ansai refers to these as "regulations"—the common appellation in schools transmitting the Zhu Xi tradition—Zhu himself identified them as "articles," and in an epilogue he specifically disavowed the idea of disciplinary rules, preferring to think of them as values voluntarily subscribed to. They were to be a set of stated precepts, posted for all to see as the basis for the conduct of instruction in the academy when it was reopened in 1180.

PREFACE TO THE *COLLECTED COMMENTARIES ON ZHU XI'S REGULATIONS OF THE WHITE DEER GROTTO ACADEMY*

Yamazaki Ansai's preface emphasizes the systematic character of Zhu Xi's educational philosophy and the comprehensive, sequential, and cumulative order of Zhu's curriculum, in which the cultivation of personhood was correlated with social relations and intellectual development went hand in hand with moral refinement.

The philosopher Zhu, styled Huian, was conspicuously endowed with intellectual leadership. Following in the line of [the Song philosophers] Zhou Dunyi and the Cheng brothers, he advanced the cause of Confucianism in both elementary education and higher education. For the guidance of his students he established these regulations, but they could not gain wide acceptance in his own time because of opposition from vile quarters. . . .

It would seem to me that the aim of education, elementary and advanced,

is to clarify human moral relationships. In the elementary program of education the various human relationships are made clear, the essence of this education in human relationships being reverence for the person (oneself and others). The "investigation of things" in advanced studies [as set forth in the *Great Learning*] simply carries to its ultimate conclusion what has already been learned from elementary instruction. . . .

Zhu Xi's school regulations list the Five Human Relationships as the curriculum, following an order of presentation that complements the curriculum of advanced education [as found in the *Great Learning*]. Studying, questioning, deliberating, and discriminating: these four correspond to the "investigation of things" and "extension of knowledge" in advanced education. The regulation dealing with conscientious action goes with the "cultivation of one's person." From the emperor to the common people, the cultivation of one's person is essential, including both "making the intentions sincere" and "rectifying the mind." The "managing of affairs" and "social intercourse" [in Zhu's *Regulations*] refer to "regulating the family," "governing the state," and "establishing peace" [in the *Great Learning*]. These regulations thus contain everything, and they should be used for instruction together with the book of *Elementary Learning* and the book of the *Great Learning*. But so far they have gone almost unnoticed among the items of Zhu's collected works, scarcely attracting any attention from scholars in Japan. I have taken the liberty, however, of bringing them out into the light of day by mounting and hanging them in my studio for constant reference and reflection. More recently I have found a detailed discussion of these regulations in *Some Reflections of Mine* by the Korean scholar Yi T'oegye. It convinced me more than anything else that these regulations are the true guide [to education].

[Signed] Yamazaki Ansai
Keian 3 [1650]: 12th month, 9th day

REGULATIONS OF THE WHITE DEER GROTTO ACADEMY

As the prefect of Nangang, Jiangxi, Zhu Xi led an effort to revive the White Deer Grotto Academy, located at the foot of Mount Lu by the great bend of the Yangtze River, a scenic spot famous as the site of Buddhist temples and Daoist sanctuaries. It is significant that Zhu took a strong interest in both public schools and the "private" (i.e., quasi-independent) academies that were centers of scholarship and ritual for the educated elite in local settings. The latter became important media for the propagation of his teachings.

As was typical of Zhu's work, the articles (or precepts) consist mostly of quotations from the classics or other early writings (not attributed, since he assumed that his readers would recognize the source from memory). Zhu Xi's contribution was putting them together in a definite order and sequence. Particularly to be noted are the bal-

ance he strikes between personal cultivation and social relations, as well as between moral and intellectual development.

Between parent and child, affection.
Between ruler and subject, rightness.
Between husband and wife, differentiation.
Between elder and younger, precedence.
Between friends, trust.[1]

These are the items of the Five Teachings, that is, the very teachings that Yao and Shun reverently commanded Xie, as minister of education, to propagate. For those who engage in learning, these are all they need to learn. As for the proper procedure for study, there also are five items, as follows:

Study extensively, inquire carefully, ponder thoroughly, discriminate clearly, and practice earnestly.[2]

This is the proper sequence for the pursuit of learning. Study, inquiry, pondering, and sifting are for fathoming principle to the utmost. As for earnest practice, there also are essential elements at each stage from personal cultivation to the handling of affairs and dealing with others, as separately listed next:

Be faithful and true to your words and firm and sincere in conduct.[3]
Curb your anger and restrain your lust; turn to the good and correct your errors.[4]

The foregoing are the essentials of personal cultivation.

Be true to moral principles and do not scheme for profit; illuminate [exemplify] the Way and do not calculate the advantages [for oneself].[5]

The foregoing are the essentials for handling affairs.

Do not do to others what you would not want them to do to you.[6] In your conduct, when you are unable to succeed, reflect and look [for the cause] within yourself.[7]

The foregoing are the essentials for dealing with others.

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1. *Mencius* 3A:4.
2. *Mean* 20.
3. *Analects* 15:5.
4. *Yijing*, hexagrams 41 and 42.
5. Dong Zhongshu, in *Han shu* 56:12b.
6. *Analects* 12:2; 15:24.
7. *Mencius* 4A:4.

To these precepts, Zhu Xi added a postscript of his own, emphasizing important points that were not explicit in the quoted precepts:that learning should be both individual and social, with appropriation by oneself and discussion with others essential to both self-integration and the conduct of affairs. The same approach had been recommended in Zhu's memorials and lectures to the emperor: that he should first form his own opinion of things and then discuss his opinions with others before making up his mind.

I, [Zhu] have observed that the sages and worthies of antiquity taught people to pursue learning with one intention only, to make students understand the meaning of moral principle through discussion so that they can cultivate their own persons and then extend it [moral principle] to others. The sages and worthies did not wish them merely to memorize texts or compose poetry and essays as a means of gaining fame or seeking office. Students today obviously do the contrary [to what the sages and worthies intended]. All the methods that the sages and worthies used in teaching people are found in the classics. Dedicated scholars should by all means read them frequently, ponder them deeply, and then inquire into them and sift them.

[*Zoku Yamazaki Ansai zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 1–5 (commentary deleted); Zhu Xi, *Wenji* 74:18a; WTdB]

KAIBARA EKKEN

Like Zhu Xi and Yamazaki Ansai, Kaibara Ekken qualifies not only as a major Neo-Confucian thinker but also as a leading educator. In addition to writing for many different audiences, he summed up the basic principles of Neo-Confucian learning that underlay all forms of education in his *Precepts for Daily Life in Japan* (*Yamato zokkun*), written in 1708 in vernacular Japanese, a medium that served popular education and not just the cultivation of an elite trained in classical Chinese (as was the case for most schooling in China and Korea).

Although "popular" can mean many things, in Ekken's case one ingredient of this effort to write for a larger vernacular audience was his effort to summarize and explain in simple language the basics of Zhu Xi's learning method. There is perhaps no comparable work in Neo-Confucian East Asia that digests in such concise, plain, and straightforward language the essentials of Zhu Xi's approach, including the basic steps of the learning process, the Neo-Confucian core curriculum, the central aim of Confucian "learning for one's own sake," and the methodical, cumulative course of personal growth from elementary to higher learning. Other remarkable features of this piece are Ekken's emphasis on the proper and efficient use of time—not just a bourgeois virtue but a Confucian one applicable to all classes and ages—and on the importance of education for all people, regardless of rank or class.

PRECEPTS FOR DAILY LIFE IN JAPAN

The Pursuit of Learning, Part 1

There are many paths of learning. There is the scholarly interpretation of old texts, namely, philology and exegesis; there is memorization; there is the study of poetry and prose; and there is the learning of the Confucians.[8] Exegesis means trying to learn in detail the meanings of the sentences and phrases in the books of the sages. Memorization is reading widely the books of past and present and remembering the historical facts and evidence. The study of poetry and prose is learning to compose poems and essays. The learning of the Confucians is understanding the Ways of Heaven, earth, and humankind and learning the way of self-discipline for the governance of humankind. If it involves scholarly pursuits, it must be a subject of Confucian learning. Although exegesis is a mode of comprehending the meaning of sentences in the Four Books and the Five Classics, if we do not understand moral principles, it will be of little use. Memorization and the study of poetry and prose are still further from the Way and do not constitute Confucian learning. But if one is single-minded in the pursuit of Confucian learning. it is all right for one to combine with it the practice of exegesis and memorization. . . .

With regard to Confucian learning, someone might ask: isn't it all right just to learn the Human Way? Why is there a need to learn the Way of Heaven-and-earth? In reply I would say: the Way of Heaven-and-earth is the root and the source of the Human Way, and unless we know the Way of Heaven-and-earth we will not understand the root from which truth emerges. If we do not know the root, the Human Way will not be clear because we will not recognize the natural principles inherent in human beings, and we will not understand the unity between Heaven and humankind that we receive from nature. Therefore, after first learning the Way of daily human relations, we should learn the Way of Heaven-and-earth. . . .

In the pursuit of learning, both knowledge and action are essential. We call being diligent in these two essentials "extending knowledge" and being "vigorous in practice." Extending knowledge is penetrating to the limits of learning. Vigorous practice is making an effort in action. When knowledge of the Way is not clear, we cannot act. . . . If we are not conscientious in our practice, even though we know something, it is useless. . . . When we cannot see, we are unable to discern the way in which we ought to proceed. When we are not equipped with both sight and movement, it is difficult to progress along the path.

First comes knowledge, then comes action. In all things if we do not know

8. Learning for moral improvement, as distinct from purely literary or technical studies.

what comes first, it is difficult to act. In order of precedence, knowledge comes first. Knowledge is for the sake of action. . . .

If we differentiate the two methods of knowledge and action into greater detail, there are five steps. They are stated in the *Mean* as study widely, question thoroughly, ponder carefully, discriminate clearly, and practice earnestly.[9] This is the method for the pursuit of learning by knowing the Way and practicing it.

The method of "studying widely" implies diligence with respect to seeing and hearing. It is seeking truth by reading the books of the sages, hearing the Way from others, and reflecting on the past and present. The Way of human moral relations is recorded in the writings of the sages and worthies. . . . There is no limit to the Way and its principles in this world. If we do not learn the Way and its principles and do not know the method by which we should act, our mistakes will be numerous. The Way and its principles are established in our hearts, and they function in all things and affairs. Thus, by first delving into the Way and its principles in our own hearts and then widely searching out the principles in all things, we will "get it for ourselves" in our own mind and heart. This is learning widely. . . . However, simply loving words without seeking moral principles is not wide learning.

In "questioning thoroughly," we should resolve our doubts by clarifying these principles through association with enlightened teachers and good friends. We may question them in greater detail concerning things that we have already learned but about which we may still have doubts.

As for "pondering carefully," we should try to understand doubtful things in what we have already investigated by calming our mind-and-heart and reflecting seriously on them until we understand. Even if we investigate something, if we do not completely understand it, it will not become our own. . . . The pursuit of learning values "getting it oneself." "Getting it oneself" means acquiring knowledge by careful and thorough consideration and, by realizing the Way and principles within our hearts, making them our own.

When we "discriminate clearly," if we still are confused about good and evil after we have already considered something carefully, then by clearly investigating the rightness or wrongness of the situation, we can distinguish good and evil. These four [steps] all are techniques of knowing in order to discriminate the Way clearly.

As for "practicing earnestly," if we learn a truth through studying, questioning, and discriminating, we must deliberately practice the truth that we know. When we do not, the Way will not be established. The way of practicing earnestly is being true to our words, being without deception, being prudent in action, and having few faults. . . .

Confucius said, "In ancient times one studied for one's own sake; nowadays

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9. *Mean* 20:19.

one studies for the sake of others' [approbation]."[10] "For one's own sake" means real [practical] learning to cultivate oneself. "For others" means learning for fame and profit, which is learning to be known by others. The original meaning of learning is cultivating ourselves without concern for whether or not we are known by others. . . . This is real [or practical] learning. However, the Confucianism of the petty person is learning in order to be known by others. This is simply intending to seek fame and profit without the aim of disciplining oneself. It is false learning. . . . If we read books, it should be our single-minded aim to assimilate them for ourselves. . . .

Although we read many books, if we do not assimilate them, it is only what is called "learning of the mouth and ear,"[11] for it is only what comes in the ear and immediately goes out the mouth, without being kept in the heart or personally practiced. This is useless learning.

When people begin their studies, they should first earnestly read the Four Books and then carefully read the Five Classics.[12] The Five Classics are the teachings of the sages of early antiquity; they represent the fountainhead of letters and the ancestral source of moral principles. The Four Books are the teachings of the Confucian school. Reading them is like listening directly to the teachings of the sages. We ought to respect them. If we wish to understand the meaning of these writings, we should first look at his [Zhu Xi's] commentaries on the Four Books, then at *Questions Concerning the Great Learning* and *Questions Concerning the Mean*, and then at the commentaries on the Five Classics. Next we should look at the books of the [Song masters]: Zhou Dunyi, the Cheng brothers, Zhang Zai, and Zhu Xi. Among these we should carefully read the books of the Cheng brothers and Zhu Xi. The *Elementary Learning*[13] is concerned with an especially important method for self-discipline. The Way of human moral relationships is almost completely supplied there. By reading this at an early age, we should learn its meaning. Furthermore, it is good to look at the histories of past ages, namely, the *Zuo Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals*, [Sima Qian's] *Records of the Historian*, and Zhu Xi's *Outline and Details of the Comprehensive Mirror*. This is the method of learning by which we understand the Way and penetrate past and present. If we understand the classics, the commentaries, and the histories, we will not fail to grasp the principles of events, past and present.

The books of the sages are called *classics*. Classics are constants. The words

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10. *Analects* 14:25.

11. Watson, trans., "Encouraging Learning," in *Basic Writings: Hsün Tzu*, p. 20.

12. The Four Books were designated by Zhu Xi as central to the process of self-education. These, along with Zhu's commentaries, became the basis of all schooling and of the civil service examinations in China.

13. The *Elementary Learning* (J. *Shōgaku*, Ch. *Xiao xue*) was compiled by Zhu Xi as the basis for primary education, preceding higher education through the *Great Learning*.

of the sages reveal the constant Way throughout the centuries. The writings of the worthies are called *commentaries*. These commentaries explain the Way of the sages and transmit them to later generations. The Four Books and the Five Classics are constants. The annotations [on the classics] and the writings of the Song Confucians are commentaries on these. The books that record past ages are called *histories*. These are records of past events. The philosophical texts include those of Xunzi,[14] Yangzi,[15] Huainanzi,[16] Wenzhongzi,[17] and the Shuo yuan.[18] These books are not as clear or detailed as the books of the Cheng brothers and Zhu Xi in clarifying the Way and its principles, but they are useful as an aid to [understanding] the moral principles expressed in the classics, and we should read them.

The "collected works" (*shū*) are books containing essays and the like by various authors. These also reveal moral principles. These four types of books, namely, classics, histories, philosophical treatises, and collected works, are of varying importance, but they all are useful in the pursuit of learning. If we wish to learn the Way, we should devote ourselves mainly to diligent study of the classics for our whole lifetime. Next come the histories, which also are of great benefit. Then we should look at the philosophers and collected works. The *Outline and Details of the Comprehensive Mirror* by Zhu Xi is an especially good book. It is not simply for learning about the remaining records of past ages, their periods of order and disorder, rise and decline, but it is also a great help for the study of moral principles. It is an especially clear mirror for those who rule the country. Also, since it shows the way to victory or defeat in war, it is definitely helpful for people studying military arts. This book describes numerous important events of the past and present, many things of great benefit, and we should apply ourselves to reading them over and over. Truly it is one of the great classics for the governance of the world.

In addition, we should look as much as possible at the records of China and Japan. If we still have time left, it is good to look at the writings of the hundred philosophers in order to clarify the meaning of the classics and broaden our grasp of moral principles. . . .

To be diligent in study from our youth, we must use time wisely. . . . Realizing that this day, this year, will never come again, we should not waste even a moment. We ought to keep this in mind throughout our whole lives. Of old it was said, "It is difficult to outdo a person who keeps at it, trying hard all the

14. The *Xunzi* is attributed to Xunzi (298–238 B.C.E.).

15. The *Yangzi* is attributed to Yang Xiong (53 B.C.E.–18 C.E.).

16. The *Huainanzi* is a Daoist text of the former Han, written by a number of authors under the patronage of Liu An, king of Huainan (d. 122 B.C.E.).

17. The *Wenzhongzi* is a Sui-period text representing the views of Wang Tong (583–616?).

18. The *Shuo yuan* is attributed to Liu Xiang (b. 77 B.C.E.).

time." Likewise, "A careless person who does not do anything and always has a lot of free time cannot surpass others."[19]

For example, farmers and merchants work without wasting time. Farmers work in the fields from dawn until dusk, and merchants definitely surpass other people in diligence. . . . There is nothing so valuable for people as time. The superior person (*kunshi*) makes an effort to study, conducts the administration of the country, serves his parents and lord, and studies various arts. The farmer cultivates his fields, the merchant buys and sells, the artisan makes things, women weave and sew. All of them do things by using time prudently; therefore, using time well is more precious than a golden treasure. . . . If the superior person does not use time prudently, he will not be able to discipline himself or regulate his family. The farmer, artisan, and merchant will lose the work of their family and will not be able to escape poverty, starvation, and cold. Scholars will assuredly lack refinement in learning and have no capabilities. Doctors will inevitably become like lowly craftsmen. Various skills will be lost if we do not use time wisely. Therefore, time is a treasure for people, and we should use it well. . . .

Wisdom is understanding the Way of the Five Human Relationships;, humaneness is preserving and exercising them; and courage is practicing them diligently. Knowing and practicing is having courage and making an effort. These three virtues are the method of the mind-and-heart, which is the learning of the noble person (*kunshi*). The Way that we ought to practice is that of the Five Human Relationships. . . .

The Pursuit of Learning, Part 2

The teachings of the *Elementary Learning*, as something studied by children, are a form of learning for the young. In the past, all children at the age of eight, regardless of rank, became students and learned by receiving the instruction of a teacher. This was elementary learning. What they were taught was to have filial piety for their parents, respect their seniors, and serve their master, [also] the way to receive guests, sweep the room, prepare food and drink, advance and withdraw in the presence of notable people, and respond to questions and requests;[20] [further,] they were taught the skills of the six arts for daily use, namely, ritual, music, archery, driving [a horse or chariot], reading, and arithmetic. From their youth they nurtured their mind-and-heart by these means, and as they became older they made them the basis for studying the greater [higher] learning. In general, the *Elementary Learning* teaches such matters.

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19. *Xunzi*, in *SBBY* 1:11b.

20. Described as the branches of learning in *Analects* 19:12.

The *Great Learning* is the learning for adults from the age of fifteen, and it is concerned with the important principle of governing people through self-discipline. The earth is extensive, but it consists [essentially] of nothing but the self and others. The study of the Way of governing people through self-discipline is the greatest and most important of studies. Therefore, it is called the "Great Learning." "Making clear one's luminous virtue" [i.e., manifesting the moral nature] is to discipline oneself. "To renew the people"[21] is [the means of] governing people. "Resting in the utmost good" means that by manifesting illustrious virtue and by renewing the people, we attain the utmost goodness and should abide there. . . .

In the *Great Learning*, clarifying principles by investigating things and extending knowledge is the beginning of "governing people through self-discipline." "Investigating things" is thoroughly exploring and understanding the principles of all things and affairs; "extending knowledge" is fathoming what is known in our own mind-and-heart and clarifying it. . . .

Next is making our intentions sincere. Intentions are like seedlings; they indicate when the mind-and-heart is first aroused. The substance of the mind-and-heart is quiescent before good and evil appear. When it is first moved, both good and evil arise and so do likes and dislikes. To dislike means to hate. At this point, making our intentions sincere means loving the good, disliking evil, being honest and not deceitful. For example, loving the good is like loving beautiful colors; disliking evil is like shunning bad smells. We should be honest in such things, for it is the beginning of effort and practice. . . .

Thus the Way of the Great Learning is expanding our knowledge by fathoming the principles of everything through the investigation of things and the extension of knowledge. Then, making our heart sincere by loving the good and shunning evil, we practice what we know. This is making our intentions sincere. If our knowledge is insufficient, we cannot distinguish between good and evil in everything. If we do not make our intentions sincere by loving good and shunning evil, we will lack genuineness and cannot carry out the Way. These two are the essence of the Way of the Great Learning, and they represent the method of [both] knowing and acting. . . .

In the morning we learn from a teacher; in the afternoon we review what we learned in the morning; and in the evening we study it again. At night we reflect on our mistakes during the day, and if there are no failings we can sleep peacefully. If there are failings we should be repentant and ashamed and take this as the lesson for the following day. . . .

The Way to pursue learning is to respect the teacher. In respecting the teacher, we naturally honor the Way; in honoring the Way, we revere the Way

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21. According to Cheng Yi and Zhu Xi, this is the second "mainstay" or "guiding principle" of the *Great Learning*.

of the people. Therefore, even though a person might have a high rank as a lord, he should not look down on the teacher as a retainer. In ancient times, in the Royal College, the teacher did not face north when teaching the emperor. This was because the teacher was venerated.[22] . . .

Nevertheless, it is difficult for ordinary people to know and practice the Way well. Therefore, the ancient sages appeared in the world, established their teachings, made clear the Way and principles, and described them in books. There is nothing that is not clearly presented in the writings of the sages concerning the principles of all things under heaven, whether great or small, fine or coarse. . . .

If we pursue learning by reading books, [our] knowledge of seeing and hearing will increase daily. However, if we do not practice what we know, virtuous deeds will daily decline and will not increase. If we do not act, what we learn is not true learning. Today's scholars greatly distort what is learning and what is practice because they do not "learn for their own sake."[23] . . .

Even if poor people have only the resolve to do good, they will encounter many instances when they can help people. How much more, then, do the rich and noble have the power to do good on a wide scale? Thus the learning of people of wealth and rank should not be simply concerned with their self-cultivation but should, by taking a heart of humaneness and love as the basis, concentrate their efforts on helping others. All this is useful learning.

[Kaibara Ekken, *Yamato zokkun*, pp. 55a–71b; MET]

"THE GREAT LEARNING FOR WOMEN" (ONNA DAIGAKU)

From its first publication in 1733,[24] "The Great Learning for Women" was attributed to Kaibara Ekken, and therefore it has had the status of a classic work on women's education. Some scholars have questioned this attribution, but whatever the ultimate verdict may be, the reader should note that the treatment of women in this essay is completely different from that in the preceding excerpts from the *Yamato zokkun*, with its concept of self-cultivation and self-development. Indeed, we cannot call it "education" at all in the sense—whether Western or Confucian—that it is meant: to bring out the potentialities and capabilities of the human being. Here women are seen as having no life of their own, no individual character or personhood. Womanhood is total self-subordination to the needs of her husband and his family, in keeping with

22. Customarily, the emperor sat facing south, while his ministers stood below him facing north. However, because a teacher was to be held in high esteem as a mentor (according to the Confucians), he should sit beside the emperor.

23. *Analects* 14:25.

24. An earlier version was reported for 1729, but is no longer extant.

the identification of her nature with the yin principle, characterized here as "dark," inferior to men, and essentially passive.

Basil Hall Chamberlain, an early translator of this essay and a leading nineteenth-century British contributor to Japanese studies, appended a note to his translation, commenting that "anyone having the least acquaintance with the doctrines of the Chinese philosophers will see how directly the moral and social ideas current in Japan flow from those in vogue in the Middle Kingdom." This may be true of those having some "acquaintance with things Chinese," but it ignores other possibilities latent in the Neo-Confucian conception of the shared human moral nature, as shown in the different treatment of the subject in "Instructions for the Inner Quarters,"[25] possibilities that are, indeed, implicit in the other writings by Ekken himself.

Seeing that it is a girl's destiny, on reaching womanhood, to go to a new home and live in submission to her parents-in-law, it is even more incumbent on her than it is on a boy to receive with all reverence her parents' instructions. Should her parents, through excess of tenderness, allow her to grow up self-willed, she is bound to show herself capricious in her husband's house and thus alienate his affection; while if her father-in-law is a man of correct principles, the girl will find the yoke of these principles intolerable. She will hate and decry her father-in-law, and the end of these domestic dissensions will be her dismissal from her husband's house and the covering of herself with ignominy. Her parents, forgetting the faulty education they gave her, may, indeed, lay all the blame on the father-in-law. But they will be in error, for the whole disaster should rightly be attributed to the faulty education the girl received from her parents.

More precious in a woman than a beautiful face is a virtuous heart. The vicious woman's heart is always excited; she glares wildly around her; she vents her anger on others; her words are harsh; and her accent [is] vulgar. When she speaks, it is to set herself above others, to upbraid others, to envy others, to be puffed up with individual pride, to jeer at others, to outdo others—all things at variance with the way in which a woman should talk. The only qualities that befit a woman are gentle obedience, chastity, tenderness, and placidity.

From her earliest youth a girl should observe the line of demarcation separating women from men, and never, even for an instant, should she be allowed to see or hear the least impropriety. The customs of antiquity did not allow men and women to sit in the same apartment, to keep their wearing apparel in the same place, to bathe in the same place, or to transmit anything directly from

25. This is part of the Four Books for Women by the Ming empress Xu. See de Bary and Bloom, eds., *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, chap. 23, and, for a work of the same title by Queen Sohye of Korea, Ch'oe et al., eds., *Sources of Korean Tradition*, vol. 2, pp. 49–52.

hand to hand. A woman going abroad at night must in all cases carry a lighted lantern, and (not to speak of strangers) she must observe a certain distance in her relations even with her husband and with her brothers. In our days the women of the lower classes, ignoring all rules of this nature, behave in a disorderly manner; they contaminate their reputations, bring down reproach on the head of their parents and brothers, and spend their whole lives in a vain manner. Isn't this truly lamentable? Likewise it is written in the *Elementary Learning* that a woman must form no friendship and no intimacy except when ordered to do so by her parents or middlemen.[26]

In China, marriage is called "returning," for the reason that a woman must consider her husband's home as her own, and that, when she marries, she is therefore returning to her own home. However low and needy her husband's position may be, she must find no fault with him but consider the poverty of the household that it has pleased Heaven to give her as the ordering of an unpropitious fate. The sage of old taught that once married, she must never leave her husband's house. If she should forsake the Way of womanhood and be divorced, shame shall cover her until her last hour. With regard to this point, there are seven faults termed the "Seven Reasons for Divorce": (1) A woman shall be divorced for disobedience to her father-in-law or mother-in law. (2) A woman shall be divorced if she fails to bear children, the reason for this rule being that women are sought in marriage for the purpose of giving men posterity. A barren woman should, however, be retained if her heart is virtuous and her conduct is correct and free from jealousy, in which case a child of the same blood must be adopted; neither is there any cause for a man to divorce a barren wife if he has children by a concubine. (3) Lewdness is a reason for divorce. (4) Jealousy is a reason for divorce. (5) Leprosy or any like foul disease is a reason for divorce. (6) A woman shall be divorced who, by talking too much and prattling disrespectfully, disturbs the harmony of kinsmen and brings trouble to her household. (7) A woman shall be divorced who is addicted to stealing. All the "Seven Reasons for Divorce" were taught by the sages.[27] A woman once married and then divorced has wandered from the "Way" and is covered with great shame, even if she enters into a second union with a man of wealth and position.

It is the duty of a girl living in her parents' house to practice filial piety toward her father and mother. But after marriage, her duty is to honor her father-in-law and mother-in-law, to honor them beyond her father and mother,

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26. The middleman is the go-between. It was the parents' duty to secure a suitable partner for their child, and, in turn, the conduct of the affair was customarily entrusted to a third person (generally a married friend of theirs). The middleman thus negotiated the marriage and often remained through life a godfather to the young couple.

27. That is, based on precedents in the canonical books of rites.

to love and reverence them with all ardor, and to tend them with a practice of filial piety. While thou honorest thine own parents, think not lightly of thy father-in-law! Never should a woman fail, night and morning, to pay her respects to her father-in-law and mother-in-law. Never should she be remiss in performing any tasks they may require of her. With all reverence she must carry out, and never rebel against, her father-in-law's commands. On every point must she inquire of her father-in-law and mother-in-law and accommodate herself to their direction. Even if thy father-in-law and mother-in-law are disposed to hate and vilify thee, do not be angry with them, and murmur not. If thou carry piety toward them to its utmost limits and minister to them in all sincerity, it cannot be but that they will end by becoming friendly to thee.

A woman has no other lord; she must look to her husband as her lord and must serve him with all worship and reverence, not despising or thinking lightly of him. The Way of the woman is to obey her man. In her dealings with her husband, both the expression of her countenance and the style of her address should be courteous, humble, and conciliatory, never peevish and intractable, never rude and arrogant—that should be a woman's first and principal care. When the husband issues his instructions, the wife must never disobey them. In doubtful cases she should inquire of her husband and obediently follow his commands. If her husband ever asks her a question, she should answer to the point; to answer carelessly would be a mark of rudeness. If her husband becomes angry at any time, she must obey him with fear and trembling and not oppose him in anger and forwardness. A woman should look on her husband as if he were Heaven itself and never weary of thinking how she may yield to him and thus escape celestial castigation.

Because brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are the brothers and sisters of a woman's husband, they deserve all respect. If she lays herself open to ridicule and shows dislike for her husband's kindred, she will offend her parents-in-law and do harm even to herself; whereas if she lives on good terms with them, she will likewise make happy the hearts of her parents-in-law. Again, she should cherish, and be intimate with, her brother-in-law and his wife, esteeming them as she does her own elder brother and sister.

Let her never even dream of being jealous. If her husband is dissolute, she must expostulate with him but never either nurse or vent her anger. If her jealousy is extreme, it will render her countenance frightful and her speech repulsive and can only result in completely alienating her husband from her and making her intolerable in his eyes. If her husband acts ill and unreasonably, she must compose her countenance and soften her voice to remonstrate with him; and if he is angry and does not listen to the remonstrance, she must wait over a season and then expostulate with him again when his heart is softened. Never set thyself up against thy husband with harsh features and a rancorous tone.

A woman should be circumspect and sparing in her use of words and never, even for a passing moment, slander others or be guilty of untruthfulness. If she ever hears of calumny, she should keep it to herself and repeat it to no one, for it is the retelling of calumny that disturbs the harmony of kinsmen and ruins the peace of families.

A woman must always be on the alert and keep a strict watch over her own conduct. In the morning she must rise early and at night go late to rest. Instead of sleeping in the middle of the day, she must be intent on the duties of her household; she must not grow tired of weaving, sewing, and spinning. She must not drink too much tea and wine, nor must she feed her eyes and ears on theatrical performances (kabuki, jōruri), ditties, and ballads. Until she has reached the age of forty, she should go only seldom to Shinto shrines or Buddhist temples and other such places where many people come together.[28]

She must not let herself be led astray by mediums and shamanesses or enter into the degenerate rituals of gods and buddhas or indecent religious practices. If she satisfactorily performs her duties as a human being, she may ignore prayer without ceasing to enjoy divine protection.

In her capacity as a wife, she must keep her husband's household in proper order. If the wife is evil and profligate, the house will be ruined. In everything she must avoid extravagance, and in regard to both food and clothes, she must act according to her station in life and never give in to luxury and pride.

When she is [still] young, she must avoid the intimacy and familiarity of her husband's kinsmen, comrades, and retainers, always strictly adhering to the rule of separation between the sexes; and on no account whatsoever should she correspond with a young man. Her personal adornments and the color and pattern of her garments should be unobtrusive. It is enough for her to be neat and clean in her person and in her wearing apparel. It is wrong for her, by an excess of care, to try to attract attention to herself. She should practice only what is suitable.

She must not selfishly think first of her own parents and only second of her husband's relations. At New Year's, on the seasonal festivals,[29] and on other similar occasions, she should pay her first respect to those of her husband's house and then to her own parents. Without her husband's permission, she must go nowhere, and she should not offer a gift on her own.

Because a woman brings up her children not for her own parents but for her father-in-law and mother-in-law, she must value the latter even more than

28. Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines were favorite sites for festivals and fairs, where crowds went for pleasure rather than for religious devotions.

29. Certain festivals, like the seventh day of the first month, the third of the third month, the fifth of the fifth month, the seventh of the seventh month, and the ninth of the ninth month.

the former and tend them with filial piety. In addition, after marrying, her visits to her parents should be few. Much more than with regard to other friends, it should generally be enough for her to send a message inquiring after their health. Again she must not be filled with pride at the recollection of the splendor of her parental house or talk boastfully about it.

However many servants she may have in her employ, it is a woman's duty not to shirk attending to everything herself. She must sew her father-in-law's and mother-in-law's garments and prepare their food. Ever attentive to the requirements of her husband, she must fold his clothes and dust his rug, raise his children, wash what is dirty, be constantly in the midst of her household, and never abroad except when necessary.

Her treatment of her servant girls will require circumspection. Those low-born girls have had no proper education; they are stupid, obstinate, and vulgar in their speech. When anything in the conduct of their mistress's husband or parents-in-law bothers them, they will fill her ears with their invectives, thinking thereby to render her a service. But any woman who listens to this gossip must beware of the resentment it is sure to breed. Easy it is by reproaches and disobedience to lose the love of those who, like a woman's marriage connections, were all originally strangers; and it is surely folly, by believing the prattle of a servant girl, to diminish the affection of a precious father-in-law and mother-in-law. If a servant girl is too loquacious and bad, she should be dismissed right away, for it is the gossip of such persons that upsets the harmony of kinsmen and disorders a household. Again, in her dealings with these low people, a woman will find many things to disapprove of. But if she is always reproving and scolding and spends her time in a rush and angry, her household will be in a continual state of disturbance. When there is real wrongdoing, she should occasionally notice it and, without anger, point out the path of correction. While in her heart she sympathizes with her subordinates' weakness, she must outwardly admonish them strictly to walk in the path of propriety and never allow them to fall into idleness. If she wants to comfort someone, she should be generous with her money, but she must not foolishly shower her gifts on servants who serve no useful purpose just to please her individual caprice.

The five worst infirmities that afflict women are indocility, discontent, slander, jealousy, and silliness. Without any doubt, these five infirmities are found in seven or eight of every ten women, and it is they that cause women to be inferior to men. A woman should counteract them with self-inspection and self-reproach. The worst of them all and the parent of the other four is silliness. A woman's nature is passive (yin). The yin nature comes from the darkness of night. Hence, as viewed from the standard of a man's nature, a woman's foolishness [means that she] fails to understand the duties that lie before her very eyes, does not recognize the actions that will bring blame on her own head, and does not comprehend even those things that will bring calamity to her

husband and children. Nor when she blames and accuses and curses innocent persons or when, in her jealousy of others, she thinks only of herself, does she see that she is her own enemy, alienating others and incurring their hatred. Lamentable errors. Again, in the education of her children, her blind affection induces an erroneous system. Such is the stupidity of her character that it is incumbent on her, in every detail, to distrust herself and obey her husband.

It is said that after the birth of a baby girl, the custom of the ancients was to let her lie on the floor for the space of three days.[30] Even in this may be seen the likening of the man to Heaven and the woman to earth; and the custom should teach a woman how necessary it is for her in everything to yield to her husband the first [place] and to be herself content with the second place. She should avoid pride even if her actions deserve praise. Conversely, if she makes blameworthy mistakes, she should find her way through the difficulty and correct her faults, and conduct herself so as not again to lay herself open to censure. She should endure without anger and indignation the jeers of others, suffering such things with patience and humility. If a woman conducts herself in this way, her relationship with her husband will be harmonious and enduring, and her household will be a scene of peace and concord.

Parents! Teach the foregoing maxims to your daughters from their earliest years! Copy them out from time to time so that they may read and never forget them! Better than the garments and diverse vessels that the fathers of the present day so lavishly bestow on their daughters when giving them away in marriage, they should carefully teach them these precepts, which they should guard as a precious jewel throughout their lives. How true is the ancient saying: "A man knoweth how to spend a million pieces of money in marrying off his daughter but knoweth not how to spend a hundred thousand in bringing up his child!" Those men who have daughters must take this to heart.

The translator, Basil Hall Chamberlain, adds a revealing postscript: "Thus far our old Japanese moralist. For the sake of fairness and completeness, it should be added that the subjection of women has never been carried out in the lower classes of Japanese society to the same extent as in the middle and upper. Poverty makes for equality all the world over. Just as among ourselves woman-worship flourishes among the well-to-do, but is almost, if not entirely, absent among the peasantry, so in Japan the contrary or rather complementary state of things may be observed. The peasant women, the wives of artisans and small traders, have more liberty and a relatively higher position than the great ladies of the land. In these lower classes the wife shares not only her husband's toil, but his

30. *Book of Odes*, no. 189: "And so he bears sons; they lay them on a bed, . . . [they will be] rulers of hereditary houses. And so he bears daughters; they lay them on the ground, . . . they shall have nothing but simplicity" (Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, p. 131).

counsels; and if she happens to have the better head of the two, she it is who will keep the purse and govern the family."[31]

["Onna daigaku," in *NST*, vol. 34, pp. 202–5; trans. adapted and revised from Chamberlain, "Educational Literature of Japanese Women," pp. 325–43; WTdB]

THE SHIZUTANI SCHOOL

The Shizutani School was established by the lord (*daimyō*) of the Okayama domain, Ikeda Mitsumasa (1609–1682), who became inspired by the Neo-Confucian ideal of universal schooling, which was based on the idea that sound government depended on the educational level of the people and, rather than being exclusively for the elite, should be extended as widely as possible. Therefore in addition to maintaining a domain school for samurai, modeled on the shogunal school in Edo, Mitsumasa established the Shizutani School at a rural location outside Okayama, intending it to be part of a system of local schools. In the latter sense it was a kind of public school, open to all classes, but because it was independently endowed with its own lands, it managed as a semiprivate institution to survive the vicissitudes of political change, economic crisis, and fiscal stringency that handicapped many of the other local schools.

An avid student of Neo-Confucian learning, Mitsumasa at one point supported the ideas and programs of Kumazawa Banzan, but from early on the school's program followed the standard curriculum of the Zhu Xi school, including the sequential reading of texts—especially the *Elementary Learning*, the *Classic of Filiality*, *Articles of the White Deer Grotto Academy*, the Four Books, and the Five Classics—that had become common to virtually all education in East Asia. These were supplemented by special lectures presented by local and visiting scholars, as well as Confucian rituals such as the annual sacrifices to Confucius. This student population included commoners as well as samurai, full-time residents, and part-time commuters (both local and regional), with a fair number of them from farming families whose seasonal labors allowed for only limited schooling and literacy.

The physical layout of the school, which still stands, is typical of that of other such schools and academies, with instructional halls, a library, and a refectory surrounding a shrine to Confucius and, to one side, dormitories and a memorial hall to the founder (in this case, Ikeda Mitsumasa).

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31. Fifty years later, Mao Zedong made similar observations concerning the differing conditions of Chinese women in elite and peasant households. See de Bary and Bloom, eds., *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, p. 410.

REGULATIONS OF THE SHIZUTANI SCHOOL

Early versions of the school regulations were short and pertained mostly to admission to and management of the school. The following, more detailed regulations of 1814 represent the cumulative experience of the school in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

1. Those [students] wishing to apply for admission to the Shizutani School should submit to the professors of the school an application form, a consent form of the head of their house, and a recommendation from landowners of their village to the professors of the school. After the *han* education official certifies admission, they will be allowed to live in a dormitory and be served meals.

2. Those [students] who can commute from neighboring villages should also submit application forms. When permission has been granted, they can attend calligraphy lessons and lectures.

3. Those [students] who apply from another region need to submit a recommendation from a relative in the region or someone else of good lineage in the region. They also need the permission of their domain official permitting them a home stay in the region for one year. It is the home stay family that should present [the student's] application form to the *han* educational official.

4. Each young student is given a desk, a wooden ink slab, a stone tablet and five pieces of thick paper, a brush, and a water container. When the stone tablet and small or large brushes become worn out, new ones will be issued. A calligraphy form is given out on those days [numbered] with twos and sevens.

5. Instruction in the Shizutani School, as in the domain school, is based on Zhu Xi's teachings.

6. In class, the students do "plain reading" [recitation] from the *Classic of Filial Piety*, the *Elementary Learning*, the Four Books, and the Five Classics. They learn to paraphrase the *Elementary Learning* and then the Four Books as preparation for studying the Five Classics, the *Chronicles of Mr. Zuo* (*Zuo Zhuan*), standard histories, and various masters [of ancient China] and worthies [of the Song]. Most sons of commoners leave school after they learn plain reading [recitation], in order to take up farming. Thus we teach them the way of filial piety and trustworthiness and encourage them to practice it. Those able to do more are encouraged to broaden their learning and to practice standard poetry and prose.

On the days with ones and sixes

At 10:00: All should be present in the lecture hall.
After the lecture until 1:00: calligraphy and reading in the practice hall.

On the days with twos and sevens

10:00–1:00: Calligraphy and reading new materials in the practice hall.
2:00: Attendance in the Hall for Study of the Arts (Shūgeisai)

On the days with fours and nines

10:00–1:00: Calligraphy and reading new materials in the practice hall.

On the days with fives and tens

No school; time for taking a bath.

This is the students' routine. After school, students visit professors' and teachers' houses and study. Except on the days with fives and tens, they study from 7:00 A.M. to 10:00 P.M., with an interval between 4:00 and 6:00 in the afternoon. . . .

1. The lectures on the days with ones and sixes are on the Four Books and are given by different professors in turn.

2. On the morning of the first of every month, a reading teacher gives a lecture in the Hall for Study of the Arts (Shūgeisai) on the *Articles of the White Deer Grotto Academy*. This is to encourage students to study hard.

3. On the first of every month in the practice hall, the students' memorization is checked using wooden cards on which four or five characters are written, taken from the *Elementary Learning*, the Four Books, and the Five Classics. In a group of four to seven students, each chooses several wooden cards and writes down the characters in his notebook and learns them by heart.

4. In the Hall for Study of the Arts (Shūgeisai) on the days with threes and eights, reading teachers give lectures on the Five Classics and Song commentaries in turns. Then a group of older students leads a discussion, and the younger students read aloud.

5. Every day, professors, overseers, and teachers of reading and calligraphy are present in the practice hall. Younger students practice writing and reading while the older ones read. Reading teachers share bamboo sticks, on each of which a student's name is written. In a small group a teacher calls on two students near him to listen to their reading.

6. Four or five students of different ages live together in a dormitory. The room master is an older student who manages all the matters of the dormitory and sometimes teaches reading to the younger students.

7. Twelve times a month, the students visit the houses of professors or reading teachers for intensive study with one another. . . .

On the evenings of the days with ones, students gather at teachers' houses for two hours from 6:00 P.M. First they read by themselves the *Elementary Learning*, the Four Books, and Five Classics. Then in groups of three or four, they read these texts by checking forgotten characters and correcting one an-

other's misreadings and write them down in their notebooks. Students sit in order of merit.

On the days with twos, poetry gatherings are held. Before each gathering, students are assigned to compose a poem. The person who composes a superior poem is given a book for a prize.

On the fifteenth of every month, a gathering for essays is held.

At the end of the year, professors and overseers recommend excellent students to the domain education official. They are rewarded with money, notebooks, texts, or the like.

Students can borrow books from the library.

[Taniguchi, *Zōtei Shizutani gakkō shi*, pp. 392–94; MET]

THE MERCHANT ACADEMY OF KAITOKUDŌ

The Kaitokudō, a school to reflect on human "virtue," was a merchant academy established in 1727 in Osaka through the initiatives of Osaka merchants and formally chartered by the Tokugawa *bakufu*. It developed into a renowned academy until its demise with the Meiji Restoration of 1868, which ushered in the modern era.

After Miyake Sekian (1665–1730), Goi Ranshū (1697–1762), and the Nakai brothers, Chikuzan (1730–1804) and Riken (1732–1817), the influential teachers at the Kaitokudō took the teachings at the academy far beyond certain basics offered at the beginning. Graduates of the academy included Tominaga Nakamoto (1715–1746), Kusama Naokata (1753–1831), and Yamagata Bantō (1748–1821). The Kaitokudō was frequented by various scholars, including the famous historian of the Bakumatsu era (the end of Tokugawa period), Rai Sanyō (1780–1832). Among the supporters of the academy were the merchant houses of Kōnoike, Hiranoya, Sumitomo, Masuya, and Dōmyōjiya.

The following translations are of the inaugural lecture delivered in 1727 by Sekian, the first headmaster of the academy, before seventy-nine leading Osaka merchants; and two "items of understanding" (*jō*), posted in the academy, one at the time of its founding and the other, drafted by Nakai Chikuzan, some thirty years later.

LECTURE ON THE EARLY CHAPTERS OF THE *ANALECTS* AND *MENCIUS* AT THE OFFICIALLY CHARTERED ACADEMY OF OSAKA: KAITOKUDŌ, FIFTH DAY, TENTH MONTH, WINTER, ELEVENTH YEAR OF KYŌHO

Prepared with great care for a merchant audience, Miyake Sekian's lecture on a few early passages from the *Analects* and *Mencius* speaks metaphorically about universal

ethical principles as being pertinent to commerce. The work of market people was not to be condemned but must be infused with basic ethical values. At the same time, Sekian's manner of presentation reflects the heightened awareness in his time of how the circumstances, context, language, and genre in which a classic text was composed affected one's understanding of it.

The *Analects*

The *Analects* is made up of the teachings of Confucius that were transcribed and transmitted by his disciples to their students. They eventually took the form that we call the *Analects*.

CHAPTER I: LEARNING

"Learning" is the term taken from the opening lines of the *Analects* and used as the title of the first chapter. In antiquity, words were written or carved on bamboo slips which were preserved by being bound with tanned leather. They thus have survived in exceptionally good condition. The *Analects* comprises ten volumes and twenty chapters.

When we speak of "learning," we also are referring to its purpose. This purpose is to learn the Way. What, then, is the Way? It is the way of being human. For those who are not human, this may not be of any consequence, yet those who are born human must learn the way of being human. The birds and beasts remain as they are, whereas humans must learn to become human. The Way, therefore, is the way of being human, and learning means to study it. In the Way, the relationships between ruler and subject, father and son, husband and wife, older and younger brothers, and friends are divided. You should know that all things fall within each of these five relationships, as they are in accordance with the Way. Thus the ruler must be a ruler, the subject a subject, the father a father, the son a son, the husband a husband, the wife a wife, and brothers and friends accordingly. This is the way of being human and the reason why we are called that. Because of our prejudicial temperament and sensual desires, however, we quickly lose what is within us at birth. The sages did not lose this and remained true to their original inner selves. Learning is about this, that is, studying those who have retained their innate qualities. Such is the meaning of learning or teaching it. The sages did not establish their teachings with willful intellectual contrivance. Their aim was to teach people to be true to their original selves. Thus humans must pursue this aim simply because they are human. Still, because people also are born with varying habits, some believe that it is completely beyond them to attain this aim, no matter how hard they try. Others assume that since it [being human] is already known within, not much effort is required. While it may already have been known

once, it should be considered neither trivial nor utterly beyond recovery. The sages were human. We here now also are human. If humans pursue the way of being human, they will realize it. However, since we are swayed by our prejudicial temperament and sensual desires, it may seem difficult to realize [this]. We tend to feel that it is beyond our reach. Also, because we are not aware of the profound and exquisite nature of what we already know, we regard this as insignificant. Both these views are distorted and biased, and we should open our hearts and receive with reverence the teachings of the sages.

Confucius is the greatest of all the sages. Indeed, since the beginning of heaven and earth, he has been alone among the sages. As Mi Yuan Zhang said in his eulogy: "Before Confucius there was no Confucius; and there will be no Confucius after him." And in the Song era, the following line was anonymously inscribed on a pillar: "If Heaven had not given birth to Confucius, ten thousand generations would have lived as though in eternal darkness." He understood very well the significance of Confucius.

Everyone of us receives the grace and benefits of Confucius, yet these are of such magnitude that we are unable to fully realize their importance. Isn't this like being grateful for the kind light received for one's lantern on a dark night while not giving thought to the sun and the moon? In the *Mean* (*Chūyō*), descriptions of the sages are followed by the passage: "As far as ships and carriages travel, human endeavors reach, heaven and earth nourish, the light of the sun and moon spread, and the frost and dew fall, all who possess the breath and blood of life honor and revere him." The reference is to Confucius, as written by Zisi in stating his vision of the future. Everywhere, even among the barbarian tribes living in various directions, the *Analects* that carried the teachings of Confucius came to be honored and revered. We are extremely fortunate, therefore, to receive Confucius's teachings. Still, if you simply read and hear the words without going beyond them, what benefit would there be for you? You must reach into your own hearts and reflect on them to grasp their meanings. Likewise, mere speculation is of no use. The teachings must lead to action on your own part. When things do not work out even after careful thought and action, seek the help of a teacher or friends. There is in our world a saying that one can "read the *Analects* but not know them" and also that one can "read the *Analects* and thus not know them." Each is understandable. The former [first saying] is a warning to scholars to take heed. When people speak knowingly even when they have not engaged in scholarly study, the Way does not seem to exist at all. The latter [second saying], "read the *Analects* and thus not know them," is a sound warning for those without much learning to reflect on themselves. When scholars say it, the Way may not seem to exist at all. It states, however, why there is no other way but to reflect on how one may not be correct. It is extremely dishonest to see oneself as always being right and others wrong. It is a weakness common to everyone.

"Isn't it truly joyful to have studied something and to learn from it regularly?"[32]

"To study" means following examples or receiving knowledge from without. "To learn" means doing things on one's own and becoming familiar with them. The word "regularly" means doing things steadily and not abandoning them. By "joyful" is meant the deep feeling of happiness that one feels in one's heart. The expression "Isn't it truly joyful?" is stated rhetorically to make people fully aware of how deeply enjoyable it is. The essential nature of all humans is the Way itself, or goodness. The Way or goodness resides, therefore, in all of us. There are, however, obstacles forced on us by material things that cause us to lose what Heaven has endowed us with. The sages and worthy gentlemen before us did not lose it and were enlightened. Thanks to their achievements, we now follow their teachings and seek enlightenment. Thus in this way, we have predecessors and followers in the search for intellectual awakening and spiritual enlightenment. Followers emulate those who were awakened and enlightened well before us. With ceaseless effort, ordinary humans can rise to become sages. Of course you will not at once become as awakened as those predecessors were. Only after acquiring general knowledge and learning about things close at hand and becoming familiar with them, reflecting on them, and practicing them regularly and steadily, then what might have seemed perplexing and murky will suddenly, in due time, become clear. What seemed troubling and difficult to realize will then unfold with ease. Your heart will then be joyful and your efforts ceaseless. As you proceed fully in this manner, you will gradually realize your virtue.

"Isn't it deeply satisfying to be visited by friends from afar?"

"Friends" refer to those who belong to the same order of things. If they come to visit even from a great distance, it means that those living nearby will surely come as a matter of course. If you are known for a special scholarly virtue, those who share this will be moved. If they visit you from near or afar, your feelings of delight will grow stronger, and you will be truly joyful. The phrase "deeply satisfying" means not being able to contain the feelings of happiness in your heart.

"Isn't it being a gentleman to take no offense against others who fail to appreciate your abilities?"

The phrase "fail to appreciate" means that despite your learning and virtue, others do not recognize them, and despite your goodness, you are seen, on the contrary, to be a wicked person. The wording "take offense" points to a feeling at the bottom of your heart that somehow things are not being accurately stated about you in one way or another. The "gentleman" is one who, through studying and learning the Way, has realized his virtue.

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32. *Analects* 1.

When you are thought to be wrong, even though you know you are correct and even though you are good, others see you as wicked, you might seek by whatever means to convince them that this or that is not so, and you might eagerly assert that there is nothing at fault on your part. Such an attitude might surface from within. If even the slightest feeling of this sort becomes manifest, it is no longer an expression of true learning. Although one might be aware that learning is not meant to be put on display, when one is trapped by worldly sentiments one will take offense when criticized, as in the previous example, and feel within one's heart that the situation should not be the way it is. The gentleman of complete virtue, by comparison, is always critical of himself and is not mindful at all of what others say but simply sets his sights on the proper course that he must take.

The placement of this section in the opening of the *Analects* reflects the views of the compilers. They are saying that there is no other approach to learning than that set forth here. Even the sages saw no alternatives and followed it, and thus it is true for ordinary people as well. The words "to study" and "to learn steadily" apply to each person. The phrase regarding "friends visiting from afar" refers to humans interacting with one other in shared activities. The understanding of one's self as well as one's relationship with others is entirely clarified by these, even for those whose abilities are not appreciated or are objects of criticism and face uncertainty and adversity. For when "friends come from afar," one gains a sense of constancy and steadiness. Human beings have in common the sincere intent of being fond of goodness and hateful of evil. Thus a person who is joyful in his heart as he studies and learns should be respected and revered by everyone. It also follows that although one may feel confident of having realized a favorable goal, if one fails to influence others, one's virtue will still be incomplete. Also, as in the previous case, even if one is joyful with constancy and steadiness inside but takes offense when faced with unsteadiness and adversity, then one is still lacking [something].

When a person is in accord with the views written in this early section, regularity and adversity, steadiness and unsteadiness, will not affect him. Such were the sages. Ordinary humans must also follow this path, as there is no other way. Should you this very day fill your own self with joy and happiness instead of taking offense, you will have become a gentleman today. Tomorrow is again another day. Decide first of all that from now on you must practice being a gentleman each day. You will then become a gentleman in proportion to who you are today. And next year will again be another year. Decide in your mind beginning today and continuing into the coming days that it is a superior way to follow the teachings set forth here. By proceeding accordingly without interruption, ordinary humans will become sages. While there will be no observable indications, you must make up your mind to follow this course. The Way is neither difficult nor easy to realize. It is meant to be followed as it is set forth. Look at the sages from within your basic selves and go forth with your basic

selves as sagely. Prejudicial temperament and sensual desires will be obstacles that will set you back. But you must meet and overcome them and move forward with a single-minded purpose. By simply persevering, you will realize your aim. I do not teach what cannot be realized. The issue, then, is what you should do in order to realize the goal of such learning. You must begin with filial piety and fraternity. This opening section is thus followed by one in which Youzi discusses piety and fraternity. Such a turn reflects the subtle intentions of the compilers.

Mencius

CHAPTER 1, PART 1, "KING HUI OF LIANG"

As with the *Analects* of Confucius, the title of this chapter in *Mencius* is taken from the first words used, King Hui of Liang. "Chapter" refers to the way in which words are ordered. Words are put together in passages, and passages add up to a chapter. Ordered in this manner, the meanings of the writing can be presented and comprehended from beginning to end. A certain scholar named Zhao of the late Han dynasty rendered this part of *Mencius* as a "chapter," and this designation has been adopted since.

"MENCIUS VISITS KING HUI OF LIANG"

In Mencius's time, a hundred years or so had already passed since the death of Confucius. Although Confucius lived around the end of the Zhou dynasty, the people of his day had not yet completely abandoned the practices of humaneness, rightness, ritual decorum, and music. By Mencius's time, however, the pursuit of success and self-interest had come to occupy the minds of the people, and humaneness, rightness, ritual decorum, and music were completely eradicated and no longer existed in the lives of the people. There thus were great differences between the times of Confucius and Mencius. Because of these differences, Confucius taught humaneness, while Mencius advocated rightness in addition to humaneness.

Although both Confucius and Mencius discussed the importance of virtue, Mencius often placed more emphasis on human beings' inner spirit. There was a reason for this. Because the people in his day devoted themselves solely to advancing their own interests, Mencius emphasized rightness to correct such selfishness. Selfishness could be corrected only with the rightness of inner spirit. If the realization of virtue and inner spirit were in accord, inner spirit could have been called virtue. But a distinction was necessary because the world had fallen into disarray and the realization of virtue alone no longer was enough to bring goodness to the minds of the people. Only by placing a special emphasis on the inner spirit could people be made aware of self-centeredness and be reminded of goodness. By teaching in this way, each person could be made

aware of this. It was, therefore, the decline of the world that led Mencius to stress the inner spirit along with humaneness and rightness. This should be kept in mind when reading the chapter. It was during the Warring States period that Mencius was active. As each kingdom sought the advice of scholars in order to gain prominence, Mencius visited the kingdom of Liang at the courteous invitation of King Hui.

"The king said: 'Venerable sir, having come this long distance without even thinking of traveling a thousand *ri*, you must surely have an idea about how to bring profit to my kingdom?'"

"Venerable sir" refers to an old man, a term used to address an aged person. "Thousand *ri*" does not literally mean that exact distance. It simply means a great distance. "Profit" refers to greed, selfish desire. The ideograph for profit originally meant something positive. Once it came to be associated with "profit," it came to assume the meanings of greed and selfish desire. At that time King Hui was planning to engage in warfare with other states, and thus he sought, as a matter of the highest importance, to strengthen the army by enriching the kingdom. The words "bring profit to my kingdom" point to a particular concern of his. The king is intentionally using the idea of profit here to mean a selfish purpose. The king believed that Mencius had come from a thousand *ri* away without heeding the distance because he, Mencius, wanted to help the king realize his kingdom's interests. During this period, scholars served lords by promoting the skills needed to create a wealthy and militarily strong kingdom (*fukoku kyōhei*). The king assumed that Mencius's visit was to serve such a purpose.

"Your Majesty," Mencius replied. "Why mention the word 'profit'? All that matters is that there be humaneness and rightness."

In King Hui of Liang's time, humaneness and rightness had disappeared, and the people concerned themselves only with their own interests. The king's query reflects his age. Only after the selfish mind is abandoned can the Way be properly promoted. The renunciation of the selfish mind therefore comes first. Mencius's question asks why a person of King Liang's stature would focus on self-interest only. Such a concern was totally unnecessary, as only humaneness and rightness are required.

We should read the character for humaneness (*jin*) as *megumi*, meaning "empathy," and rightness (*gi*) as *kotowari*, meaning "reason." Humaneness means compassion for the emotional truthfulness in things, or *mono no aware* as we say, and rightness means accuracy in the assessment of things. Both are essential to the inner human spirit. Humaneness and rightness are sometimes said to emanate from natural energy or from knowledge gained through the senses, but these are not true to their ideas of humaneness and rightness. True humaneness and rightness spring from the basic inner self. And because they are from within the self, humans can reflect on them. Sometimes certain views seem to resemble humaneness and rightness but are actually far from them.

Thus the phrase "there should be only humaneness and rightness." The idea here applies to kings and [also] to officials and commoners. It is especially important to persons in high places, and certainly so for those who lived during the Warring States period.

"If the king asks, 'What must I do to bring profit to my kingdom?' then councillors will ask, 'What should be done to do so for my families?' and lower officials and commoners will say, 'What must I do to benefit myself?' Those on high and those below will then seek profit at the expense of one another, and so the kingdom will be endangered. In a kingdom with ten thousand chariots, it will be the chief of a family with a thousand chariots who will slay the king. In a kingdom of a thousand chariots, the killer of the prince shall be the head of a family of a hundred chariots. To possess a thousand among ten thousand or a hundred in a thousand is not trivial. Yet if rightness is placed last and profit first, they will not be seen as satisfactory unless the entirety is acquired."

Because the king is the head of the kingdom, he speaks for the interest of the entire country. Similarly, great officials represent the interests of their families, and lower officers and commoners represent themselves. These are the ways in which the term for profit was used. "Ten thousand" refers to the number of chariots. In ancient times, chariots were essential to warfare. Commanders and soldiers were assigned to certain chariots during wartime. The number of chariots was thus counted as though they were seafaring vessels.

And so Mencius said in the preceding passage that when self-interest is pursued, misfortunes of some kind are sure to follow. That is, while the pursuit of self-interest may satisfy one's personal desires, harm will result from following such a course. When the king assumes such a selfish attitude, selfishness will prevail throughout the land, since the low always emulates the high. People of all statuses will act irresponsibly in all directions. As they do so, they will lose [their] humaneness and love of others. The harm done to the country will be extreme. . . . There is, in fact, no limit to desire. Thus through treachery and murder, the authority of kings will be usurped. Once "profit" is openly proposed, the kingdom will accordingly be in danger.

"There has never been a humane person who abandoned his parents. There has never been a righteous person who put his king last. Perhaps you will now agree with what I have said: 'All that matters is that there be only humaneness and rightness.' Why must you speak of 'profit'?" . . .

People are easily carried away by selfish desires because objects of desire present themselves to one's eyes every day. Humaneness and rightness are easily forgotten. Humans tend to fall into this predicament. This idea, therefore, is repeatedly emphasized throughout Mencius's seven books. Mencius's teachings should be understood even by us today—from rulers on high to commoners below. If the mind strongly favors profit and loses its consciousness of humaneness and rightness, the loss of family, country, the people, and hence even of

life itself will follow. What distinguishes a sage from the lowly is in acting according to humaneness and rightness or to selfish desires. When humaneness and rightness are kept pure, the mind will not seek selfish ends. When the selfish mind dominates, the inner human spirit will lose its humaneness and rightness. . . .

In observing people around us, we notice that everyone possesses the inner spirit of humaneness and rightness. There is also, however, selfish desire in all of them because it is a general tendency for humans to want to do things according to their own liking. Between these two elements in human beings, selfish desires seem to be more attractive. In ordinary life, those who are partially on the way to sageliness somehow manage to surmount the difficulties brought on by selfishness. By relying on the rightness of others, they impose limits on their own desires; and through their own rightness, they provide order to the desires of others. By relying on one and the other, they deal with their predicament. Such efforts are never certain, since control over the process may be lost. This same process is evident in each individual mind as well. By balancing within the inner spirit rightness on one side and selfishness on the other, the attraction of selfish desires tends to outweigh the strength of rightness, and thus there is always the danger of declining into evil behavior. A learned person, therefore, must overwhelm selfishness from within the inner self with humaneness and rightness.

Those who govern the kingdom must let humaneness and rightness prevail throughout the land and prevent the spread of selfishness. If humaneness and rightness and desire for profit compete with one another in one's mind, one must have a special plan to deal with it. Sages like Zi Xia foresaw a difficulty here. One truly must have a good plan. The word "profit" refers to doing something according to one's wishes and about which there is nothing that may be deemed wrong. The term "profit," however, always contains the meaning of partiality to the self. It is thus regarded as immoral. Profit is thus about the mind's desiring self-satisfaction. While one may not lose one's life for this, one will lose the essential inner spirit endowed by Heaven. The spirit of humaneness and rightness must be made to prevail over the desire of selfishness. This desire is pervasive in the social world. It is manifested even in small acts at the individual level. Although the acts appear the same as when emanating from one's rightness, subtle shifts in attitude take place in which those acts are pursuits of one's willfulness. Deep reflection is required here. The mind of the gentleman is bright and perceptive of the future. His mind is not blinded by selfishness. Lesser people are blinded by these desires and are preoccupied with only the immediate gain before their very eyes and are unable to see into the distant future. This is not any different from being birds and beasts. We should make every effort to understand this point.

[Signed by seventy-nine merchant leaders in attendance]

ITEMS OF UNDERSTANDING (*JŌ*), 1727

In the "items of understanding" posted in the academy, the allowance for samurai privilege included in 1727 is conspicuously absent in the version of 1758, whose emphasis is on collegial learning. Equally noticeable is the point that education is not free.

Scholarly study is based on the purpose of realizing loyalty and filiality and fulfilling one's occupational calling. Since this is the sole purpose of the lectures, even those who do not have books may listen to them without feeling ill at ease. Should an unexpected emergency arise, however, one may leave even while the lecture is in session.

Those of the samurai class shall be given priority seating at the front. But if they enter after the lecture has already begun, no special consideration will be given.

Those attending the lectures for the first time must seek permission from Nakai Chūzō/Shūan. If Chūzō is absent, permission should be sought from the managing officer Dōmyōjiya Shinsuke.

ITEMS OF UNDERSTANDING (*JŌ*), 1758

Students will interact with one another as colleagues without regard to high and low or rich and poor.

Distinctions should certainly be made between adults and children, and seating should be offered in accordance with academic seniority and levels of achievement.

Boarding students must not leave by themselves on their own accord [i.e., without permission]. However, if something unexpected comes up or the family requests permission, such departures will be permitted.

Students fifteen years and older will be expected to make a contribution in money or kind for attending the lectures. Younger children may, of course, attend the lectures as well.

Eighth month of the year of the tiger [August 1758]

[Nishimura et al., eds., *Kaitokudō isho*, unpaged facsimile; TN]

OGYŪ SORAI'S APPROACH TO LEARNING

When he was twenty-five, Ogyū Sorai (1666–1728) started a free, open-air lecture course beside the front entrance of the famous temple Zōjōji. At his school, which he later established in the very stronghold of the officially favored Zhu Xi teaching, Sorai offered a radically new approach to Confucian studies. The title of the following work, which in Japanese is *Gakusoku*, is a standard term

in Neo-Confucian discourse for "school regulations," but it could cover anything in school routines from curriculum to daily conduct and discipline. Sorai uses the term *gakusoku* in the same broad sense as Zhu Xi does, as a basic approach to learning and not as either a course of study or a set of rules. Nevertheless, he is clearly challenging the presumptions of Neo-Confucian education as formulated by Zhu Xi and summed up earlier in this chapter by Kaibara Ekken. Reflecting a growing consciousness of linguistic and conceptual change in his time, Sorai questions the possibility of any direct personal appropriation of the Four Books, even with the aid of commentarial literature (usually misleading). Each age has its own manner of speaking, which can be understood only in relation to the concrete realities of life in that age, not through the subjective interpretations of later writers in different times and places. Scholarly exactitude and linguistic precision are necessary. The essential teachings of the ancient sages may not be understood, and their significance for one's own time and place may not be appreciated except by those with the necessary linguistic, historical, and sociological competence. Not everyone could just read the Four Books hoping to cultivate himself on the model of the sages. There is no such thing as a common human nature, only different individual endowments and learning capabilities; thus the study of the classics requires the special competence of the Sinologue.

Ironically, the erudition that Sorai brought to his subject, and its obvious display in his writing, may have dazzled his readers, but it obscured his meaning. Thus it was left to a later commentator to summarize each of Sorai's points in simpler and more understandable terms.

LEARNING PRINCIPLES (*GAKUSOKU*)

One

> In which it is stated that the Way of the sages exists in the *Odes*, the *Records*, and the other books of the Six Classics; that all these six classics are in the Chinese language; that if a Japanese person wishes to understand the Chinese language, the main thing is not to use Japanese readings; that instead he must labor with eye and heart; that if he does this, then for the first time there will be no difference between Chinese and Japanese; and that if there is no difference between Chinese and Japanese, then afterward he can study the Six Classics.[33]

33. The précis that precede the respective sections of the translation are not by Sorai but by the commentator Itō Randen.

Japan has never produced a sage. The West has never produced a sage. This is because only the ancient literature, records, rites, and music constitute the correct teaching. . . . However, the Chinese and Japanese languages differ. What good does it do to entertain sea birds with fine music? The Chinese found our language gibberish, and we found the Chinese language as strange as they found Japanese. Even if Confucius had boarded a raft and come with [his disciple] Zilu[34] to Japan, there would have been nothing we could do. . . . But . . . by reversing the word order, by mixing and then putting together the words, what we had considered gibberish we came to see as our own; and when we came to consider those words as our own, the ancient literature, records, rites, and music were no longer Chinese words. That is, if he had *seen* things with his own eyes, there would have been no problem; but if he had heard them with his own ears, he would not have understood them. For him it would have been as useless as entertaining sea birds with fine music. . . .

The ancient literature, records, rites, and music are Chinese words, and we must try to listen to them with our eyes. That is, [we must] treat China as China and Japan as Japan; grant those things that exist and not grant those things that do not exist; "pursue the straight Way,"[35] and we can transmit the Way to all men; then we can "unite the wills of all under Heaven."[36] Why stop with Japan? If Confucius were to board a raft and come with Zilu to Japan, it would be as if we had already been meeting with him morning and evening. Then it would not be an exaggeration to say that Japan had produced a sage. This is the proper way to study.

Two

In which it is stated that just as the world's languages differ, so ancient and contemporary literature are not alike; that the study of commentaries is not necessary; and that if one is able to study and compare the old books and thus to read the old books correctly, this is to deal night and day with the thousand ages and to receive instruction in the same room with the disciples of Confucius.

Space is like time; time is like space. Thus, if we see the old words in terms of today's words, or today's words in terms of the ancient words, in both cases they will be gibberish. There is no difference on this point between the ancient Chinese language and the Indian [language]. The times change, bearing the

34. *Analects* 5:6. Waley translated this as "The Master said, the Way makes no progress. I shall get upon a raft and float out to sea. I am sure Yu [Tzu-lu] would come with me" (*Analects of Confucius*, p. 108).

35. *Analects* 15:25.

36. *Yijing*, "Xici, shang"; *Concordance to Yi ching [Yijing]*, sec. 9, p. 43.

words along; the words change, bearing the Way along. That "the Way is not clear"[37] is due chiefly to this fact. To descend a hundred generations and then to transmit the Way of a hundred generations earlier—isn't this like piling up nine layers of translation between the land of the clan of Yuechang and the Middle Kingdom?[38] How great the difference was between the original and the ninth translation we have no way of knowing. Ten thousand *li* may be a long way, but it was still the same age. What about Xuan Zang's trip to India? The original words were rephrased and rephrased again, from son to grandson and to grandson of the fifth generation and to his son. How can these later generations know the original words of their ancestors? One thousand years pass. Customs change, and concrete realities deteriorate. We cannot rely on the contemporary readings of the old words. How can we possibly transport ourselves back into the time of Confucius and, in company with Ziyou and Zixia, receive instruction at first hand? Space *and* time are, after all, different.

Still, what "does not decay" is the written word. Ancient books survive in good measure. From the day in which the times and the words had not yet changed, there survive, of course, the Confucian canons; and of this nature also are the *Guanzi*, the *Yanzi chunqiu*, the *Laozi*, and the *Liezi*. Why bemoan the fact that "their ways are not the same?" We do not go to them in search of the Way; we go to them in search of the words. . . .

I follow the teaching of Li Panlong. I "look at the old and study the ancient words." I read the ancient words and study them, and finally I become one with them. Then my words, my tone, my spirit, and my intent all become similar to those found in the old literature. When words, tone, spirit, and intent all become similar to those of old, there is no difference between the old, on the one hand, and what my eye sees and my mouth says, on the other. Thereafter it is as if I were meeting day and night with men of ancient times. This is what it means to put yourself back into Confucius's time, to receive personal instruction in company with Ziyu and Zixia. This is what it means "to consort with the ancients."[39] Why, then, borrow those intermediate interpretations?[40]

Three

In which it is stated that the sages did not teach by means of theoretical terms and discussion; that they established forms and conditions of action

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37. *Mean* 4:1.

38. It is said that it was necessary to translate the messages accompanying tribute sent from the ancient southern state of Yuechang to the Zhou court nine different times (so great was the distance between Yuechang and the seat of the Zhou government).

39. *Zhuangzi* 9:4.23.

40. Those of the later commentators and philosophers, especially in the Song.

and taught by means of these; and that students must follow these forms and conditions of action and thereby learn.

. . . The Six Classics describe concrete things (*mono*). The Way exists in them in full. Confucius's statement that "I expressed the Way in actions; it is profound and clear" is attributable to the sages' dislike of theoretical talk. . . .

Laozi was too eager to put things into words. To speak is to clarify only one part. "It is to practice one thing and discard a hundred."[41] For this reason it is harmful.

The later Confucians criticized Laozi, but they repeated his error. They argued without end. The names survived, but the concrete things were lost. Theories of humaneness, rightness, the Way, and virtue flourished; but the Way itself became more and more unclear. . . . Therefore, I retire from this world and seek the Way in the Six Classics. It is the concrete things alone that are important.

Four

In which it is stated that one who would master the classics must study the annals of the various dynasties and use them to see the differences between antiquity and today; and that thereafter he will be able to understand the Six Classics clearly and rule the realm.

In ancient days there were sages. Now there are no sages. Hence, to study necessarily means to study the past. Yet if there were no antiquity, there could be no present; and if there were no present, there could be no antiquity. How could we do away with the present? The many ages appear in turn; which is not past? Which not present? A man is conversant with the past and thereby sets himself facing the proper standard. He knows the present and thereby makes this standard his own. He distinguishes among the ages and thereby observes their histories. If he does all these things, their customs and human feelings will become as clear to him as if he were seeing them in the palm of his hand.

To be sure, past and present are different. Where can we see their differences? Only in concrete things (*mono*). Concrete things change with the age; ages change with concrete things. From Qin and Han times on down, there have been no sages. But still there have been famous men, and each had his achievements. Yet their knowledge did not extend to all concrete things. For this reason there have been no sages. But concrete things existed already. A man must study them with the aid of the various histories and so see their

41. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol. 130, p. 3297.

differences. He must use these differences to shed light on both sides, and only then can he "have converse with their world." . . .[42]

The man who desires to know the present must be versed in the past. He who desires to be versed in the past must study history. Studying history necessarily means studying the annals. Thereafter, the Six Classics will become increasingly clear. If the Six Classics are clear, then the Way of the sages has neither past nor present. Thereafter, one will be able to rule the realm. For this reason, the *junzi*[43] always "has converse with the ages" and talks only of concrete things.

Five

In which it is stated that the latter-day distinctions between right and wrong and virtue and evil arose when the way of Shen Buhai and Han Fei was practiced in the realm; and that these distinctions are not a part of the governance of the rites and music of the former kings.

. . . From the time when the Qin ruled the kingdom with rewards and punishments, the rites and music ceased to exist. The customs and pernicious influence of that time spread over the hundred ages and still have not come to an end. The way of Shen Buhai and Han Fei has changed men's ears and eyes, and thus things have gone down to the present day. . . .

Six

In which it is stated that the way of scholarship prizes breadth and does not disdain diversity; that a man must first "establish his greater part" and nourish and protect it; and that even the hundred schools are all part of our Way.

. . . In the world of the sages, people of even small talent were not discarded, nor were concrete things discarded. The statement that "all the people of the time of Yao and Shun could have been appointed lords"[44] does not mean that all had the talent to be lords. Nor is it a statement pitying and placating them. Rather, it is a statement that they helped govern the land. . . .

The way of the sages is nothing other than the mastery of the nature of man. If this were not so, then how could it govern and stabilize the realm? If a man first "establishes his greater part," cherishes it and preserves it, then nothing he does will not accord with the Way of the sages.

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42. *Mencius* 5B:8.

43. The Confucian gentleman, superior man, or noble person.

44. *Han shu* 99A, p. 4089.

In the specialized scholarship of the Han, each person had a different interpretation of the classics. Moreover, even though each of Confucius's disciples transmitted what he had heard from Confucius, a multitude of disciples emerged from his instruction. How could there not be mistakes? Each interpretation has its merits and demerits. To set these theories side by side and then to combine them: this is what is meant by not discarding the Way. Kong Yingda compiled his monumental commentaries and adopted the words of one school. In the Ming period the *Great Compendium of the Four Books* (*Sishu daquan*) was compiled, which refuted the views of Kong Yingda. Scholarship became even narrower; for this reason it did not equal that of the past. Therefore, the path of scholarship is first to "establish one's greater part," to prize breadth, not to disdain different opinions, but rather "to set aside those points on which there is doubt,"[45] and thus await its natural growth.

Seven

In which it is stated that all men have what is ordained for them by Heaven; that even each of Confucius's disciples took what was closest to his nature, being unable to combine all virtues; that for this reason it is the Way of the sages and the former kings that each person follow his nature, develop his talents, and perfect his virtues, and thereby conform with what Heaven has ordained[46] for him.

"What Heaven bestows on men we call human nature."[47] People differ in their natures. Natures differ in their virtues. "Furthering talent"[48] and "developing capacity"[49] cannot be done in a uniform manner. The fact that each of the various disciples of Confucius took what was closest to his own nature: how can this be taken to mean that there were inadequacies in Confucius's teaching? Confucius's teaching is "like the seasonal rain that transforms things";[50] there is nothing that it does not cause to grow. The large grow large; the small grow small. We cannot help wishing that the small grew large. But "what Heaven has ordained for men is in fact not equal."[51] The *junzi* knows what Heaven has ordained; therefore, he does not force things. In developing capacity there are things even a sage cannot do. For this reason a sage does not force things. Hence

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45. *Analects* 2:18.

46. What is ordained for one in terms of both one's individual nature and the circumstances in which one must act.

47. *Mean* 1.

48. *Mencius* 7A:40.

49. *Yijing*, "Xici, shang"; *Concordance to Yi ching* [*Yijing*], sec. 11, p. 44.

50. *Mencius* 7A: 40.

51. *Book of Odes*, no. 21.

it is not true that "all men can become sages."[52] It is not true that "human nature can change."[53] It is not true that [Confucius's saying] "the *junzi* is not an implement"[54] means that in the water he cannot be a boat or on land, a cart.

What the world esteems is worldly success, not success in Heaven's terms. Therefore, he who attends to what the world esteems in order to seek recognition from others does not know what Heaven has ordained for him.

Now the Six Classics are fragmentary and incomplete. Born into today's world, who can see them in their completeness? This is as Heaven ordains it. The rural areas offer no teachers, no friends. That is as Heaven ordains it. "One's family is poor and has no books."[55] That is as Heaven ordains it. Still, "if the heart sincerely seeks,"[56] "Heaven will come to its aid."[57] A man serves in the government and has no energy left over, no free time to study. That is as Heaven ordains it. This being so, those who themselves are unable to study take delight in others' study. Those who have means sufficient to enable other people to study enable them to study. Why must there be rejoicing only when ability and wisdom and virtue and moral action [are seen to] come from within a man's own self? Truly, what Heaven ordains is something about which nothing can be done. Hence, studying to gain what is closest to a man's nature is also like this. To "further one's talent," "develop one's capacity," and thereby serve in one of Heaven's offices—this is the way of antiquity.

Study to become masters of one of the orthodox philosophical schools, or masters of the minor arts if you will, but do not try to become a teacher of the [Neo-Confucian] Learning of the Way.

[*Gakusoku*, in *NST*, vol. 36, pp. 29–46; trans. adapted from Minear, "Ogyū Sorai's 'Instructions for Students,'" pp. 10–32; WTdB]

HIROSE TANSŌ'S SCHOOL SYSTEM

Hirose Tansō (1782–1806) was a Confucian scholar born into a wealthy merchant family in the small domain of Hita in Kyushu, a remote appendage to the larger Tokugawa house. At his private academy, the Kangien, Tansō became known as an outstanding teacher, attracting thousands of students from all over Japan, some of them influential in the later Restoration and Renovation movements. Tansō's learning reflected a wider eclectic trend among his contemporaries to accommodate different strands of Neo-Confucianism. Although he

52. *Mencius* 6B:2.
53. Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi yulei*, chap. 4.
54. *Analects* 2:12.
55. *Hou Han shu* 49, *lie juan* 39, p. 1629.
56. *Great Learning* 9:2.
57. *Book of Odes*, no. 272.

drew on the scholarship of Itō Jinsai and Ogyū Sorai, as an educator he adhered closely to a standard Neo-Confucian curriculum.

ROUNDABOUT WORDS (*UGEN*)

The following excerpts are from a larger work, entitled *Roundabout Words*, giving Hirose Tansō's general views on political, social, and cultural matters. Thus his educational views expressed here go beyond what Tansō could teach in his own private academy and offered instead what he would recommend for official domain scholars and the country as a whole.

The main features of Tansō's plan are his attempt (1) to integrate aristocrats and commoners in a single universal school system, in order to overcome the debilitating effect of hereditary aristocracy, and (2) to provide a common classical education for everyone, after which students would go on to specialize in different fields, without trying to encompass them all. These ideas were not new,[58] but Tansō's curriculum recognized the weakness of the feudal system and the increasing cultural and technological complexity of nineteenth-century Japan, which created a need for common humanistic core values in general education and for individual specialization on a more advanced level. In this he anticipated and prepared the way for some of the reforms of the Meiji period.

Promoting the wise and worthy and eliminating the unqualified is the basis for governing the country. When the wise and worthy are employed, the country flourishes, and when the unqualified are employed, the country perishes. . . . However, under the present feudal system, members of the ruling class have become accustomed to receiving hereditary stipends generation after generation, and it is difficult to dismiss members of such stipended families, even though they may not be qualified. . . . Consequently, since it is not possible to eliminate the old families, there is no alternative but to educate the children of these families, enhance their good points, and try to eliminate their shortcomings. However, as stated before, the present school system is unsuitable, and the methods of education do not measure up, so the ancient's original intentions in establishing schools has been lost. Therefore, with the ancient rites in mind, I now propose to reform the school system . . .

In broad terms, one should send the children of the nobility to school along with those of ordinary people of the country, without distinguishing between the noble and the lowborn, so that the children of the whole body of officials

58. Song Neo-Confucians had already advocated universal schooling and some degree of technical specialization. See de Bary and Bloom, eds., *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, chap. 21.

and commoners would mix together, and seniority in age would be the only determinant of who sits higher than the other. In this way the heirs [of the hereditary aristocracy] will naturally come to respect the worthy and learn to defer to their elders, so that when they grow up and assume noble rank, they will not be arrogant and will listen to the words of the wise and worthy. . . .

We do not hear much about heirs and young noblemen attending today's schools in the domains; their families usually invite teachers to instruct them at home. When the children of retainers attend school, their seating priority is based on family rank rather than age. This is fundamentally incorrect. Even in their study of the classics, 70 to 80 percent of it is merely simple repetitive reading of texts (*sodoku*). Furthermore, although some study for a longer time, they only work at interpreting texts philosophically or write poems and prose; they do not apply themselves to useful study. Consequently, instruction in schools is merely formalistic; it never nurtures human talent. But if we eliminate what is not useful and maintain what is useful in the course of training and then add rewards and punishments, promotions and demotions, we can realize great reform in our customs. . . .

The school system should be established with a division between the civil and military arts. Civil arts should include the subjects of Confucian classics, history, the [non-Confucian] philosophers, composition, military science, medicine, astronomy, Japanese studies, administration, government service, Dutch studies, calligraphy, mathematics, and the various [books of] rites. All these subjects involve speech and language and are of use to the nation. They should be classified as curricular subjects and an instructor appointed for each. Military arts will be discussed later, not here.

As for the students to be sent to school, they should, starting with the sons of the nobility, from the sons of the lord's principal retainer down to the sons of foot soldiers, all those ten to twenty-two years of age, not excepting even the heir apparent, should be made to attend. A magistrate should be installed to oversee the instructors, jointly administering the schools of civil and military arts. . . .

Because of the gravity of the responsibility, the appointee should be chosen from among the lord's principal retainers. . . .

Next is a detailed procedure by which the supervisor should direct and monitor the studies of all students, including their personal conduct; keep records for each; and eventually certify them for whatever their duties in life may be.

Upon entering school, a student's training begins with simple repetitive reading (*sodoku*). At the same time he studies penmanship, various rites, and stratagems. Simple repetitive reading is divided into three levels, top, middle, and bottom. After works such as the Four Books, Five Classics, *Elementary Learning*, and *Reflections on Things at Hand* are completed, and recitation has advanced

nicely, the student reaches the upper level. On the upper level, the students read and explain by turns (*rindoku*) and also listen to lectures (*kōshaku*). Students read works such as the *Spring and Autumn Annals* and *Classic of History*, which they have not yet been taught, as materials to read and explain one by one. As they read in succession, students who have clear, pleasant voices and make no mistakes in punctuation (*kutō*) reach the top level of reading and explaining by turns. Thereafter, the students read and lecture by turns (*rinkō*). They sit in line and lecture one by one on the classics and histories. Those with clear language and a mastery of moral principles reach the top level of reading and lecturing. . . .

The method of study is for the teaching official to raise questions before the assembly. He asks questions that gradually test the complex significance of litigation judgments, negotiations with neighboring domains, petitions made to the government, or official notices directed to people of lower status. He has the students write reports based on what they know about these issues. Students whose compositions are thoroughly moral, whose phraseology is accomplished, and who gain the admiration of all are at the top level of the civil arts. If students begin the above-described training from simple reading to composition at eleven or twelve years of age, they can complete it in as few as five or six years, or in as many as eight or nine years. Generally by twenty years of age they should have completed this training. General education ends with this. . . . This is necessary for people above warrior rank, but if a person does not want to make a profession out of learning [teaching], it is not necessary for him to study more than this. . . .

Those who assume the responsibility of becoming Confucian teachers should divide up courses of instruction and keep to one of these divisions. They should devote themselves according to their particular strengths to one, or a combination of any two, of the subjects listed above after Confucianism. It is impossible for a person to be well versed in all subjects. When someone forces himself to do the impossible, it results in superficiality and uselessness. The evils of the present-day learning stem from the fact that the curriculum is not divided. Students feel ashamed if they do not know everything that others know. Consequently they compete with one another and pursue the same course. As a result, what one knows, everyone else knows, and what one does not know, no one else knows. There may be one hundred Confucians scholars, but they all know no more than one person. This is because people undertake learning to gain fame, not from a desire to offer it to the domain. If those above divide the curriculum and use people for their strengths without censuring them for their weaknesses, then Confucians will follow suit. . . .

If there are people qualified to teach simple repetitive reading to the family servants, let the sons of nobles and principal retainers of the feudal lords first be taught by them. . . . When it is time for the student to go to school, even if

he is of noble rank, he must not wear fine clothes, and he must not have more than two men servants at most. When he is walking to school, he must not have other people move out of his way on the road. When the *Record of Rites* states, "A son should not. . . . sit in the middle of the road,"[59] it means that a person who has parents must humble himself and act so as to differentiate himself from his parents. This is even more true for the ruler's son. The domain does not have two rulers. Even though he may be the ruler's son, he must not pretend to the ruler's role. . . .

The priority of student seating in the room should observe the following order: composition students have highest priority, then the students who read and lecture, then the students who read and explain, and finally the students who do simple repetitive reading. Even young noblemen must be seated appropriately in this order. . . . However, among the students, the young noblemen wear black clothes; children from high-ranking houses with the right of audience wear yellow clothes; and all the rest wear turquoise clothes. Consequently, each person's rank distinction is clear even when seated in the same row with those of other ranks. . . .

Exercises in which students read and lecture one by one on passages from texts are not simply to see whether or not the student understands the meaning of the words in those texts. If the lecturer's speech is clear, his allusions fresh, and he moves the listener to his innermost heart, then that speaker has eloquence. A person like this is one who, after growing up, will serve in all things and will not disgrace domainal command. But a person whose speech is clumsy, whose arguments are unclear, and who leaves the listener in a daze lacks eloquence. A person like this does not deserve honor even if his knowledge of the contents of books is correct. Composition is something that leaves nothing unrevealed about the quality of a student's discernment and the extent of his talent and wisdom. . . . If his literary skills are frequently tested, whether or not a person has talent will become clearer than if it were reflected in a mirror. . . .

The course of classical study in school begins with simple repetitive reading and ends with composition. After that each person may follow his own bent. Some may study how to interpret the classics, and some read extensively in the many schools of philosophers; some study poetry and Chinese-style prose, and some study Japanese literature or barbarian [i.e., Western] learning, and so forth, each according to his desire. If there is nothing that appeals to a person in the above, he may stop studying. However, those above warrior status [those who take teaching as a profession] must not stop reading books in their leisure time for the rest of their lives. As I have stated before, unless he reads books,

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59. Legge, trans., *Book of Rites*, "Quli," p. 69.

even a correct person or a person of talent and wisdom will not be knowledgeable and will be susceptible to vulgar opinions. Unless a person reads many books, is well versed in the thinking of the sages and worthies, and knows about the great men of the past, he cannot avoid being a common, witless man. . . .

The students who read and lecture, or the students who read and explain, should direct the students of simple repetitive reading. The composition students or students who read and lecture should supervise students who read and explain. The education official himself should supervise students who read and lecture and students who work at compositions. . . .

Virtuous conduct, speech, political affairs, and literary studies are the four branches of Confucian scholarship. These are the marks of a man of perfect virtue, and they cannot be expected of children. Nevertheless, children should be aware of their general meaning. The conduct of the students in schools must conform with decorum and propriety. Students must not try to stand on their own social rank but should defer to older students of ability. This constitutes virtuous conduct. If a student's lectures are refreshing to hear and rouse the listeners, he has mastered speech. If a student can elucidate moral principles in his compositions and manages well all aspects of affairs, he has the talent for combining political affairs with literary studies. In assessing human conduct, the men of old esteemed the ability to understand the significant aspects of a person's character by observing his small points. This does not merely consist of considering the quality of his achievements in the arts.

The hall for military arts should be built more than one *chō*[60] away from the civil arts area. The curriculum should be divided into fencing, lancing, archery, horsemanship, gunnery, *jujitsu*, and so forth, all the things that accompany military training, with an instructor for each, just as is to be done for the civil arts. The students should be divided into A and B groups according to their ability, as is also done for the civil arts. This will provide a unified course of acceptable instruction in the knowledge and skills that a warrior must acquire. Mastering the secrets of civil and military arts is not something to be done only by those who aspire to be teachers. . . .

Mixing the sons of lords with sons of those of lower rank not only nourishes men of talent and reforms current evils but also brings many other benefits. As I have previously described, there is to be no gap between noble and base or high and low among the students. They all will have cordial relations and feel very much at ease. Consequently, when the young nobles become rulers in later years, they will understand the feelings of those [former fellow students] below them in rank. They will remember their general impression of a person's character, even down to the infantry officers. This will be advantageous when they employ men in government service. . . . Furthermore, because these lower-

60. One *chō* equals 2.541 acres.

ranking [former fellow students] can know the characters of those higher-ranking [former fellow students], they need not be unnecessarily suspicious or apprehensive and will think fondly of those of higher rank. As a rule, for those of lower rank to be familiar with those of higher rank is the most desirable way to rule a country, but it is also the most difficult. . . .

[Hirose Tansō, *Ugen*, in *NST*, vol. 38, pp. 316–26; trans. adapted from Kassel, *Tokugawa Confucian Education*, pp. 157–69; WTdB]

Chapter 26

POPULAR INSTRUCTION

Although Neo-Confucian instruction was generally carried on by an educated elite, whose leadership role varied in the different societies of East Asia, the basic texts of the Neo-Confucian core curriculum, and especially Zhu Xi's prominent preface to the *Great Learning*, stressed the importance of education for all. The actual results may have varied from place to place, but in Tokugawa Japan significant efforts were made to extend education beyond the samurai elite to the townspeople (*chōnin*) and farming (*nōmin*) classes. While based on essentially the same texts as those featured in the preceding chapter, to some extent the contents and teaching methods were adapted to different audiences. If Japan in the nineteenth century showed a relatively wide literacy and shared attitudes toward the importance of learning on all levels of society, it may be credited to the kind of popular education illustrated in the following excerpts.

ISHIDA BAIGAN'S LEARNING OF THE MIND AND THE WAY OF THE MERCHANT

It was among the townsfolk of Kyoto, a busy center of textile and handicraft production, that a Confucian-inspired religious movement first made its influence felt beyond the samurai-oriented academies and domain schools of To-

kugawa Japan. The founder of this movement, Ishida Baigan (1685–1744), was of peasant origin but moved to Kyoto in his youth and worked there for many years as a clerk in a dry-goods store. While a young man, he became interested in various forms of learning, beginning with traditions centered on the worship of native Japanese deities but soon ranging over the Confucian classics, Neo-Confucian commentaries, and various popular Buddhist texts. His commitment to his studies is legendary: he is said to have read books early in the morning, late at night, and during every spare moment, without ever neglecting his shop duties. In 1729, when Baigan was in his mid-forties, he left his employment and began to lecture on his version of the "Way" to anyone who cared to listen. At first his audiences were small, but he gradually developed his speaking skills and in time attracted a number of serious students, some of whom later spread his ideas throughout Japan. By the end of the Tokugawa period, about 180 study centers associated with Baigan's movement had been established at one time or another in most parts of Japan, and public presentations of the founder's ideas by traveling lecturers had become commonplace, not only in the major urban centers of Kyoto, Osaka, and Edo, but also in the rural towns and villages.

Ishida Baigan's religious and moral life was the main source of the teaching, which he referred to as "Shingaku," using the expression for the learning of the mind-and-heart well established in Cheng–Zhu learning of the Way. He engaged in prolonged periods of meditation, after which he had two enlightenment-like experiences in which he reportedly gained profound insights into his own nature and its relation to moral truth and the universe. He formulated and expressed these insights for his followers by drawing freely on a wide range of Japanese and Chinese philosophical traditions. The dominant influence in his thought was Mencius's rendition of Confucian thought, particularly as elaborated by the Song Neo-Confucian masters. In his writings, Baigan reiterates in various ways that all human beings are naturally endowed with moral goodness and that our task in life is to identify our innate moral sense and allow it to guide our behavior. He justifies this idea by referring, for example, to Mencius's assertion that we can know the order of the universe ("Heaven") by thoroughly examining the truth in our own heart and thus coming to an understanding of our nature,[1] or to chapter 1 of the *Doctrine of the Mean*, which identifies the Way as "following one's own nature." The ultimate aim of Baigan's system was in fact the enactment of the "Way of the sages," which he defined in accordance with Confucian tradition as harmony between ruler and minister, parent and child, husband and wife, older and younger siblings, and friends (the so-called Five Human Relationships). The direct, personal insight into one's own nature that Baigan advocated thus had emi-

1. *Mencius* 7A:1.

nently practical implications: it entailed observing in everyday life such time-honored values as loyalty and filial piety, along with the related ideals of frugality, honesty, and diligence.

In order to prepare his students to experience the moral quality of their own natures, Ishida Baigan encouraged them to engage in meditation, which he called "contemplative practice" (*kūfū*) or, following the Song Neo-Confucian masters, "quiet sitting" (*seiza*). The purpose of the meditation was to restore their minds to a state of serenity and selfless openness, in which all objects of experience, including other people and one's own body, would be experienced as directly constituting one's own mind. Baigan referred to this rather mystical perspective as "the mind that depends on form." His successor, Teshima Toan (1718–1786), who along with the famous preacher Nakazawa Dōni (1725–1803) was largely responsible for disseminating Baigan's teaching after the founder's death, further emphasized the notion of a selfless, nondualistic mind and systematized the training process through which practitioners came to experience this mind directly. It was because of this continuing insistence on the importance of knowing one's own true mind or nature that Baigan's teaching came to be called Sekimon Shingaku (the Learning of the Mind-and-Heart according to Ishida Baigan's school).

Baigan first addressed his teaching to members of the Kyoto merchant milieu and thus often found himself answering questions about the relevance of his ideas to people who spent most of their time selling, buying, and distributing goods. At that time, many members of the educated class of the day regarded commerce in a negative light. Some Tokugawa writers even argued that merchants were worthless because they did not generate goods themselves but merely lived off profits made from others' productions. Merchants were in fact ranked lowest among the four classes of the Tokugawa order (after samurai, peasants, and artisans). Baigan accordingly took pains in his writings to assure his critics of the value of learning for merchants (as, of course, the merchant academy Kaitokudō had done). Thus he was not alone in defending the moral capacity of merchants in the face of high-minded Confucian polemics against the immorality of profit making, but his arguments were certainly vigorous for his time and have struck even some modern observers as being politically charged. We should note, however, that Baigan typically cited the samurai as the model of integrity that merchants should emulate. He fully accepted the Tokugawa social hierarchy and its associated value system, according to which samurai occupied the top levels of society and, in effect, controlled the content and channels of formal education. It was within these parameters that Baigan and his successors pursued the implications of the Mencian theory of the original goodness in human nature for all social classes.

The Shingaku teachers in fact developed a powerful educational movement that took for granted the natural capacity of commoners to create and dissem-

inate their own forms of knowledge. The impressive spread of this movement during the late Tokugawa period seems to have been part of a larger trend in which greater numbers of ordinary people were creating religious systems suited to their own needs. The popularity during the early nineteenth century of traveling Shingaku teachers who used humor and storytelling to engage the interest of large audiences may well have reflected the preoccupation of privileged townsfolk and rural gentry with maintaining moral consensus in their communities at a time when the fabric of Tokugawa society appeared to be deteriorating.

CITY AND COUNTRY DIALOGUES (*TOHI MONDŌ*)

Ishida Baigan's best-known work, *City and Country Dialogues*, is based on records of his conversations with students and critics of his teaching. The following excerpt typifies the Shingaku founder's response to debates among Confucian scholars of the time about the nature of the Way that is delineated in the classical texts. One cannot understand these texts, says Baigan, unless one has a direct, personal insight into one's own nature.

A student asked: "The great sage Confucius explained the path of the Three Bonds [Mainstays] and the Five Constant Virtues,[2] but he did not address the issue of human nature and principle. Mencius for his part stated that 'the nature of human beings is good.'[3] He also spoke about 'nourishing my all-encompassing vital energy.'[4] Gaozi said that 'the inborn is what is meant by "nature"' and that 'there is neither good nor bad in human nature.'[5] He also said that 'human nature is like the *qi* willow' and that it is 'like whirling water.'[6] Moreover, Han Yu asserted that 'there are three kinds of human nature,'[7] and Xunzi said that 'the nature of human beings is evil; goodness is the result of conscious activity.'[8] Yangzi claimed that 'good and evil are mixed together [in

2. The Three Bonds (Mainstays) are the moral standards for relations between ruler and minister (lord and retainer), parent and child, and husband and wife. The Five Constant Virtues are humaneness, rightness, ritual decorum, wisdom, and trustworthiness.

3. For statements in this vein, see, for example, *Mencius* 6A:2, 6.

4. *Mencius* 2A:2.

5. *Mencius* 6A:3, 6.

6. *Mencius* 6A:1, 2.

7. Han Yu, *Yuan xing*, *Kanbun taikei* 3, *Tōsō hakka bun* 1:8 (Tokyo: Fuzanbō, 1972). Baigan may be following Zhu Xi's commentary on *Mencius* 6A:6, in which he cites Han Yu. See *Shisho shūchū* 2:337, 527b, in *Shushigaku taikei*, vol. 8.

8. Xunzi, *Xing'e*, sec. 23; Watson, trans., *Basic Writings: Hsün Tzu*, p. 157.

human nature].'[9] In addition, the theories of Lao, Zhuang, and the Buddha regarding human nature are innumerable. Which of these views should be considered right and which wrong?

"Under the circumstances, the Confucians of our country have either regarded Confucius as right, or Gaozi and Hanzi as right and Mencius as wrong; or some say that everyone after Confucius is wrong. It is difficult to settle this debate for once and for all. You, however, regard the Song Confucians as right, respect and believe in Mencius, and claim that the nature of human beings is good. It seems to me that in any case this issue is difficult to decide. . . ."

Master Baigan answered, "Confucius said, 'A piece of rotten wood cannot be carved, nor can a wall of dried dung be troweled.'[10] People like you who have lost sight of their own essence are like objects carved from rotten wood—they have no inside that responds, so they are like corpses. . . . Know your own nature. Whether Mencius's view about its goodness is right and consistent with your nature is an issue that you can resolve for yourself later. For now, let us leave aside the matter of the goodness of human nature. How do you understand Confucius's 'single thread?'"

The student said, "Zengzi said it consists of 'loyalty and reciprocity,' being true to oneself and considerate of others, that is all.[11] How can we doubt this?"

Master Baigan replied, "Zengzi's 'loyalty and reciprocity' is excellent. It is natural for those of later generations who are ignorant of the principle of human nature to claim in their turn that the single thread is loyalty and reciprocity. In fact, however, it is absolutely wrong for them to say that the single thread means loyalty and reciprocity. The reason is that today, whether one uses Japanese or Chinese, if one simply says, 'loyalty and reciprocity,' people do not understand this to mean the transmission of the Way of the sages. Consequently, they make the mistake of ignoring the transmission of the Way. When you nevertheless claim, without knowing the goodness of human nature, that the single thread means loyalty and reciprocity, you are eating the dregs of Zengzi's words, depriving them of their meaning. The 'single thread' is the utterly marvelous principle of the goodness of human nature. It represents the understanding of the sages, so it is beyond words and phrases—something you must apprehend on your own.

"When Zengzi heard Confucius's remark about the single thread, he clearly discerned its significance, and because it conformed exactly with what was in his heart and he had no doubts about it, he replied, 'Yes!' The other disciples had heard what Confucius said along with Zengzi, but since they did not un-

9. Yang Xiong, *Fayan*, "Xiu shen" sec. Baigan is probably following Zhu Xi's commentary on *Mencius* 6A:2, in which he refers to Yangzi (Yang Xiong). See *Shisho shūchū* 2:331, 526a, in *Shushigaku taikei*, vol. 8.

10. *Analects* 5:10.

11. *Analects* 4:15.

derstand, after Confucius left they asked Zengzi, 'What did he mean?' Because they did not understand what Confucius meant by 'a single thread,' Zengzi restated it as 'loyalty and reciprocity, that is all,' but they did not grasp his meaning. Confucius had already mentioned the single thread to Zigong, but because Zigong was not sufficiently advanced in learning, he did not respond.[12] Zengzi had learned the transmission of the Way, so he explained the single thread of utmost sincerity as 'loyalty and reciprocity.' Persons who have attained the Way freely explain the single thread as loyalty and reciprocity, and [in their case] this view is right. Whether it is right or not depends on whether you have attained the Way. . . ."

The student stated, "Even those in the position of teachers do not understand this point completely, but since it concerns the sages, it is not something that today's scholars could know. They say it is a matter of loyalty and reciprocity, but they certainly do not provide any further edification."

Master Baigan replied, "You say this point is not something that today's scholars could know. The teachings of the sages have not changed from ancient times to the present. The division of the present from ancient times is the Buddhist teaching of the Last Age of the Dharma. You should not confuse the Confucian and Buddhist teachings. Now then, Confucius said, '[The gentleman] is not invariably for or against anything,'[13] and Yan Yuan said, 'I see it before me. Suddenly it is behind me.'[14] Mencius said, 'There is only one Way.'[15] There are many such passages. How do you understand them?"

The student said, "I have not thoroughly investigated these kinds [of passages], so it is difficult for me to answer immediately."

Master Baigan replied, "These three sayings all concern one's mind and heart, and if you say that you cannot respond to them at once, even though you have read many books, they have been of no benefit to you. Everything written in the *Analects* represents the mind of the Sage [Confucius], and if you do not know that mind, what doctrine will you use to cultivate your person and teach others?"

The student noted, "The Way of Confucius is nothing other than the Five Human Relationships and the Five Constant Virtues. How can we possibly doubt this?"

Master Baigan replied: "If you do not know the meaning of 'one' in Mencius's 'there is only one [Way],' then you do not know the Way. Confucius said, 'People can enlarge the Way; the Way cannot enlarge people.'[16] "To say that the mind can bring human nature to complete realization means that people can

12. *Analects* 15:2.
13. *Analects* 4:10.
14. *Analects* 9:10.
15. *Mencius* 3A:1.
16. *Analects* 15:29.

enlarge the Way.' 'There is no Way outside people, and there are no people outside the Way. Insight into the Way takes place inside people's minds.'[17] By means of this insight one enlarges the Way. The mind that gains insight is the substance. The great human relationships among people are its functions. When the substance is established, its functions are carried out. Those functions are the interactions between lord and retainer, parent and child, husband and wife, elder and younger siblings, and friends. The innately good mind of humaneness, rightness, ritual decorum, and wisdom is the mind that causes these Five Human Relationships to be enacted. You do not realize that this mind is one and only one." [pp. 435–38]

Baigan developed his own theory of the state of mind that results from knowing one's own nature. In the following excerpt, he describes this "wisdom of the sages" as a frame of consciousness in which self-centered, subjective impulses give way to a perfectly other-centered outlook. In this state, the exigencies of the external forms that one encounters in any given moment determine the content of one's mind-and-heart at that particular time. In short, one's mind, emptied of selfish considerations and projections, is simply made up of what it apprehends. This state of selfless openness results in a spontaneous naturalism, akin to the simple attitude of animals, which fulfill their physical needs without becoming involved in subjective speculations. Baigan identifies the Japanese gods as well as the ancient Chinese sages as the ultimate paragons of this other-centered consciousness. His formulation of this theory, which may have been inspired by Zen Buddhist and Daoist as well as Neo-Confucian sources, is not always clear or internally consistent. Nevertheless, his theory of the "mind that depends on form" had important implications for Shingaku ethical teaching: when one knows one's true nature, one identifies completely with other people and thus places priority on their needs rather than on one's own.

A student noted, "The sage is born with knowledge.[18] It is not the sort of knowledge that someone like you could have. How is it that you nevertheless discriminate easily between the wisdom of a sage and self-centered, individual knowledge?"

Master Baigan replied, "Even you can easily distinguish between black and white. Distinguishing between the wisdom of the sages and self-centered knowledge is similar. When Yu regulated the waters, it was simply a matter of his knowing that one place was high and another was low; there was nothing unusual about it.[19] Because self-centered knowledge combines with all kinds of

17. Both quotations are from Zhang Zai, cited in Zhu Xi's commentary on *Analects* 15:28. See *Shisho shūchū* 1:287; 432a, in *Shushigaku taikei*, vol. 7.

18. Allusion to *Analects* 16:9: "Those who are born with knowledge are the highest."

19. Allusion to *Mencius* 4B:26.

willful notions, it is not natural knowledge; it differs from the wisdom of the sages. To render the wisdom of the sages in familiar terms, Master Cheng said, 'The people of today use a bridle to control a horse. But they do not use it to restrain an ox. All people know that bridles were created by human beings, but they do not know that bridles came into being because of horses. The sage's moral instruction is also like this.'[20] It was only after the sage observed horses that he created bridles and used them on horses. He did not know about horses from birth, from when he was in his mother's womb. He took exactly what he saw in front of him as his mind. This is the superior quality of a sage's wisdom. In his ability to reflect the things he encounters without any distortion he resembles a bright mirror or still water.

"In the beginning, the minds of human beings were no different from those of the sages; but people's minds became obscured by the Seven Emotions,[21] and they began to believe that the wisdom of the sages was something unusual, outside themselves. Hence they grew ignorant and began to have various sorts of doubts. Originally, one could directly apprehend the forms of things as one's mind. For example, if one scratches oneself while asleep, one is unconsciously assisting one's body: one's body directly becomes one's mind. Also, when mosquito larvae are in water, they do not bite people; but once they change into mosquitoes, they suddenly bite people. This is due to the mind that depends on form. Let us direct our attention to birds and animals as well. Frogs naturally fear snakes. Parent frogs instruct baby frogs: 'Snakes will take you and eat you. They are fearful creatures!' and the baby frogs learn and practice and gradually come to transmit this fear. Frogs fear snakes because they are born in the form of frogs: their forms directly constitute their minds.

"To cite another familiar example, when summer begins, fleas appear near people's bodies. In this case, too, flea parents probably teach their offspring: 'Make your way through life by biting people! When a person's hand moves, you should pay attention and jump away quickly—if you don't, you will lose your life!' And when fleas jump away, it is not something learned but in each case is what they do is because of their forms. Mencius said, 'Our body and our complexion are given to us by Heaven. Only a sage can bring his body to complete fulfillment.'[22] To bring one's body to complete fulfillment means to carry out exactly the Way of the Five Human Relationships. Those who cannot carry out the Way, thereby bringing their bodies to complete fulfillment, are small persons.

"Animals and birds do not have self-centered minds. Rather, they bring their

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20. Cheng Hao and/or Cheng Yi, cited in Zhu Xi's commentary on *Analects* 5:25. See *Shisho shūchū* 1:109–10, 406b, in *Shushigaku taikei*, vol. 7.

21. The Seven Emotions are joy, anger, sorrow, fear, love, hatred, and desire.

22. *Mencius* 7A:38.

bodies to complete fulfillment. These all are natural principles, and the sage understands them. The *Chronicles of Japan* [*Nihongi*] states: 'The god O-Onamuchi and the god Sukuna-bikona combined their powers, came to an agreement, and created the world under heaven. For the sake of the lovely people and the animals, they also established the methods for curing diseases. Moreover, in order to drive away the calamities of birds, animals, and insects, they established rules for preventive incantations. Through these methods and rules, the entire populace has enjoyed the gods' protection until today.'[23] The Way is the same, no matter where. In China the *Classic of Documents* says that Fu Xi raised sacrificial animals and kept them in his storehouse. In fact, because human beings and animals belong to different categories, both birds and animals fear human beings and will not approach them. The sages and gods do not have self-centered minds, so they observed the birds' and animals' fear and regarded it as constituting their own minds. . . . They made into their own minds what they encountered and became familiar with the inborn characters of all animals. They accustomed the animals to human beings and thus domesticated many of them." [pp. 451–52]

In the next exchange, Baigan's efforts to spread the Way among his fellow merchants are harshly criticized. His famous response, equating the merchant's profit with the samurai's stipend, gave Baigan a place in history as a champion of the moral capacity of business people.

A student stated, "Merchants make their living by gaining profit through deceit. Under the circumstances, learning is definitely not something they can engage in. I understand, however, that it is mostly tradespeople who come to you to study. You teach case by case, modifying your teaching to suit each person's needs; you are what Confucius meant when he said, 'The village paragon is the ruin of virtue.'[24] Not being a scholar, you pander to the trend of the times: you follow the immoral spirit of the age and curry favor with the world. You are a petty man who leads people astray and deceives his own heart. Your disciples do not know this. Aren't you ashamed to consider yourself a scholar?"

Master Baigan replied, "Confucius said, 'When a gentleman is ignorant, one would expect him not to offer any opinion.'[25] You should always leave aside matters you do not know about. Don't you think it is base to circulate rumors without understanding this principle? Now then, the matter you have mentioned is something people in the world have doubts about, too. First of all, there is only one Way. However, warriors, farmers, artisans, and merchants each

23. *Nihon shoki*, "Kami no yo," in *NKBT*, vol. 67, p. 128.

24. *Analects* 17:13.

25. *Analects* 13:3.

have a path to fulfill; even beggars—not to mention merchants—who are outside the four classes of people, have a Way."

The student asked, "You mean to say that even beggars have a Way?"

Master Baigan replied: "I once heard that a certain person went to Ōmi and encountered a village of outcasts.[26] There, a bridge-crossing ceremony was being held to inaugurate a new bridge, and when this person stopped to watch, someone who appeared to be the headman of the outcasts was sitting on a round cushion. The villagers brought him gifts to celebrate the bridge opening. Among them a thin, wan man brought three eggplants and placed them in front of the headman. The headman looked at them and asked, 'I hear that recently you have had difficulties—why then did you bring me these eggplants?' The man said, 'That is true. I have been beset with illness and troubles for a long time, but because I was told by the assistant headman that I should present you with a gift on the occasion of the bridge inauguration, last night I went to another person's field and stole these.' The headman replied, 'One begs in order not to steal. If one steals, then one does not beg. You cannot reside in this village.'

"He summoned the assistant headman and reportedly told him: 'Once he recovers his health, you should expel him from the village. While he is ill, you should stand guard over him.'

"The Way of beggars is not to steal, even if one is starving to death. Confucius said, 'It comes as no surprise to the gentleman to find himself in extreme straits. The small man finding himself in extreme straits would abandon all restraint.'[27] One who upholds what is right even when in distress is a gentleman. One who becomes wayward and confused when in distress is a petty man. Isn't it deplorable to be a petty man, inferior, or beggar?"

The student remarked, "But merchants are extremely greedy and make their living by constantly coveting things. To teach them not to have desires is the same as making a cat guard the bonito fish. To encourage them to engage in learning is mixed up and illogical. Isn't it a fraud to be teaching merchants, even though you are aware that it will not work?"

Master Baigan replied: "Those who do not know the Way of the merchant invest in greed and bring ruin to their households. When one knows the Way of the merchant, one abandons desires, strives to maintain a humane attitude, and regards prosperity that accords with the Way as the virtue of learning."

The student asked, "In that case, do you teach students to forgo sales profits and to sell at cost? If those who practice under you learn not to take a profit openly but to take it behind their back, this is not a true teaching; on the contrary, you are teaching a lie. Your teaching is incoherent in this way because

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26. The word translated as "outcasts" is *hinin*, here used to indicate beggars.

27. *Analects* 15:1.

you insist on what is inherently impossible. That a merchant can get along without loving profit is absolutely unheard of."

Master Baigan replied: "My teaching is not a lie, and I can tell you the reason why it is not. One of you here is probably in the service of a lord. Is it possible that a retainer could serve his lord without receiving any remuneration?"

The student said, "That is unlikely. Even Confucius and Mencius stated that 'not to receive a stipend is against the rites.'[28] Why should it be a problem to receive a stipend? This is in accordance with the Way of receiving. To receive a stipend in accordance with the Way is not avarice."

Master Baigan answered: "To gain a profit from a sale is the Way of the merchant. I have never heard that selling at cost is the Way. If making a profit from sales is greed and thus not the Way, then why did Confucius accept Zigong [a successful merchant] as his disciple? Zigong applied Confucius's Way to his buying and selling activities. Without any profit from his transactions, Zigong would not have been able to grow rich. The merchant's profit is the same as the samurai's stipend. For a merchant not to take a profit is like a samurai serving his lord without receiving a stipend." [pp. 420–25]

The following excerpt typifies the practical advice that Baigan offered merchants on how to prosper financially without losing their moral integrity. Partly in reaction to the extravagances of the Genroku period (1688–1704) and the shogunate's subsequent pressure on the city classes to economize, many merchants of the time were concerned with maintaining a reputation for frugality and integrity.

The student asked, "How, then, should I put into practice the rules for the conduct of a merchant?"

Master Baigan replied, "As I said earlier, place priority on 'knowing everything by means of one thing.'[29] For example, a warrior who begrudges his life for the sake of his lord cannot be called a samurai. If the merchant understands this, his own path is clear. As long as you do not neglect the customers who support you and you serve them wholeheartedly, you will meet their desires in eight cases out of ten. If you invest your energy in your business in such a way as to meet the wishes of your customers, surely you will not need to worry about making a living. Also, to begin with, you should be frugal; you should manage expenses that until now have cost you one *kanme* with seven hundred *monme*,

28. Baigan is alluding to *Analects* 6:3 and *Mencius* 2B:14.

29. Baigan is referring to a proverb that says, "By means of one thing, one knows everything and anything."

and reduce your profit from one *kanme* to nine hundred *monme*. Thus, from sales proceeds of ten *kanme*, reduce the profit by one hundred *monme*.[30] If you take only nine hundred *monme*, you don't need to worry that you will be accused of selling goods at a high price. Because you won't have any worries, you will feel easy in your heart. Furthermore, do not take double profits based on inconsistent measurements, as I mentioned earlier; do not be unreasonable with the dyer about dyeing mistakes; do not make advance agreements to receive fees from people who are bankrupt, thereby stealing the money that is owed to their creditors;[31] and do not unfairly violate agreements about account balances. Abandon luxuries; do not indulge in costly tea ceremony accessories; give up pleasure sprees; and do not cultivate a taste for building lavish houses.

"When you restrain yourself and give up all sorts of practices, even if you take a profit of only nine hundred *monme* instead of one *kanme*, you should easily be able to support your household. Indeed, if you reduce your profit in this way by one hundred *monme*, for the most part your transactions will not contain any improprieties. To cite an analogy, if [even] one drop of oil gets into one *shō* of water,[32] the entire surface of the water will look oily. Because of this, the water cannot be used. The profit from a transaction is like this as well. One hundred *monme* of immoral money makes all the remaining nine hundred *monme* immoral. Many do not know that accumulating one hundred *monme* of immoral money, and thus turning nine hundred *monme* into immoral money, leads to the destruction of their descendants in the same way that one *shō* of water is thrown away because of one drop of oil. Even if you combined all your double profits, fees from bankrupt people, and illicit money gained through sleight of hand at payment times, you would not be able to make a living from it.

"This principle may be applied to everything. Wouldn't it be sad if, because your greed won out and you found it difficult to part with the one hundred *monme*, you made immoral money without realizing that your beloved descendants would thereby die out? As I said earlier, today one should regard the Way of the samurai as a model of the integrity of all things. Mencius said, 'Only a

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30. One *kanme* was equal to 1,000 *monme* (of silver, in this context). Baigan is thus advising his listener to reduce his profits from 10 percent to 9 percent (from 1 *kanme* to 0.9 *kanme*) per 10 *kanme* of gross proceeds.

31. Baigan is referring to the practices of making a "double" profit by buying at a reduced price a piece of cloth that measures a bit short and then selling the same piece at the price of a standard measure without informing the customer; of paying cloth dyers less for pieces that have small dyeing defects but selling them at full price to customers; and of accepting secret payments from people who are facing bankruptcy in return for holding off their creditors.

32. Today, one *shō* equals 1.8093 liters.

gentleman can have a constant heart without having a constant means of support.'[33] In ancient times, the lord of Saimyōji [Hōjō Tokiyori] in Kamakura abdicated the regency of the country in favor of [his son] the lord of Sagami [Hōjō Tokimune] and toured the various domains in order to correct the evils in the world. He did this because he was distressed that the appeals of those below were not being communicated to those above. If those above are humane, those below will never do wrong. At that time, when the officer of the fourth grade, Aotozaemon Sanekata, issued his judgment of a petition in Kamakura, a retainer of the lord of Sagami and the official in charge of records had a dispute. The lord of Sagami's retainer was wrong, but all those who conferred over the judgment, fearing Tokimune's authority, failed to determine the rights and wrongs of the case, whereas Aoto detected them precisely. At that point the records official was overjoyed and that night he dropped three hundred *kanmon* of coins into Aoto's residential grounds from the mountain behind. When Aoto saw this, he was not happy and sent it all back again. He stated, 'I would rather receive praise from the lord of Sagami. I decided the case clearly because I was thinking of him. The lord of Sagami should rejoice when the rights and wrongs of the world are corrected.'

"This type of person should be considered a samurai. In talent and wisdom, surely some are inferior to Aoto. Yet if one is inferior to Aoto in such a manner as not condoning injustice, then one cannot be called a samurai. From this perspective, a samurai is one who can be a model for the people of the world. Confucius said, 'There must be such cases, but I have not come across them.'[34] The world is large, so there must be samurai who hush up things and condone injustice. If such persons exist, they may carry swords in imitation of the samurai, but they are thieves. Taking a bribe from someone who makes a request of you is the same as a burglar boring a hole in a wall.[35] Aoto said he decided the case clearly because he was thinking of the lord of Sagami; this means that cultivating one's person, striving to perform one's duties correctly, and not doing evil is the conduct of a retainer who is loyal to his lord. Today, in this age of peace and order, how can there possibly be a samurai who is not loyal? You should realize that for a merchant to take double profits or accept money on the sly betrays a lack of filial piety and loyalty to his ancestors—and you should bear in mind that the merchant's heart should not be inferior to that of the samurai. Why should the Way of the merchant be any different from the Way of the samurai, the farmer, or the artisan? Even Mencius said, 'There is only

33. *Mencius* 1A:7.
34. *Analects* 4:6.
35. Allusion to *Analects* 17:12.

one Way.'[36] Samurai, farmers, artisans, and merchants all are creatures of Heaven. Is there more than one Way in Heaven?" [pp. 432–34]

[Ishida Baigan, *Tohi mondō*, in *NKBT*, vol. 97, pp. 435–38, 451–52, 420–25, 432–34; JS]

THE HOUSE CODES OF TOKUGAWA MERCHANT FAMILIES

The Hakata merchant Shimai Sōshitsu left his descendants a set of instructions that he claimed should be "as important to you as the Great Constitution of [Shōtoku] Taishi." He wrote those instructions in 1610, about the same time as the trader Suminokura Soan established a series of rules for the sailors whom he employed for voyages overseas (see chap. 20). These codes are among the very earliest house laws written by merchants. Military houses, of course, had possessed written codes far earlier.[37] Merchant house codes did not begin to appear in large numbers until the eighteenth century and, even then, only in wealthier and older merchant houses.

Despite the wide variations among these houses, certain generalizations about the codes are possible. When the patriarchs of the large Tokugawa merchant houses wrote codes to leave to their descendants or to use in instructing their workers, they devoted considerable attention to economic matters. In fact, they seem to have written the codes primarily to ensure the continued economic stability of their houses. Despite this concern, however, these men did not preach an entrepreneurial ethic but instead approached their businesses with a financially conservative attitude, suggesting that these merchants shared many of the samurai's philosophical assumptions. One thing they did not share, however, was a low opinion of mercantile activity, for they were, above all, self-confident men.

Many writers of merchant codes showed their concern for the future prosperity of their houses by exhorting their successors or workers (1) to work diligently, (2) to be frugal, (3) to obey the government, and (4) to protect the reputation of their houses. In these instructions, too, they reflected a Confucian ethic widely shared among most classes.

Frugality, however, is even more strongly stressed in these codes than diligence. Many worried that their heirs, who inherited their fortunes instead of earning them, would squander that wealth. Money was hard earned but easily spent, and a spendthrift could quickly waste an enormous amount of money

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36. *Mencius* 3A:1.

37. See de Bary et al., eds., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, chap. 18.

wooing a distinguished courtesan. The instructions vary from generalized comments about the wisdom of frugality to specific rules forbidding merchants to wear fancy clothes, visit the pleasure quarters, gamble, or drink excessively.

The Shimai code illustrates how parsimonious some merchants could become. Not only does Shimai Sōshitsu prohibit his heirs from going on moon-viewing and flower-viewing excursions, playing games of *go* and chess, and becoming devotees of the tea ceremony, but he also advises them to pick up bits of trash and use the pieces to make rope, plaster, or paper. He tells them never to trust their servants, and he even suggests ways of spending less money on the servants' food.

The path to luxury lay on a slippery slope, according to the writers of the codes, and it was a path that all merchants should avoid. "No one actually decides that from now on he will live extravagantly," the merchant Itō Chōjirō explains in his code. "Rather, he tells himself, 'Such-and-such would be too much, but this much is fine,' and before he knows it, he has slipped into extravagant habits."[38] And once a merchant adopts such habits, he has endangered the entire fortune of the house. In his book *Chōnin kōken roku*, Mitsui Takafusa cites the example of the Ginza merchants as a warning to his descendants:

> When they played music for nō plays or went sightseeing or on pilgrimages to temples, they wore elegant clothes. . . . Their wives and daughters rode around in palanquins, and even their ladies' maids and menservants were the height of fashion, making a splendid show. Before they knew where they were, their houses and storehouses were broken up and sold off; the lords and masters were without servants; their ladies went on foot; and the utensils were put out as pledges or auctioned off.[39]

Although the writers of the codes seem preoccupied with economic matters, they do not preach an entrepreneurial ethic. They clearly teach not boldness but caution: urging the reader not to expand the family fortune, but to guard and maintain it, and often forbidding him to change business practices or engage in risky business ventures.

Many codes specifically prohibit risky ventures or changes in business practices. The merchant houses old and rich enough to write codes seem to have considered it best to play it safe, to avoid risking their wealth for the sake of new possible profits. The testament of the founder of the Mitsui house states: "Be always careful and cautious in your work or your business will fail."[40]

Moreover, they were conservative in other ways as well, preaching a moral

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38. Yoshida, ed., *Shōka no kakun*, p. 252.

39. Crawcour, trans., "Some Observations on Merchants," p. 107.

40. Mitsui, "Chōnin kōken roku," p. 82.

philosophy that in many ways resembles the professed values of the ruling elite. They insisted on the duty they had to provide for their descendants and the debt that they owed their ancestors. "Our parents are the 'cause' of our existence," states the code of the Okaya, a Nagoya hardware-store family, and the family must "remember the debt of gratitude we owe our parents."[41]

A merchant owed service not only to his descendants and ancestors but also to his superiors within the house hierarchy. These superiors, of course, were supposed to return the service with benevolent care. A Mitsui code, for example, instructs family members in a typical Confucian manner: "Those who stand above should be kind and charitable to those below, and those who are low should be respectful to those on high."[42] According to the codes, the relationship between a clerk and his employer is a reciprocal one that echoes the way a merchant must not only repay his ancestors but also provide for his descendants.

Wealth is a result of hard work and frugal habits, many code writers imply, and any merchant who is frugal and diligent is almost certain to become rich. As Mitsui Takafusa puts it, "One who keeps working will never be poor." "Your work determines your 'luck,'" states the code of the Itō. "If you are frugal and work hard, 'luck' will reward you." And a Mitsui code assures the reader: "If you work diligently and scrupulously avoid luxury, you will ensure the prosperity of your family and descendants."[43]

[Adapted from Ramseyer, "Thrift and Diligence," pp. 209–20]

THE TESTAMENT OF SHIMAI SŌSHITSU

During the Warring States (Sengoku) period, the Shimai house of Hakata in northern Kyushu traded in saké and lent money. Then, under the leadership of Shimai Sōshitsu (1539–1615), it expanded the scope of its activities, lending even to important lords and trading with merchants in Korea. When Hideyoshi decided to invade Korea, Sōshitsu apparently tried to dissuade him, reasoning that war would disrupt his trade with the peninsula. But Hideyoshi persisted, and Sōshitsu made a handsome profit supplying his armies. Although the Shimai house safely weathered the national transition to Tokugawa rule, by then it had abandoned its own international ventures and turned to financing other traders. This code, written in 1610, is addressed to Shimai's adopted son and heir. It is in seventeen articles, and its conclusion invokes the model of Prince Shōtoku's Seventeen-Article Constitution.[44]

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41. Mitsui, "Chōnin's Life Under Feudalism," p. 72.

42. Yoshida, ed., *Shōka no kakun*, p. 252.

43. Yoshida, ed., *Shōka no kakun*, pp. 250, 83.

44. Prince Shōtoku lived from 573 to 621. See de Bary et al., eds., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, chap. 3.

1. Live an honest and sincere life. Respect your parents, Sōi and his wife, your brothers, and your relatives, and try to live harmoniously with them all. Honor and treat with respect everyone you meet, even those you see only occasionally. Never behave discourteously or selfishly. Never lie. In fact, never say anything that even resembles a lie, even something you heard from someone else. Loud and garrulous people are not liked, and such behavior is not profitable, anyway. Say nothing that might later be considered official evidence, even if you are asked about an incident that you have seen or of which you have heard. Above all, ignore anyone who criticizes or slanders someone else. Indeed, try to avoid hearing such comments at all.

2. Although those who are elderly may reasonably pray about the life to come, you should ignore all such issues until you are fifty. You may follow only the Pure Land or Zen Buddhist faiths, and you must have absolutely nothing to do with the Christian religion. . . . Such a faith is an intolerable obstacle to anyone devoted to his house. Not one person in ten understands the things of this life or of the next. Birds and beasts worry only about what is immediately before them, and humans are no different. In this life they first should make certain that they do not sully their reputations. If even Buddha himself is said to have known nothing of the world to come, how can any ordinary mortal know such things? Until you reach fifty, therefore, do not worry about the future life. . . .

3. Dice, backgammon, and all other forms of gambling are strictly forbidden in this life. Even *go*, chess, the martial arts, the nō chants, and the nō dances are forbidden for people under forty. Although those over the age of fifty may enjoy any of those entertainments, those who are younger must avoid even such amusements as trips to pine groves or rivers, or excursions for moon viewing, flower viewing, or any other form of sightseeing. If a master of the nō dance or drama holds a series of performances, you may attend perhaps two in a series of seven. If you wish to make a pilgrimage to a temple or shrine, take along a servant, but remember that the gods and Buddhas do not recognize pilgrimages undertaken even partly as recreation.

4. Until you are forty, avoid every luxury, and never act or think like one above your station in life. In matters of business and moneymaking, however, work harder than anyone else. But do not invest heavily in trading or outfit ships to send to the Chinese or to the Southern Barbarians, even though you may envy the profits that others have made trading with those people. Always behave as one whose station in life is half that of yours. Although some people may suggest that you [should] be more visible and assertive, ignore all such advice and maintain a low profile. Until you turn fifty, be temperate in all things, and avoid all ostentation and finery, anything, in fact, that might call attention to yourself. Do not cultivate expensive tastes, for you should ignore such things as the tea ceremony, swords, daggers, and fine clothes. Above all,

do not carry weapons. If you own a sword or some armor that someone gave you, sell it and carry the money instead.

Until you are forty years old, wear only material like cotton, loosely woven cloth, or knotted silk, materials that will not attract attention. As for your house, worry only about keeping it repaired, and do only such work as that of replacing rotten ropes holding together a fence or a wall. Do not build a new house unless you are over fifty. Those who are that old may build what they like and can afford. Yet most people are poor by the time they die, for fewer than one in ten or twenty who build a fortune by their own talent carry it to their graves, and those who inherit their wealth are even more likely to lose it and die impoverished. Remember this.

5. Until you are forty, do not invite out others or let others invite you out. Once or twice a year you may invite out your parents, brothers, or relatives, or go out at their invitation, but—do not forget—even this you may do only occasionally. Never, however, attend a party in the evening, even one to which your brothers invite you.

6. Do not covet other people's tools or display your own tools. You may accept a tool as a gift only if it is from a relative. Take good care of your valuables and never show them to anyone.

7. You may befriend those who enjoy mercantile work, who take good care of their family businesses, who are unobtrusive, and who are trustworthy. With such unobtrusive and fine people, you may become close friends. Conversely, you should not befriend those who are quarrelsome, who criticize others, who are ill natured and detestable, who slander government officials, who like crowds, who have a passion for shamisen music and ballads, or who talk too much. You should not even sit beside such people.

Addendum. Include masters of the martial arts in the last group of people.

8. Never wander outside the shop or visit places where you have no business being. . . . Since you will generally be in the house, you yourself should tend the morning and evening cooking fires and handle the firewood and embers. You should pick up all trash inside and behind the house, chop up the pieces of rope and short bits of trash to use in plaster, and use the long pieces to make rope. Collect and clean pieces of wood and bamboo longer than five *bu* and use them as firewood. Save all paper scraps, even pieces only three or five *bu* long, to use in making fresh paper. Do as I have done, and waste absolutely nothing.

9. When you need something, go and buy it yourself, regardless of whether it is firewood, two or three *bu* of small fish or sardines, other purchases from the seaside or the town, or even timber. Bargain for the items and pay as little as you can, but remember the range of possible prices for each item. . . . Firewood, coal, and oil are said to be essential provisions, but of these three, firewood is the most important. Since the amount of firewood used depends con-

siderably on how it is burned, you should try doing the cooking yourself so that you will know how much firewood a person needs for such regular tasks as cooking a day's worth of rice or soup. You can then give the maid only the precise amount she will need. . . .

10. In general, use few servants, especially few female ones. When wives go out, they must not take along more than one male and two female servants. If they have children, they may not dress the children in fine clothes or take along for each child more than one nurse and one maid. Nor should they take along servants carrying umbrellas or swords. They should wear small braided hats instead.

11. Keep a steady supply of coarse *miso* on hand for your servants, and when you make the *miso* soup in the mornings and evenings, carefully filter the *miso*. You should add to the residue salt and cucumbers, eggplants, gourd melons, and onions, and serve this as a side dish to the servants. You can give them the stalks as well, and when rice is expensive, you may feed them some sort of hodgepodge. But if you do give your servants such a dish, you and your wife should eat it as well. Even if you intend to eat rice, first sip at least a bit of the hodgepodge, for your servants will resent it if you do not. In fact, in everything you do, you must consider how your servants will react. People always used to do so. Even my mother did, and thus when I was young, I always ate what my servants ate. . . .

13. Those with even a small fortune must remember that their duty in life is to devote themselves to their house and its business. They must not become careless, for if they buy what they want, do as they please, and, in general, live sumptuously, they will soon spend that fortune. They may be shocked at their loss, and they may regret that they were not more careful, but they will no longer have the funds to run a business. The fortune they should have guarded carefully will be gone, and they will have little choice but to beg. . . .

Although a samurai can draw on the produce of his tenured lands to earn his livelihood, a merchant must rely on the profit from his business, for without that profit, the money in his bags would soon disappear. No matter how much profit he makes and packs into his bags, however, if he continually wastes that money, he may as well pack it into bags full of holes. Remember this.

14. Rise early in the morning, and go to bed as soon as the sun sets, for you will waste oil if you burn lamps during evenings when you have nothing important to do. Never wander about at night if you have nothing to do. And never stay long when you visit people, whether during the day or during the evening. Deal with pressing business at once, and never think, "I'll do it later," or "I'll do it tomorrow." Never procrastinate.

15. As much as possible, do things yourself. Rather than send someone else after an item, for example, get it yourself. And when you travel, carry things such as your bags and inkstone box yourself. If you need to travel only three or five *ri*, walk instead of riding a horse, for merchants should travel by foot as

much as possible. When I was young, I never rode a horse. During your trips, record such information as the distance traveled and the amounts paid for horses, board, meals, and ferries, for then you can anticipate the expenses involved when you send someone else. In fact, you should remember even the names of the innkeepers. Although you may buy things for your friends and relatives during these trips if you absolutely must, you may transact no other unofficial business. Never violate this rule.

16. No matter what meeting you are attending, if a fierce argument breaks out, leave at once. It is, of course, a different matter if your brothers or relatives are involved, but otherwise go home immediately. Avoid all possible quarrels, and even if someone treats you rudely or otherwise insults you, ignore him. If people call you a coward for avoiding a fight, tell them that to violate Sōshitsu's Seventeen-Point Testament would be tantamount to breaking an oath.

17. Live in harmony with your wife, for the two of you must work together diligently. Both of you should live modestly and carefully and consider always the good of the house and its business. A contentious, unhappy marriage destroys a house, for it distracts the husband and wife from their work. . . .

Addendum. Since you will accomplish nothing if your health is poor, you should take medicine and have moxa applied five or six times a year.

These seventeen articles were written not for Sōshitsu's sake but for yours. They are his testament, and you should follow them closely. They should be as important to you as the Great Constitution of Prince Shōtoku. Read them every day, or even twice a day, and be careful to forget nothing. Write a vow on the back of a votive tablet promising never to violate any of the articles and put it in my coffin when I die.

Keichō 15 [1610], 1st month, 15th day
Kyohaku [Shimai] Sōshitsu [seal]
To: Kamiya Tokuzaemon [adopted son of Sōshitsu]

[Yoshida, ed., *Shōka no kakun*, pp. 35–62; trans. adapted from Ramseyer, "Thrift and Diligence," pp. 210–26]

THE CODE OF THE OKAYA HOUSE

A samurai named Sōshichi founded the Okaya house when he moved to Nagoya and started a hardware store. The business grew gradually until it flourished eight generations later under the leadership of the author of this code, Okaya Sanezumi, who wrote it in 1836.

1. Remember your duties to your parents.

We cannot distinguish between cause and effect unless we remember that our parents are the "cause" of our existence. Neither can we make filial piety

the "cause" of our actions unless we remember the debt of gratitude we owe our parents.

2. Honor your superiors.

Everyone, young or old, should consider the distinctions between master and servant and between superior and inferior to be basic, and so honor those above him.

3. Maintain peace within the neighborhood.

Peace in a neighborhood depends on peace in each house, but peace in a house depends on the attitudes of its members. If each person in your house maintains a healthy attitude and works faithfully, everyone will be on good terms with his colleagues, and your house will win the respect of the neighborhood.

4. Instruct your descendants.

Teach your children when they are young to lead pure lives. Teach them to obey their parents, to respect their elders, never to tell even a small lie, to move about quietly, never to neglect their work, to be always alert, never to walk about aimlessly, and never to dress or eat extravagantly.

5. Be content with your Way.

Samurai study the martial arts and work in the government. Farmers till their lands and pay their taxes. Artisans work at their family industries and pass on to their children the family traditions. Merchants have trading as their duty and must trade diligently and honestly. Each of the four classes has its own Way, and that Way is the true Way.

6. Avoid bad behavior.

Although the world is limitless, everything in it is either good or bad. That which follows the Way is good, while that which goes against it is bad.

Revised: Tenpō 7 [1836], 7th month, auspicious day.
Okaya Sanezumi

[Yoshida, ed., *Shōka no kakun*, pp. 114–24; trans. adapted from Ramseyer, "Thrift and Diligence," pp. 227–30]

IHARA SAIKAKU

Ihara Saikaku (1642–1693), a poet and novelist, wrote voluminously for a popular audience about the life of the townspeople, dominated by sex and money, often referred to as the "floating world," celebrated also at this time in the drama of Chikamatsu Monzaemon and in the arts by the famous *ukiyo-e* (woodblock prints). Saikaku's works reflect the ethos and lifestyle of the merchant class and the ebullient sensuous culture produced by the new affluence of thriving commercial centers like Osaka, Kyoto, and Edo.

Much of Saikaku's writing shows a fascination with the complexity, perversity, and foibles of human nature, about which he often makes wry and sardonic

comments. Relatively uninfluenced by Confucianism, and by no means an unqualified exponent even of the merchant ethic, Saikaku is skeptical, too, about people's religious motivations as identified with Buddhism and Shinto. These reservations indeed provide a perspective for his own ironic observations on the life of the merchant: driven by the pursuit of profit but eventually succumbing to the self-indulgence and luxuriance that success and affluence afford. If hard work and single-minded concentration on acquiring wealth produce worldly success, this merchant ethic nevertheless leads to its own undoing. Only the wisest of men can escape these inevitable consequences of such passionate involvements with a life so seductive.

THE JAPANESE FAMILY STOREHOUSE (*NIHON EITAIGURA*)

The following are excerpted from a collection of tales about the lives of Japanese merchants.

Riding to Success on a Lucky Horse

Heaven says nothing, and the whole earth grows rich beneath its silent rule.[45] Men, too, are touched by Heaven's virtue; yet in their greater part, they are creatures of deceit. They are born, it seems, with an emptiness of soul and must take their qualities wholly from things without. To be born thus empty into this modern age, this mixture of good and ill, and yet to steer through life on an honest course to the splendor of success—this is a feat reserved for paragons of our kind, a task beyond the nature of the normal man.

But the first consideration for all throughout life is earning a living. And in this matter, each one of us must bow before the shrine of the Heavenly Goddess of Thrift (not Shinto priests alone, but samurai, farmers, traders, artisans, and even Buddhist bonzes), and we must husband gold and silver as the deity enjoins. Although mothers and fathers give us life, it is money alone that preserves it.

But in the longest estimate, the life of man is a day that knows no tomorrow. To some it seems a day cut short at eventide. Heaven and earth, the poets say, are but a wayside inn for Time, a traveler, on journey through the ages, and our fleeting lives are phantoms in Time's dreams.[46] People will tell us that when we die and vanish in a moment's wisp of smoke, all our gold is less than dross and buys us nothing in the world beyond. It is true enough, and yet—is not what we leave behind of service to our sons and our posterity? And while we

45. Echo of a passage from the Chinese classic *Lun-yü*, *Yang Ho P'ien*: "Does heaven speak? The four seasons come and go, and the earth yields its fruits. Does heaven speak?"

46. Translation of a poem by the Chinese poet Li Bo, included in the *Kobun shinpō*, Xulei.

live (to take a shorter view) how many of life's desirable things is it not within the power of gold to grant us? In all the world there are five[47] perhaps, no more than that. Has any treasure that we see on prints of treasure ships more power? Those invisible-making hats and capes, for instance, worn by devils on an island no one has ever seen—they would leak as much as any in a cloudburst. So lay aside your dreams of things beyond man's reach, turn your minds to what lies close at hand, and work with a will at the trade you have chosen. Since luck and profit come only to those who persevere, let none of you squander a moment in sloth between dawn and dusk.

Above all you must make humanity and rightness the basis of your conduct, and worship the gods and the Buddhas. This is the custom of Japan.

It was the day of the horse, the first in the second moon. Through the spring haze shrouding the hills men and women, rich and poor, were making their way on pilgrimage to the shrine of Kannon at Mizuma Temple in Izumi Province. None went in search of enlightenment. The road they trod together was the road of greed. Passing along endless mossy byways and over weary new-swaled wastes of reed and mugwort and coming in time to this desolate village, still bare of any form of blossom, they made their vows to the temple's Buddha—but their prayers were mere requests for wealth, varying only in the quantity that each considered his due. Even for Kannon the thought of replying to them all, one by one, was too much. Instead, a general pronouncement was made, in a miraculous voice issuing from behind the sacred alcove's curtain.

"Nowadays, in this vale of sorrow," it said, "there is no such thing as easy money, and it is obvious enough, without your asking me, what each must do. You country people have your allotted means and skills. The men must dig the fields; the women must weave at the loom; and each must work at his task from dawn to dusk. To every one of you I say the same."

But (such is human stupidity) even this inspired advice failed to sink into the pilgrims' ears. . . .

All human beings have eyes and noses, and all alike are born with hands and feet. But in one respect the ordinary townsman is different from the nobility, the great military families, and the practitioners of the various arts: his hopes of worldly fame rest solely on the acquisition of money. It is a pitiful thing for him if he works from early youth and dies without the reputation of a man of wealth. Birth and lineage mean nothing: money is the only tree for a townsman. A man may be descended from the noblest of the Fujiwara, but if he dwells among shopkeepers and lives in poverty, he is lower than a vagabond monkey trainer. There is no alternative for a townsman: he must pray for wealth and

47. Elements of life borrowed from various Buddhas at birth and returned at death. According to one source they are bones, flesh, blood, sinews, and breath; according to another, they are heart, liver, spleen, lungs, and kidney.

aim to be a millionaire. To be a millionaire he must have the will of a hero, the heart to climb a great mountain. He must also, even to rise to middling wealth, employ good clerks. . . .

But an ordinary man who enjoys good health and makes a living sufficient for his needs and station can be yet more fortunate than the greatest of millionaires. A household may be rich and prosperous, but if it lacks a son to succeed or if death has separated master and mistress, its happiness will not be complete. Disappointments of this and many other kinds are common enough in our world.

In a village at the foot of the hills to the north of Kyoto lived a celebrated family, the envy of all, known as "The Three Couples." First there were the grandfather and grandmother, still safely together after all the years; then there was their son, with the new wife he had taken; and last the grandson, and he too had grown up and was married. The three husbands and three wives lived together in the same house, and in each case the man and his wife had been childhood friends before their marriage. Few parallels could be found for such good fortune. When the grandfather reached the [auspicious] age of eighty-eight, his wife was eighty-one; the second couple were fifty-seven and forty-nine; the third were twenty-six and eighteen. Not once in their lives had any of them suffered the slightest illness, and what is more, they had always lived together in perfect harmony. They were farmers, and their paddy fields, tilled land, cattle, horses, and rows of adjoining houses for men and women helpers were such as farmers dream of; and since they had been granted tax exemption, every harvest they reaped was for themselves alone. Living thus in perfect contentment, worshiping the gods and holding the Buddhas in deep reverence, their hearts came naturally to be endowed with every virtue. . . .

Money is still to be found in certain places, and where it lies, it lies in abundance. Whenever I heard stories about it, I noted them in my great national stock-book, and in order that future generations might study them and profit thereby, I placed them in a storehouse to serve each family's posterity. Here they now rest, as securely guarded as the peace of Japan.

[Adapted from Sargent, trans., *The Japanese Family Storehouse*, pp. 13–14, 144–46]

MITSUI TAKAFUSA

The following excerpt is from a work compiled in 1727/1728 by a scion of the famous Mitsui merchant house, Mitsui Takafusa (1684–1748), and his father, Takahira (1653–1737). It contains accounts of about fifty once-wealthy merchant families of Kyoto now impoverished by their gradual neglect of business, extravagance, injudicious lending and borrowing, and speculation.

The context of these cautionary tales is of a feudal society composed of hereditary classes expected to perform their customary roles, but it assumes that

the rise and fall of families is a universal phenomenon. The preface excerpted here cites the experience of Chinese dynasties and of Japanese military shogunates as equally relevant to Kyoto merchants. Advice to the merchants, however, is quite specific with regard to their conduct of business and is not clearly based on any Confucian or Buddhist ethic.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ABOUT MERCHANTS (*CHŌNIN KŌKEN ROKU*)

The world is divided into four classes—samurai,[48] farmers, artisans, and merchants. Each man works at his calling, and his descendants carry on the business and establish the family. Merchants in particular, although divided into various lines of business, are all concerned primarily with the profit to be earned on money. In rural areas, merchants pay deference to their provincial lords and squires. When they look at their superiors, they see no great splendor and so do not get carried away. Thus most of them work at their business generation after generation. As for the merchants of Kyoto, Edo, and Osaka, the founder of the firm, starting either in a country area or as someone's clerk, gradually works his way up, expands his business, and, with the idea of leaving a fortune to his descendants, lives frugally all his life, paying no heed to anything but his family business. After he has built up a record of difficulties and sufferings, his son inherits the family business. Having learned from observing his father's frugality and having passed his formative years while the house was still not so prosperous, he just manages to keep things intact during his lifetime. When it comes to the grandchildren's time, however, having been brought up after the family already had become rich and knowing nothing of physical hardships or of the value of money, they unconsciously pick up the ways of the world, get big ideas, leave their family business to others, and pass their time in idleness. With their personal expenses mounting, they gradually grow older. Even if they pay attention to their business affairs, they do not know how to run them. While letting their expenses rise, they borrow ready money from other people. The usual thing is for them to gradually become saddled with interest payments and to end by ruining their houses. We know from our own observation that notable merchant houses of Kyoto generally are ruined in the second or third generation and disappear from the scene. The old sayings "Some begin well, but few end well" and "When you are in safety, do not forget dangers" are applicable to one

48. The identification of the leadership class as samurai (*shi*) follows the typical Japanese understanding and ignores the considerable difference from Chinese literati (*shi*) at this time.

who in his own generation starts up a family business and becomes rich. How much more do they apply to one who receives his father's savings by inheritance and has had wealth from his upbringing? . . .

In his august testament, the divine Lord Tōshō[49] graciously expressed his feelings thus: "When the country is in a state of war, one behaves prudently and does not relax one's vigilance. As one works at governing the country, both one's own retainers and the people at large are kept well under control. In times of peace, however, both ruler and people grow lax and forget their tribulations, and it therefore is hard to maintain good government." Such famous sayings are numerous in both ancient and present times.

Moreover, Lord Yoritomo[50] may have created a model for military leaders, but his son Lord Yoriie[51] was fond of football,[52] and Lord Sanetomo[53] devoted himself to Japanese poetry. Neglecting its government, the family finally lost the country in their third reign. The Ashikaga shogun[54] quelled the great disturbance that had continued for more than forty years and gained control of the country. Although his family passed on the shogunate for more than ten reigns,[55] the fifth shogun, Lord Yoshimasa,[56] neglected his duties and was fond of the tea ceremony and entertainments, with the result that the Ōnin rebellion[57] broke out. Finally, the Ashikaga became shoguns in name only and might as well not have existed. The declines and falls of various other houses were exactly the same. By neglecting their duties, they brought to naught the great works of their founders. How much truer is this of merchants! Farmers and artisans keep their families going for several generations because they would lose their livelihood immediately if they relaxed for even a day. Naturally, therefore, they work hard. Merchants are the only ones who after a time leave things to clerks and, neglecting the family business as generation succeeds generation, eventually lose their estates. Just as "the tipping over of the leading cart is a

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49. Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616) was the founder of the Tokugawa shogunate. The work referred to is the *Tōshōgū goyuikun*, compiled about 1614, an unauthorized collection of a series of political instructions dictated by Ieyasu for the benefit of his successor, Hidetada. The passage is not a direct quotation but the gist of Ieyasu's opinion.

50. Minamoto Yoritomo (1542–1616) was the founder of the Kamakura shogunate.

51. Yoriie was the second Minamoto shogun.

52. *Kemari*, of Chinese origin, was a game in which the players tried to keep in motion a ball made of deerskin on a bamboo frame.

53. Sanetomo was the third Minamoto shogun, brother of Yoriie.

54. Ashikaga Takauji (1305–1358) was the founder of the Muromachi shogunate.

55. There were sixteen Ashikaga shoguns over 235 years.

56. Ashikaga Yoshimasa (1436–1490) was actually the eighth Ashikaga shogun.

57. The Ōnin War broke out in 1467.

warning to the following cart,"[58] in this spirit I record here briefly what I have seen and heard of the rise and fall of merchants of Kyoto.

[Adapted from Crawcour, trans., "Some Observations on Merchants," pp. 31–34]

MURO KYŪSŌ

The so-called Six Instructions or Precepts (drawn originally from the works of Zhu Xi for popular instruction) were first promulgated officially by the founder of the Ming dynasty in the fourteenth century, at which time they became best known in the Ming as an imperial instruction subsequently renewed as the so-called Sacred Edict of the Kangxi emperor in the early Qing period.[59] Intended for popular instruction—part of what came to be known as "Village Lectures" in the Ming and Qing periods—these instructions underwent successive adaptations and expositions in the vernacular, one of which, the *Extended Meaning of the Six Precepts* (*Liuyu yanyi*), by the late Ming scholar Fan Hong, reached Japan by way of the Ryūkyūs in the time of the Tokugawa shogun Yoshimune. Yoshimune had Ogyū Sorai punctuate Fan's text in Japanese style and had Muro Kyūsō (1658–1734) translate it into the Japanese vernacular, which he did with the assistance of a professional translator from Nagasaki who was more expert in the Ming vernacular.

Kyūsō's *The General Sense of the Extended Meaning of the Six Precepts* (*Liuyu yanyi dayi*) was not, however, simply a translation of Fan Hong's work but a digest in the same genre as Xu Heng's digest of Zhu Xi's *Elementary Learning* (*Xiao xue dayi*) and other works by Zhu Xi summarized by Xu in vernacular form for the Mongol emperor Khubilai. Fan's *Extended Meaning*, by contrast, expanded on the Six Precepts in the same way as Zhen Dexiu had done in his *Extended Meaning of the Great Learning* (*Daxue yanyi*). Thus popularization underwent successive phases of expansion and contraction.

Kyūsō was both a strong adherent of Zhu Xi and a notable advocate of Zhu's ideal of universal schooling—for women as well as men. In this light, Kyūsō's *General Sense* may be seen as a fair and sympathetic representation of Zhu's overall intent. Sorai, conversely, was critical of Zhu Xi, had doubts about the wisdom of raising people's political consciousness through popular education, and opposed the dissemination of the *Extended Meaning of the Six Precepts*.

Subsequently, the shogun Yoshimune authorized the promulgation of Kyūsō's *General Sense of the Extended Meaning of the Six Precepts* not only to his own domains but to outer ones as well. More than forty versions were in

58. One should learn, that is, from the mistakes of predecessors. The quotation is from the *Han shu, jiayi chuan*.

59. See de Bary and Bloom, eds., *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, chap. 21, and vol. 2, chap. 25.

print and still extant in the Meiji period. Indeed, the code of the Okaya merchant house, presented earlier, is based on the same Six Precepts. They also became a prime source for the celebrated Imperial Rescript on Education of the Emperor Meiji, even though few scholars today are aware of its origin or the successive adaptations of the *Six Precepts*.

The Meiji version stresses loyalty to the emperor, which is lacking in Zhu Xi's original, which emphasizes filial piety as the common human ground of public morality and says nothing about loyalty to the ruler. Kyūsō's version is faithful to that of Zhu Xi. If he had wished to promote loyalty to the ruler, he might have done so in his vernacular exposition of the second precept, excerpted here. Instead, he kept to Zhu Xi's original concept of family and communitarian roles, not loyalty to the state or emperor. In a postface to his *General Sense*, Kyūsō states:

> The *Rites of Zhou* speaks of people meeting for the reading of the laws, and later worthies [especially Zhu Xi] spoke of community compact meetings. These were to supplement education in the schools so as to support and sustain public morality. . . . But after the school system ceased to be maintained [as provided in the *Rites* and advocated by Zhu Xi], the people received instruction only by government edict, so the ruler had to worry about how effectively his efforts at edification reached down into the villages. Laws proliferated, punishments increased, regulations multiplied, and enforcement became more strictly detailed [to no avail]. . . . Then in the Ming there was a plethora of imperial admonitions and edicts, of laws and regulations promulgated throughout the land, which were followed by the Six Precepts of the Qing emperor [Kang Xi] for the regulation of his conquered empire and for emulation by his subjects. But how could this be done with barbarians imposing on the civilized Chinese? As it happened, however, Fan Hong of Huiji had [already] written his *Extended Meaning of the Six Precepts* in vernacular Chinese, which served the educational purpose well.

Kyūsō then explains that his work in Japanese may serve the same purpose for Japan, which claims to be a "land of Confucian noble men."

THE GENERAL SENSE OF THE EXTENDED MEANING OF THE SIX PRECEPTS (*RIKUYU ENGI TAII*)

Muro Kyūsō's vernacular Japanese commentary stays close to Fan Hong's version, which itself keeps to the original Six Precepts without the more legalistic and bureaucratic additions of the Qing. As such, Kyūsō's interpretation reflects Zhu Xi's original

emphasis on filiality as the basis of public morality. Had he been inclined to substitute loyalty to the ruler for filiality, the natural place to have done so would have been in his interpretation of the second maxim, respect for seniors and superiors, extending it upward to include those on high. In the following discussion of "respect your seniors and superiors," Kyūsō did not do this but kept to Zhu Xi's basic family and communitarian model and did not go along with the Qing adaptation of the Precepts to serve the purposes of the ruler and his state—or, it may be added, with the inclination of other Tokugawa-period thinkers who, writing for samurai and not commoners, put the virtue of loyalty to one's lord ahead of filial piety.

The Six Precepts are

1. Be filial and obedient to your parents.
2. Respect your seniors and superiors.
3. Harmonize and cooperate with your community.
4. Instruct your children and grandchildren.
5. Be content with your own livelihood.
6. Do nothing you shouldn't do.

Following the rendering of filial service to one's parents, respect for one's seniors and superiors comes next as the second precept. "Seniors and superiors" means people older in age and higher in standing, that is, people "above us." First of all, in the family, come those kinfolk senior in age, regardless of whether they are male or female. However, the Way of respecting seniors begins with one's older brothers and sisters. Here "those above us" means those born ahead of us. In the case of someone who takes the place of one's father, the one to be respected next to one's parents may not be one's older brother. For instance, on the death of one's father, usually it is the senior member of the extended family (*honke*), perhaps in another household, who disposes of the family finances and property. Nevertheless, one must still accept the judgments of one's elder brother. In that disposition of things, there must be no less intimate affection between brothers. Even if the older brother is no good and does one wrong, the Way of the Younger Brother must be fulfilled; one must never show disrespect to one's older brother. Besides that, with those who serve as foster parents (father or mother), older members of the same extended family, one should fulfill the forms of ritual respect due each of them and never subject them to any indignity. . . .

Moreover, in other cases those of the same generation and age as one's father are to be respected on the same level as one's father, and those of the same age as one's older brother are likewise to be respected the same as he. . . . Furthermore, among those to be considered "senior and superior," it is hardly necessary to say, there are persons whose conduct is correct and who are worthy to serve

as a mirror for others, as well as those with exceptional knowledge and abilities, worthy to serve as a teacher to others—these are especially to be respected. Also, those who may stand higher than oneself include the aged and infirm, even if they are not of great virtue or ability; if they have established themselves in a status superior to one's own, they are to be regarded as "senior and superior" and entitled to all forms of ritual respect. . . . From of old, men of high station, men of worth and wisdom, men of great age—they have been regarded as among the three [types] Meriting Full Respect, persons to be respected anywhere in the world.

[Muro Kyūsō, *Rikuyu engi taii*, in *Nihon kyōiku bunko*, pp. 548–84; WTdB]

HOSOI HEISHŪ

Hosoi Heishū (1728–1801) was the younger son of a wealthy peasant in the rural village of Hirashima in Owari. He spent the first nine years of his life in his native village, where he so distinguished himself as a student at the local temple school that on the recommendation of the priest, his father sent him to Nagoya and then to Kyoto for further study with private tutors. There Heishū received his formal education in the Confucian classics and the Song commentaries. As a young man, he gave formal lectures to the sons of daimyo and high-ranking samurai on the Way of the sages. When he spoke to commoners, however, Heishū used colloquial language and illustrated his message with examples that would be readily understood and enjoyed. Wherever he went, his lectures appear to have been received with great enthusiasm by audiences numbering in the thousands.

Central to Heishū's teaching is the concept of *makoto*, an important value in the Shinto religion and one that would have been familiar to Heishū's listeners. *Makoto* expressed the idea that there is an innate purity in nature and, in man, is the foundation of the ethical nature of Heaven-and-earth. All creatures are born with *makoto*, so a newborn baby is pure. Only in his life on earth is a person polluted by evil. People who retain *makoto* are in sympathy with one another and with nature, and this sympathy gives rise to peace and harmony in human society and in the natural world as well.

Heishū directs many of his remarks to women. His message closely resembles that of the *Great Learning for Women* attributed to Kaibara Ekken, which was a blueprint for the upbringing of women in the samurai class. In colloquial language directed at commoners, Heishū emphasizes that parents should not spoil their daughters in childhood, for otherwise girls will develop into self-willed, luxury-loving women who cannot adjust to the demands of society when they grow up and marry. Indeed, he is quite outspoken about his low regard for women in general. A woman can redeem herself only by becoming a good wife.

SERMON, DECEMBER 14, 1783

From the seventeenth century, the central Tokugawa government (*bakufu*) and the domain governments employed Confucian scholars to address samurai formally assembled in lecture halls built for the purpose, but when those lectures were opened to commoners in the early eighteenth century, very few people could understand them. Therefore, to attract a wide audience of commoners, the authorities also supported popular preachers who could translate the message of the Confucian lecturers into terms that would be understandable to ordinary people. Some of these preachers drew large audiences who listened intently to their sermons. Under the aegis of the Owari domain government, Hosoi Heishū delivered a popular sermon in the city of Nagoya on December 14, 1783, excerpts from which are translated here.

I would like to talk to you today about the meaning of learning. Please listen carefully to what I have to say. Learning is the perception of reason; it is through reason that we know the difference between good and evil. We can achieve reason by studying the classics. I myself have come to understand reason from books, and I give talks to lords about its meanings.

The number of books in the world is staggering. All of you here, men and women alike, whether you are warriors, artisans, or merchants, are far too busy to study the classics on your own. You couldn't possibly read them all, and it would take me a long time, months in fact, just to summarize them for you. I certainly couldn't do it in a day or two.

I can make you understand far more easily by telling you a few stories. Learning is not something that can be found only in books; you can find it in your daily lives as well. Everything around you contains great teachings if you only look for them.

Of all creatures in the universe, man is the most blessed. He alone is good at heart, and his goodness comes from *makoto*. Because of *makoto* man is born free from evil. An example of *makoto* is the relationship between mother and child. A mother cherishes her child. If she leaves the child with another woman while she goes to the toilet, the child will cry for her, and no amount of comforting will console him. The child will stop crying only when the mother returns. He will be happy then, even if she scolds him for crying. The child is innocent; his only desire is to be close to his mother. Likewise, the mother loves her child and is happy. Their feelings for each other are an expression of *makoto*. Human beings must never lose such innocence and purity, for without it they will become evil.

The lessons of nature are all around us and teach us about *makoto*. In every year there are four seasons. Spring is warm; summer is hot; autumn is cool; winter is cold. It has been that way for millions of years. While there is some variation—such as an occasional cold day in spring or summer—the general pattern remains the same. Spring weather makes the seeds sprout. Summer

brings thunderstorms and, along with them, cicadas and mosquitoes. The sun rises in the east; the moon waxes and wanes. Everything follows the laws of nature that emanate from *makoto*. . . .

The foundation of all human relationships was laid down by our ancestral gods, Izanagi and Izanami. Those two gods gave birth to many deities, and from their descendants human beings were born. We can see from this creation story that marriage between a husband and wife is the most fundamental of all human relationships.[60] . . . Because their relationship is the basis of all other relationships, it is vitally important that a husband and wife be guided by *makoto*. A husband loves his wife, and she in turn respects him. The husband goes out to work, and the wife stays home to take care of the house. . . .

Now it is one thing if the wife's attitude stems from frugality, but that is seldom the case. In general, because relations with the outside world are a man's responsibility, men try to live up to their duties and obligations, while women do not understand them at all. If the wife's real concern is for the family budget, she can economize on her own clothing and cosmetics, rather than on social obligations. Women seldom do that. . . .

The husband earns money by the sweat of his brow, and he has to work very hard just to support his family. Only an ignorant and selfish wife could fail to appreciate his efforts. Such a woman is blind to her husband's anguish. She indulges herself with expensive clothes instead of helping her husband meet his social obligations.

There is no need for women to be extravagant in their dress. By nature, males are better looking than females, anyway. Take birds, for example. A cock has far prettier feathers than a hen. Male birds, in general, are more beautiful than female birds, and the same is true of humans. Men are simply better looking than women. They are born that way, and women should accept it. Consider how ugly a woman would look if she did not use cosmetics and shaved her head or dressed up in men's clothing. She would certainly not look as nice as a man does. . . .

There is a saying that it is the lot of girls to be obedient. When she is young, a girl must obey her parents. When she is married, she must obey her husband. When she grows old, she must obey her sons. These are the three obligations of a woman, and like it or not, it is a fact of life. You must be careful to prepare your daughters to fulfill their obligations. . . .

All human relations must be based on harmony. This applies not only to the members of a family but to all of society. Each member of a family—father,

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60. Among the Five Human Relationships, the parent–child relationship, seen as the starting point at birth of any given life, usually has first priority (*Mencius* and *Mean*). But some texts (*Classic of Filiality*) and scholars in both China and Japan emphasize the primacy of the conjugal relations as essential to conception and procreation, even before birth takes place.

son, son-in-law, daughter-in-law—has individual needs and desires. But nothing can be gained if each one insists on having his own way without compromise. I'm not saying that such individual wishes are necessarily bad, only that every person has a place in society and that if we are to fulfill our roles we must try to achieve harmony. . . .

A poem by the cloistered emperor Go-Mizunoo[61] goes as follows:

Having *makoto*,
An old man collects
The last grains of rice
From the bottom of the bowl
And gives them to his wife.

To share one's food with others is true *makoto*. This poem shows that even very poor people have *makoto*. A poor old couple share their meager rations with each other. When the old man in the poem can get only a spoonful of rice from the pan, he gives it to his old wife rather than eating it himself. This is an expression of *makoto*. That is what the poem means.

In general, people who make a great display of their sincerity are not really sincere. They do not have *makoto*; they only pretend to have it. If a person truly has *makoto*, it will be seen in all aspects of his life, in his business dealings and in his work. That is the basis of human ethics. . . .

As I have emphasized many times in this talk, *makoto* is a gift of heaven. You must make a sincere effort to preserve it. If we all abide by this rule, we can avoid bad deeds. I have a lot more to tell you, but it's getting late, and so I will end on this point.

[Hosoi Heishū, *Heishū zenshū*, pp. 915–49; trans. adapted from Aoki and Dardess, "The Popularization of Samurai Values," pp. 393–413]

HOW TO BEHAVE AT TEMPLE SCHOOLS

Much of elementary learning and literacy in the Tokugawa period was provided at so-called temple schools (*terakoya*), but usually not by Buddhist clergy. It consisted of conventional guidance and proverbial wisdom couched in maxims such as are recorded here, a few of them surviving from earlier texts like Annen's *Precepts for the Young* (*Dōjikyō*) that show a certain continuity of traditional lore. Noticeably missing, however, is anything like the priority Annen attached to Buddhist religious goals and their transcendence over human concerns in the Heian period. Instead, these maxims emphasize "the Human Way," and

61. Emperor Go-Mizunoo (1596–1680).

the basic texts of the temple schools almost universally accepted in the Tokugawa period are the Confucian *Classic of Filial Piety*, Zhu Xi's *Elementary Learning*, and the Four Books of Neo-Confucianism. The precepts themselves, though nondenominational, amply attest to what was known in the twentieth century as the "Confucian ethic" common to East Asian peoples, which stresses strict morality, frugality, hard work, and the importance of education.

Several of the following maxims appeal to the sense of shame, a fact that may help explain why some Western writers have characterized Confucianism as a "shame ethic." It is true that such references go as far back as Confucius and Mencius, but other considerations weigh no less heavily on the Confucian conscience, including the senses of commiseration, deference and respect, and right and wrong (as in Mencius's sprouts of virtue, 6A:6).

PRECEPTS FOR THE YOUNG (*DŌJIKYŌ*)

To be born human and not be able to write is to be less than human. Illiteracy is a form of blindness. It brings shame on your teacher, shame on your parents, and shame on yourself. The heart of a child of three stays with him until he is a hundred, as the proverb says. Determine to succeed, study with all your might, never forgetting the shame of failure.

Goodness and badness depend on the company you keep. Cooperate with one another to behave yourselves as you should; check in yourselves any tendencies to be attracted to evil ways; and put all your heart into your brushwork.

At your desks, let there be no useless idle talk, or yawning or stretching, or dozing or picking your nose, or chewing paper, or biting the end of your brush. To imitate the idle is the road to evil habits. Just concentrate wholeheartedly on your writing, giving each character the care it deserves.

Never write too fast. There never yet was a hothead who earned fame and success. Write your characters firmly, deliberately, and quietly.

Don't lean on your desk, or rest your elbow, or write just with the tips of your fingers, or easily and automatically without concentration. You will never develop a good hand if you do. Put all your effort into every character, making sure you hold your brush properly and giving proper attention to each stroke.

One who treats his brushes or his paper without due respect will never progress. The boy who uses carefully even the oldest, most worn-out brush is the one who will succeed. Treat your brushes carefully.

Don't litter the floor around you with scraps of paper. Keep your desks and your drawer neat and tidy and don't spill ink.

Torn and dirty clothes look bad. Even more they are a sign of a torn and dirty spirit. Always behave with proper decorum so that your clothes do not get torn.

Mischievous pranks benefit no one. One thing leads to another and fighting results. You should always be ready to admit your own faults and learn to control yourself. Sumo wrestling, arm wrestling, leg wrestling, tugs of war, and such games of strength are unbecoming to young children and are forbidden.

Don't run about on the banks of ditches or rivers, near walls, or verandas, stone steps, or platforms. To do so is unfilial conduct, for it is the beginning of filial piety to take care and preserve yourself from injury. Behave with proper gravity and avoid roughness.

Ill-natured pupils can never learn to write a good hand. Honor your parents, revere your teacher, respect your elders, and be kind to your juniors, for this is the heart and origin of the Human Way. Follow the rules of correct etiquette, and use polite language even among friends.

Purity of heart is of the first importance. Those who come to school to learn the Human Way with mud on their boots and ink on their hands and faces smudged like used practice paper show great disrespect. Grubbiness in others should be a warning to yourself and an incentive to take proper care.

A pupil who keeps his hair properly in place, his kimono properly folded across the front, his belt properly tied, and his teeth properly white is a model for all and a testimony to the training of his teacher and his parents. You should always remember this and avoid untidiness of dress.

A friend is to a friend as a brother to brother, as a fish is to water. Be nice to your friends and always put their interests first at the expense of your own.

A child who is overclever and tells untruths will end up as a criminal. Never tell untruths and never hide the truth, even in fun.

Luxurious habits begin with the palate. Eat what you are given without fads and complaints. Any child who buys food in secret is guilty of unworthy conduct and can expect to be expelled.

You will never write a good hand unless you learn to practice and go on practicing even when you are cold and hungry. Don't overeat. Meanness of spirit starts with the indulgence of appetite. Eat only what you are given.

The lazy are always eager to eat, like a starved monkey gobbling nuts, as the old proverb says. It is the mark of the idle child to be always wanting to go for tea and water even when he is neither hungry nor thirsty, to be always going to the lavatory even when he has no need to go, but only as a pretext for play. This is mean and unworthy conduct of which you should be thoroughly ashamed.

Nobody likes a child who smokes or drinks saké or is always sipping tea. And those who are disliked by their fellowmen in the end incur the wrath of Heaven. To those who are liked by their fellows the gods also afford protection. This is clear as day. In this as in all other things, carefully avoid making yourself disliked.

When you need something say so clearly and precisely. Never under any circumstances take things from other people without telling them, even a single

sheet of paper. It is also strictly forbidden for pupils to buy and sell things from one another, and you should refrain from taking things from younger pupils.

A three-inch axle pin takes a cart a thousand miles. A three-inch tongue can be the ruin of a body five feet tall. No one hates the crow because he is black, only because he is obstreperous. Take heed from this. Useless gossip, rude language, [and] shouting are the marks of beggars and outcasts. There must be no uncalled-for remarks, telling tales, butting in, provocative questioning, nasty innuendo, talking behind people's backs. Accusations and whispering that embarrass others are signs of a wicked nature.

It is an idle child who speaks ill of his home at school and, when he goes home, talks disparagingly of his school—all to cover his own wrongdoing. Be on your guard against this.

Be careful where you tread and what you touch. When walking about the room, opening doors or lining up desks, move quietly and carefully.

Be careful not to put on other people's sandals and clogs. It is the height of rudeness. If you should happen to do so by mistake, always apologize properly.

Avoid rough or quarrelsome companions. In your dealings with them, speak politely and without provocation. Fences and fights never have just one side, as the saying goes. If there are bickerings and altercations leading to quarrels, both parties shall be held to blame.

There shall be no scrawlings on the walls of temples or public buildings or in school. Likewise, breaking the paper or partitions, carving on pillars or dirtying the *tatami* shall be considered grave offenses.

All games of chance, lotteries, penny in the pool, and so on are strictly forbidden, for they lead to meanness of spirit. Within limits, however, a certain amount may be permitted at New Year's up to January 15.

Children who waste their time on their way to and from school, watching sideshows and peddlers and street hucksters, bring their parents and their teacher into disrespect and are guilty of great thoughtlessness.

Those who, thinking no one will hear them, sing songs or hymns, or snatches of *jōruri* in a loud voice at night, in open spaces or in the streets, show a lack of respect for their neighbors and betray a vulgar nature. It is a disgusting habit. In places where you cannot be seen or heard, you should be all the more careful of how you behave.

Boys who speak roughly to, or pick quarrels with, girls or younger children do not deserve to be considered pupils of this school. They are merely lower animals disguised in human form.

Whatever happens, however unusual, there is no need to clamor and shout. And when going to the privy, go one at a time.

Make appropriate greetings to your parents when you leave home and when you return. At school, enter and leave according to your teacher's instructions. Truancy is a very grave offense.

Men deserve the name of men only when they behave like men. Show due

respect for your fellows, and in particular be kind to your juniors and do all you can to help them along.

Take off your hat to walk under a young tree. Training is more important than lineage. So the sayings go. You should not hate or despise your friends even if they are naughty. It only makes matters worse. "When I am good, how can others be bad?" runs the poem. Reprove your bad companions and shame them into goodness, for even the mugwort will grow straight among reeds.

However much better than others your handwriting may be, never lose a proper modesty, never be proud or boastful. The small seeds of pride in a young heart will grow later into a great obstacle to success in life.

Keep seven feet behind your teacher and never tread on his shadow, as the saying goes. Every letter you know you owe to him. Never answer back to your parents or your teacher, observe carefully their admonitions, and seek their instruction that you may walk ever more firmly in the Human Way.

Those who do good shall gain happiness. Those who do ill shall be visited by misfortune. He who is born a man but lacks a spirit of filial piety is no more than a beast. He who does not believe in the Way is little better than a stick or stone. He who thinks these precepts foolish and fails to obey them shall bring shame on himself, lose his good name, and soon live to repent his ruination. This is what is meant by the Punishment of Heaven.

[Sasayama, *Terako seikai shikimoku*, pp. 145–52; trans. adapted from Dore, *Education in Tokugawa Japan*, pp. 323–26]

Chapter 27

THE VOCABULARY OF JAPANESE AESTHETICS III

The student of Tokugawa Japan is everywhere faced with strong contrasts and seeming contradictions. Although the government was a military dictatorship, it sacrificed the chance of an overseas empire in favor of peace and ruled the country for more than 250 years without resorting to warfare. Japanese society as a whole subscribed to Confucian moral principles, but urban life was distinguished especially by the profusion of pleasure quarters. The aesthetic vocabulary characteristic of the period is no less a contrast to Confucian teaching.

When making aesthetic judgments, part of the difficulty in attempting to establish which terms were typical of Tokugawa writers stems from the lack of consistency over the years; the touchstones of taste in 1650 were certainly not those in 1850. Again, the charms of the licensed quarters, celebrated by writers and artists of the seventeenth century, came by the nineteenth century to seem meretricious and even ugly, as the later woodblock prints suggest.

The culture of the period naturally differed according to the social class. We tend, for example, to think of the literature of the period in terms of plebeian works of poetry and prose, but the samurai class—about one-tenth of the population—produced works that embody quite different literary ideals. In addition, others, in the traditions of the past, took the tonsure and lived apart from society in tranquil hermitages. Nevertheless, a few terms remained significant throughout most of the period and for most of society.

The Genroku era is known as the most brilliant part of the Tokugawa period.

Strictly speaking, it lasted from 1688 to 1703, but the name is loosely applied to a considerably longer period in order to include the writings of the haiku poet Matsuo Bashō, the novelist Ihara Saikaku, and the dramatist Chikamatsu Monzaemon—an extraordinarily gifted cluster of writers. One term that became prominent about this time was *ukiyo*, a word that, with another meaning, went back much further. In Heian literature, *ukiyo* was used to mean "sorrowful world," a typical Buddhist evocation of the world of dust and grief. However, when the novelist Asai Ryōi published in 1661 a book entitled *Ukiyo monogatari*, he was at pains to inform readers in the opening section that the *ukiyo* in his novel did not designate the sadness of the world, in which everything went contrary to one's hopes, but (by a pun) the "floating world" of delightful uncertainty in which people live for the moment, bobbing up and down like a gourd on the waves.

The new term *ukiyo* was quickly taken up, probably because it vividly suggested a picture of the frothy, volatile society that had succeeded the gloomy medieval world. One typical expression of the philosophy of the "floating world" is found in the Genroku paintings of waves: the most changeable and exciting of the sights of nature. The word *ukiyo* came to be applied to typical works of art of the time like the *ukiyo-e* (woodblock prints) and to the novels of the great Saikaku and his successors. The word *ukiyo* referred also to the licensed quarters: the brothels, restaurants, and other places of amusement that were centers of the townspeople's (*chōnin*) culture.

The emblematic Genroku literary figure, the hero of Saikaku's novel *The Man Who Spent His Life Making Love* (*Kōshoku ichidai otoko*), was called (Uki)yonosuke, and his complete familiarity with the denizens and arts of the "floating world" made him the object of emulation of lesser men. In this novel, Saikaku portrayed the two great interests of the population of the "floating world": sex and money. A man who had acquired full mastery of these two disciplines was known as a *tsūjin*, or expert. Saikaku's description of his ideal woman suggests how carefully he had studied his chosen field:

> When I asked what type of woman he was hoping to get, the old man took from a scroll-case of paulownia wood a picture of a beautiful woman, saying that he would like to hold in his arms a living replica made from this model. When I examined it I saw that the woman in the picture was from fifteen to eighteen years of age. Her face, which had an up-to-date look, was roundish and the color of pale cherry blossoms. Her features were flawless: the eyes, by his wish, were not narrow; the thick brows did not grow too close together; the nose was straight; the mouth was small with regular, white teeth; and the long ears, which had delicate rims, stood away from the head so that one could see through to the roots. Her hair at the forehead grew naturally and with no trace of artificiality. The

> back hair fell over her downless slender neck. Her fingers were pliant and long with thin nails. Her feet could not have had the breadth of eight copper coins; the big toes curled upward and the soles were translucently delicate. Her body was above average in size. The hips were firm and not fleshy, the buttocks full. Elegant in movement and in dress, her bearing possessed both dignity and gentleness. She excelled in the arts acquired of women and was ignorant of nothing. There was not a single mole on her entire body.[1]

Saikaku's ideal woman differs greatly from those described in *The Tale of Genji*. The Heian beauty was distinguished primarily by her accomplishments and tastes, and her genealogy was never forgotten. She was, of course, extremely beautiful, too, but no Heian writer described a beautiful woman with Saikaku's precision of details. It was more important to him that his ideal woman's toes curl up than that her handwriting be faultless. And since Saikaku does not mention what moral qualities she should possess to complement her physical charms, there is no reason to suppose that he insisted on any in this paragon of women.

In the plays of Chikamatsu (1653–1725), however, we find quite different women. Chikamatsu's heroines, whether supposedly historical figures or women from the contemporary *ukiyo* milieu described by Saikaku, are mostly unhappy victims of the conflicting claims of their passions (*ninjō*) and their obligations (*giri*) to society. *Giri* had both Buddhist and Confucian antecedents, developing equally from the awareness of the law of causality and the duties arising from the need for moral justice. *Giri* can be "warm," a natural response to the kindness of others, but more often in the plays it is a "cold" obligation inspired not by gratitude but by the rules of society. In Chikamatsu's play *Yosaku from Tanba* (*Tanba Yosaku*, 1708), for example, the court lady Shigenoi rejects her long-lost son, even though it pains her extremely, because of her *giri* to the princess she serves. *Giri* not softened by feelings (*ninjō*) may seem inhuman, as it denies the individual's right to be happy at the expense of society. *Ninjō* unchecked by *giri* not only is self-indulgent but may in the end lead to self-destruction, as in the love-suicide plays for which Chikamatsu was especially famous. The heroes and heroines of his plays, far from delighting in the unpredictability of the floating world, after repeated buffeting by alternating waves of *giri* and *ninjō*, finally choose to die together, seemingly the one option left them.

The lively world of *ukiyo* and the forbidding concept of *giri* continued to color Tokugawa literature. Well into the nineteenth century, books appeared

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1. Saikaku, *Kōshoku ichidai onna* I, in *Saikaku zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 320.

with such titles as *The Ukiyo Bathhouse* or *The Ukiyo Barbershop*, and other works had the avowed intention of "encouraging virtue and chastising vice" (*kanzen chōaku*).

The outstanding example of *kanzen chōaku* was Takizawa Bakin's monumental *Biographies of Eight Heroes* (*Hakken-den*), written between 1814 and 1841. Each of Bakin's eight heroes represents one of the Confucian cardinal virtues, a device similar to that of Edmund Spenser in *The Faerie Queene*. In the course of the thousands of pages, the various heroes are often sorely tempted and tried, but their conviction that good brings only good while evil leads only to evil enables them to surmount their difficulties. *Biographies of Eight Heroes* enjoyed immense popularity for many years because of its combination of exciting incidents with uplifting moral lessons.

Members of the samurai class would not have been ashamed to read Bakin's novels, though they tended to look down on fiction as a diversion for women and children. They had, in any case, the literature of their own class, notably poetry (*kanshi*) and prose (*kanbun*) written in classical Chinese. For samurai of this time, classical Chinese was not a foreign language any more than Latin was a foreign language to educated Europeans of the same time. Almost none of them could speak Chinese, but they could compose Chinese poetry that obeyed the rules of rhyme and tone patterns. In order to perfect their ability, they read widely in Chinese literature and took every occasion to display the extent of their readings by incorporating in their poetry allusions to the masters of the past.

Some samurai also cultivated the traditional attitudes of the Chinese poets and sages, scorning the dross of this world and seeking instead a noble detachment known as *fūryū*, in these terms: "*Fūryū* suggests withdrawal from the over sophisticated, ultimately shallow cares of urban life, a pause to search for a natural elegance found in closeness to things at hand and to a simpler, fresher environment."[2] The eighteenth-century practitioners of *fūryū*, known as *bunjin* (men of culture), tried to imitate in their style of living the Chinese they admired, composing poetry in Chinese, painting Chinese landscapes, and sipping Chinese tea from elegant little Chinese cups rather than from the bowls the Japanese normally used. There is *fūryū* in this poem by Ishikawa Jōzan (1583–1672), one of the most celebrated *bunjin*:

> Living in seclusion, I brush off worldly dust:
> remote, secluded, I do not seek neighbors.
> Clear-sky moon, this night of austere solitude:
> I have no need of someone else to talk to.
> Living a hermit in the woods, enjoying nothing to do!

2. Rimer et al., *Shisendō*, p. 23.

My bramble gate of course is never opened.
Serenely, in perpetual seclusion . . .
the dog barks, amazed that someone's come to call.[3]

The life of a *bunjin* inevitably was something of a pose. Few people can be as detached from the world as Jōzan pretended to be. He lived in Kyoto, not on a mountainside, and remained in constant contact with many friends of like spirit. Although Jōzan's poetry seems imbued with Daoism, he did not forget that he was a samurai, a member of a privileged class, and he did not ignore the teachings of Confucius.

Both the total involvement with this world of men like Saikaku and the real or pretended uninvolvement of Jōzan and his *bunjin* culture contributed to the extraordinary diversity of Japanese culture in the centuries immediately preceding the intrusion of the West.

CHIKAMATSU MONZAEMON

ON REALISM IN ART

This is what Chikamatsu told me when I visited him many years ago. "*Jōruri* [puppet theater] differs from other forms of fiction in that since it is primarily concerned with puppets, the words should all be living things in which action is the most important feature. Because *jōruri* is performed in theatres that operate in close competition with those of the *kabuki*, which is the art of living actors, the author must impart to lifeless wooden puppets a variety of emotions, and attempt in this way to capture the interest of the audience. It is thus generally very difficult to write a work of great distinction.

"Once, when I was young and reading a story about the court, I came across a passage which told how, on the occasion of a festival, the snow had fallen heavily and piled up. An order was then given to a guard to clear away the snow from an orange tree. When this happened, the pine tree next to it, apparently resentful that its boughs were bent with snow, recoiled its branches. This was a stroke of the pen which gave life to the inanimate tree. It did so because the spectacle of the pine tree, resentful that the snow has been cleared from the orange tree, recoiling its branches itself and shaking off the snow which bends it down, is one which creates the feeling of a living, moving thing. Is that not so?

"From this model I learned how to put life in my *jōruri*. Thus, even descriptive passages like the *michiyuki* [travel scene], to say nothing of the narrative phrases and dialogue, must be charged with feeling or they will be greeted with

3. Rimer et al., *Shisendō*, p. 23.

scant applause. This is the same thing as is called evocative power in poets. For example, if a poet should fail to bring emotion to his praise of even the superb scenery of Matsushima or Miyajima in his poem, it would be like looking at the carelessly drawn picture of a beautiful woman. For this reason, it should be borne in mind that feeling is the basis of writing. . . .

"The old *jōruri* was just like our modern street storytelling and was without either flower or fruit. From the time that I began to write *jōruri* . . . I have used care in my writing, which was not true of the old *jōruri*. As a result, the medium was raised one level. For example, inasmuch as the nobility, the samurai, and the lower classes all have different social stations, it is essential that they be distinguished in their representation from their appearance down to their speech. Similarly, even within the same samurai class, there are both daimyō and retainers, as well as others of lower rank, each rank possessed of distinct qualities; such differences must be established. This is because it is essential that they be well pictured in the emotions of the reader.

"In writing *jōruri*, one attempts first to describe facts as they really are, but in so doing one writes things which are not true, in the interest of art. To be precise, many things are said by the female characters which real women could not utter. Such things fall under the heading of art; it is because they say what could not come from a real woman's lips that their true emotions are disclosed. If in such cases the author were to model his character on the ways of a real woman and conceal her feelings, such realism, far from being admired, would permit no pleasure in the work. Thus, if one examines a play without paying attention to the question of art, one will probably criticise it on the grounds that it contains many unpleasant words which are not suitable for women. But such things should be considered as art. In addition, there are numerous instances in the portrayal of a villain as excessively cowardly, or of a clown as being funny, which are outside the truth and which must be regarded as art. The spectator must bear this consideration in mind.

"There are some who, thinking that pathos is essential to a *jōruri*, make frequent use of such expressions as 'it was touching' in their writing, or who when chanting do so in voices thick with tears, in the manner of *Bunya-bushi*.[4] This is foreign to my style. I take pathos to be entirely a matter of restraint.[5] Since it is moving when all parts of the art are controlled by restraint, the stronger and firmer the melody and words are, the sadder will be the impression created. For this reason, when one says of something which is sad that it is sad,

4. *Bunya-bushi* is the style of Okamoto Bunya, noted for its sentimentality.

5. The word translated as "restraint" is *giri*, which normally means "propriety" or "duty." If one acts in accordance with propriety, one will not gush over into uncontrolled emotion but will be restrained.

one loses the implications, and in the end, even the impression of sadness is slight. It is essential that one not say of a thing that 'it is sad,' but that it be sad of itself. For example, when one praises a place renowned for its scenery such as Matsushima, by saying, 'Ah, what a fine view!' one has said in one phrase all that one can about the sight, but without effect. If one wishes to praise the view, and one says numerous things indirectly about its appearance, the quality of the view may be known of itself, without one's having to say, 'It is a fine view.' This is true of everything of its kind."

Someone said, "People nowadays will not accept plays unless they are realistic and well reasoned out. There are many things in the old stories which people will not now tolerate. It is thus that such people as *kabuki* actors are considered skilful [*sic*] to the degree that their acting resembles reality. The first consideration is to have the chief retainer in the play resemble a real chief retainer, and to have the daimyō look like a real daimyō. People will not stand for the childish nonsense they did in the past." Chikamatsu answered, "Your view seems like a plausible one, but it is a theory which does not take into account the real methods of art. Art is something which lies in the slender margin between the real and the unreal. Of course it seems desirable, in view of the current taste for realism, to have the chief retainer in the play copy the gestures and speech of a real retainer, but in that case should a real chief retainer of a daimyō put rouge and powder on his face like an actor? Or would it prove entertaining if an actor, on the grounds that real chief retainers do not make up their faces, were to appear on the stage and perform, with his beard growing wild and his head shaven? This is what I mean by the real and the unreal. It is unreal, and yet it is not unreal; it is real, and yet it is not real. Entertainment lies between the two.

"In this connection, there is the story of a certain court lady who had a lover. The two loved each other very passionately, but the lady lived far deep in the women's palace, and the man could not visit her quarters. She could see him therefore only very rarely, from between the cracks of her screen of state at the court. She longed for him so desperately that she had a wooden image carved of the man. Its appearance was not like that of any ordinary doll, but did not differ in any particle from the man. It goes without saying that the colour of his complexion was perfectly rendered; even the pores of his skin were delineated. The openings in his ears and nostrils were fashioned, and there was no discrepancy even in the number of teeth in the mouth. Since it was made with the man posing beside it, the only difference between the man and this doll was the presence in one, and the absence in the other, of a soul. However, when the lady drew the doll close to her and looked at it, the exactness of the reproduction of the living man chilled her, and she felt unpleasant and rather frightened. Court lady that she was, her love was also chilled, and as she found it distressing to have the doll by her side, she soon threw it away.

"In view of this we can see that if one made an exact copy of a living being, even if it happened to be Yang Kuei-fei,[6] one will become disgusted with it. Thus, if when one paints an image or carves it of wood, there are, in the name of artistic license, some stylized parts in a work otherwise resembling the real form; this is, after all, what people love in art. While bearing resemblance to the original, it should have stylisation; this makes it art, and is what delights men's minds. Theatrical dialogue written with this in mind is apt to be worthwhile."

[Hozumi, preface to *Naniwa miyage*; Keene, *The Battles of Coxinga*, pp. 93–96]

YOSAKU FROM TANBA
(*TANBA YOSAKU*)

The following extract from Chikamatsu Monzaemon's *Yosaku from Tanba*, a *jōruri* first performed in 1708, presents in somewhat extreme form the familiar conflict between duty (*giri*) and feeling (*ninjō*). Audiences today, just as in Chikamatsu's day, sympathize with Shigenoi, even though she seems to be heartlessly rejecting her own son, because they are aware of the pain it causes her to comply with the demands of *giri*. Note, however, that although the audience's sympathies are with mother and child, the obligation to one's lord overrides the bond between parent and child, revising the priorities in Zhu Xi's Five Human Relationships.

Sankichi, the packhorse driver, walks around the room, peeping curiously at the golden panels, quite unlike anything he has seen before. His feet, accustomed only to straw mats, hesitate on the smoothly woven flooring.

SANKICHI: Hey! This room is so damned slippery I can't walk. My own place is a lot nicer than any daimyo's house.

NARRATOR: He mutters to himself. The governess returns with sweets piled high on the lid of a writing box lined with crinkly paper.

SHIGENOI: Sankichi, are you still here? —What a fine young man you are! The princess says now that she'll go to Edo, and it's because you showed her your map game. Her parents are delighted. These cakes are from her ladyship. You should accept them gratefully. And here are three strings of copper coins for you to buy a present for yourself. I'm told that you'll be with us all the way to Edo. Remember, if you need anything, just say you'd like to see Shigenoi, the governess. —The more I look at you, the more taken I am. Your parents must have been desperately poor to have made you drive horses.

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6. Yang Kuei-fei was the most celebrated of Chinese beauties, concubine of the Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–755).

NARRATOR: Sankichi listens attentively through this kind speech.

SANKICHI: Are you Shigenoi, the governess who works for Lord Yurugi? If you are, then you must be my mother!

NARRATOR: He throws his arms around her.

SHIGENOI: Ugh, what shocking manners! Your mother! I have no son who's a horse driver!

NARRATOR: She wrenches herself free, only for Sankichi to clutch at her frantically. She shakes him off; he clings to her again.

SANKICHI: What reason would I have to lie to you? My father, Date no Yosaku, used to be your husband, a long time ago when he was a samurai commander here. I'm his son, and I came from your belly. Yonosuke—that's my real name. I was only three when Father made his lordship angry. He had to leave the province, but I can remember him faintly. I learned from the old woman who looked after me in Kutsukake[7] that my parents had separated and my mother was in his lordship's service. She explained everything very patiently. "I've brought you up in the hopes that some day I might unite you with your father. There's no chance of that now. Your best plan would be to look for Shigenoi. She works as a governess for Lord Yurugi. Show her this charm bag she made for you. It will prove she's your mother."

When I was five the old woman went to the festival at Toba. She'd been troubled by the croup for a long time, and some rice cakes stuck in her throat. Before you knew it, she was dead. The people in the village looked after me, but soon I was learning to drive horses. Now I'm working for a horse-lender at Ishibe in Ōmi.

Here, look at this charm bag, please. Why should I lie to you? There's no doubt about it. I'm your son. Let's find Father and stay together in one place, even if it's just for a day. That's the only thing I wish for. I make wonderful horseshoes, and I wove these straw sandals myself. I'll take care of you and Father. I'll drive horses by day and make horseshoes and sandals by night. Please stay with Father. I beg you, Mother.

NARRATOR: He clings to her and weeps.

Shigenoi is almost out of her mind with excitement. The more she looks, the more he seems to be her son, Yonosuke. She remembers the charm bag, and yearns to hold the boy to her breast. But she thinks

SHIGENOI (*to herself*): My duty is more important. It would be a blot on the princess's name if this were discovered. Shall I lie and send him away with a reproof? No—I can't. I feel too much pity for him.

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7. Kutsukake is a village near Suzuka in Ise Province.

Oh, I wish I could take him in my arms, even for a few moments. What shall I do?

NARRATOR: Her tears of grief for a hundred, thousand woes are too much for two eyes to hold. She sobs.

SHIGENOI: No, no. He's a clever boy, even if he is my own son. He won't believe me if I lie. It would be heartbreaking if he despised his mother as a corrupt woman. I'll tell him the truth and make him understand. I'll make him feel ashamed, then I'll send him away.

NARRATOR: She draws him to her and takes his hands.

SHIGENOI: What a big boy you've become! But why, while you were about growing up, didn't you turn out more impressive, more like a samurai? Those aren't the features, those aren't even the hands and feet I gave you when you were born. Your beautiful black hair has been hacked off, and your arms and legs look as if they belong to some filthy, wild monkey. Yes, a child's upbringing is really more important than his birth.

NARRATOR: She weeps again bitterly.

SHIGENOI: Now listen carefully to what I say. It is quite true that you were born from my flesh, but you're not my child any longer, nor am I your mother. I don't say this, believe me, because I dislike you for having become so coarse. Try to understand my reasons.

When I was first in her ladyship's service, your father was a page in her quarters. The breezes of young love caressed and drew us together, and one night's meeting became two nights, then many nights. I had the misfortune to lose a letter he sent me, and it was picked up in an antechamber by the supervisor of the pages. Discipline for us in the samurai class is severe, particularly so in this household, and the elder retainers decided that your father and I must die at his lordship's hands. Her ladyship pleaded for my life, offering to take the punishment on herself. His lordship was moved in his mercy not only to forgive us our crime, but to make us man and wife in the sight of the world. Yosaku gradually rose to be chief aide to his lordship, with a stipend of 1,300 *koku*. We were so indebted to his lordship that we should have had to kill ourselves if he died. In the meantime I gave birth to you, and a princess was born to her ladyship. As a mark of her ladyship's friendship, I was allowed to offer my milk to the princess.

If things had continued going so well, you would now rank as high as a senior retainer's son and not be obliged to defer to anyone. But unfortunately your father, who was on duty in Edo at the time, began frequenting the prostitutes of Yoshiwara. He bungled his duties so badly that once again he was sentenced to commit hara-kiri. But if he were obliged to kill himself, his wife could not remain in the mansion. People said that it might bring on some sickness if the princess were

deprived of my milk. Your father's life was therefore spared again, in order that I might stay on in the palace, but he was deprived of his rank and stipend as a samurai. It would have been normal for me as his wife to leave with him, but if I had made the princess suffer by denying her my milk, how could I ever have repaid the excessive generosity of his lordship's family? Your father urged that I remain behind and satisfy our obligations. And so, for my husband's sake above all, I chose loyalty to her ladyship in place of wifely duties. Much against our desires, we separated.

Now here you are. You're only a child, I know, but you're the heir of a disgraced father, and I'm worried what may happen if they find you out. Never tell anyone that you're Yosaku's child. Hurry outside now. —Ahhh, what did I ever do to deserve such a fate? To have my own child become a horse driver, and not to know where my husband is. What use is it to wear fine clothes, to be addressed respectfully as madam governess, milady in waiting, or to ride in a splendid palanquin?

NARRATOR: She weeps softly.

The boy is naturally intelligent. His brightness makes him weep all the more.

SANKICHI: What a sad story! But the old woman used to tell me that the princess and I were suckled at the same breast, so if I could only find my mother it would also help Father to get on his feet again. Please, I beg you, appeal to his lordship.

NARRATOR: Shigenoi instantly covers his mouth.

SHIGENOI: Hush! You must never say that you and she were suckled at the same breast. The princess is leaving for the East to be adopted and married. Any girl about to be married, whether she's of a great or humble family, must be very careful. She's going among strangers, and she has to worry about what they may think. It's bound to interfere with her marriage if people learn that she has a foster brother named Sankichi who's a horse driver. A dyke may be breached by the burrowing of a single ant, they say,[8] and though this may seem a small matter, it's very serious. But if we go on whispering, someone is sure to hear. Hurry off now.

SANKICHI: Mother, you worry too much about what people will think. Please try and talk to her.

SHIGENOI: Are you still harassing me? You don't understand. How could a mother fail to know her duty, when it concerns her own husband and child? Why are you so obtuse and unreasonable?

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8. A proverb, ultimately derived from the Chinese philosopher Han Feizi.

NARRATOR: As she attempts to quiet him, a voice is heard from inside.

VOICE: Where is Shigenoi? Her ladyship is calling.

SHIGENOI: Did you hear that? Someone is coming. Leave me now.

NARRATOR: She leads him out by the hand. Poor Sankichi—he is in tears and sobbing, but he covers his face and eyes. He collects his shoes and, tucking them into his belt, goes off, an utterly dejected figure.

SHIGENOI: Boy! Turn this way again. Don't hurt yourself on the journey. If it's stormy or snowy or you must travel at night, pretend you have a stomach ache and rest for a couple of days. Take care not to get sick. Don't eat anything that disagrees with you. Be careful of stomach aches, and watch out for the measles. Poor boy, you look so pathetic, my heart goes out to you. What crime did you commit that you, who should have inherited 1,300 *koku*, have been punished this way?

NARRATOR: She throws herself on the entrance step, where she lies sobbing. Then she takes all the money she has—thirteen *bu* of gold—and wraps the coins in a silk cloth.[9]

SHIGENOI: Here, take this for an emergency.

NARRATOR: Sankichi turns back with bitterness.

SANKICHI: If you're not my mother and I'm not your son, you needn't worry whether I get sick or die. I don't want your money. I'm a horse driver, that's what I am, and I'm the son of Date no Yosaku. You don't suppose I'd accept money from a stranger who's not my mother? You're a cruel woman, and you'll regret this!

NARRATOR: He bursts into tears and his mother, seeing him, is faint with grief.

SHIGENOI: Would I let my only child leave me if I didn't have to think of the princess and the debt I owe her family? Oh, the misery of being in service!

NARRATOR: She weeps in anguish and longing.

The entrance to the women's quarters is suddenly noisy with shouts of "We're leaving!" The bearers, lifting the princess's palanquin, stream out in procession. The governess's chair is placed directly before them. Shigenoi speaks in a casual tone.

SHIGENOI: I'd like that little horse driver who was here a minute ago to stay with my chair as a companion for the princess. Ask him to cheer us with a song.

NARRATOR: "Yes, madam," says the leader of the train. He barks out a harsh command. "Hey, wild boy, you over there, sing something! —

9. Thirteen *bu* would be worth about one hundred dollars. One *bu* was the equivalent of one-quarter *ryō* of gold.

Look, he's crying! That's a bad sign, just when we're leaving." The boy, taking two or three blows of the leader's fists, sings in a tearful voice.

SANKICHI:

At Hillside it's shining, shining,
At Belling Deer it's cloudy,
At Earth Mountain,
Earth Mountain in between,
The rain is falling.[10]

NARRATOR: Thicker than any rain fall the tears of mother and child, hers hidden within her heart.

[*Major Plays of Chikamatsu*, trans. Keene, pp. 98–103]

10. This poem is part of a well-known ballad. Saka (Hillside), Suzuka (Belling Deer), and Tsuchiyama (Earth Mountain) were places along the Tōkaidō.

Chapter 28

HAIKU AND THE DEMOCRACY OF POETRY AS A POPULAR ART

The *haiku*, quite possibly the shortest of all verse forms, represents a distinct Japanese contribution to the poetic literature of the world, if only because it proves how great an effect can be obtained with the barest minimum of words. Despite its extreme brevity—a haiku consists of only seventeen syllables—the Japanese often have considered haiku poetry the greatest produced in their country, and it has attracted wide attention and even imitation in the West. Like Japanese woodblock prints, it possesses universal appeal, largely perhaps because of its unpretentiousness.

The haiku also has another importance in the history of Japanese literature and society: it is a verse form evolved for the ordinary person, in contrast to most other Japanese poetry, which is aristocratic in form and tradition.

There must always have been, of course, poetry composed by unlettered people in Japan. We find examples of such crude, almost meaningless verse in the earliest surviving book, the *Records of Ancient Matters* (*Kojiki*, 712 C.E.). Some of it may have been composed in connection with ritual observances, such as the following one (which, however, is apparently of a later date):

Ajime o o o o	Ajime! O! O! O! O!
Oke ajime o o o o	Go to it! Ajime! O! O! O! O!

An anthropologist would find more of interest in such verses than would a student of poetry, but even among the songs of the *Records of Ancient Matters* we can find some here and there of literary quality, and by the end of the eighth century the first and possibly the greatest anthology of Japanese poetry was compiled: the *Man'yōshū* (*Anthology of Ten Thousand Leaves*). There is an amazing difference in quality between the poetry of the *Man'yōshū* and the songs preserved in the *Records*. Even the poems attributed to antiquity have an elegance usually lacking in those songs, and the poetry composed in the eighth century itself has a power and a nobility seldom again equaled in Japan. It is not very difficult to see how this came about. With the establishment of a permanent capital in Nara in 710 C.E., court life of complexity and refinement became possible in Japan as never before. Among the necessary accomplishments of the courtiers, perhaps in imitation of Chinese usage, was the ability to write verse. The preponderant part of the poetry in the *Man'yōshū* was in fact composed by sovereigns and members of their courts, although poems by unknown authors, some of them apparently peasants, also were included.

It was not long, however, before the composition of poetry fitted for the court-sponsored anthologies became far too difficult for casual amateurs. This was not because the rules of prosody were too demanding, for the standard verse form, the *waka*, consists of only thirty-one syllables, arranged in five lines of 5, 7, 5, 7, and 7 syllables, without rhyme or quantity. Anyone could compose a *waka*, but it was deemed unworthy of attention unless it showed a mastery of the poetic traditions of the past. A technique evolved that may be characterized as "virtuoso." Only a restricted number of themes were recognized as being suited to poetry, and this meant that innumerable poems were composed on such popular subjects as the cherry blossoms and the autumnal moon, often with only a slight change in wording or imagery between one poem and its much appreciated imitation of a century later. The poetry in the *Man'yōshū* covered a wide variety of subjects, including some obviously of the common people:

> My hands so chapped from rice-pounding—
> Tonight again, he will hold them, sighing,
> My young lord of the mansion![1]

In later times, such subjects as "chapped hands" were considered indecorous and rather vulgar by the poets, who far preferred to write their love poetry about tear-drenched sleeves. Although lip service continued to be paid to originality of sentiment, this generally meant little more than a new twist to some familiar

1. *Manyōshū*, no. 850.

poetic formula. According to Fujiwara no Teika (1162–1241), the celebrated arbiter of poetic excellence, poets must imitate the masterpieces of their predecessors and restrict themselves to the same vocabulary. He recommended constantly studying old poetry, and the members of the court actually appear to have spent much of their time in this pursuit. It was not only for use in composing new poetry worthy of the anthologies that a knowledge of old poetry was indispensable; the courtier who missed an allusion or failed to respond with an impromptu verse in an appropriate mood might be disgraced.

This type of poetry seemed to be able to thrive best in a society preoccupied with few other tasks. Little time for the arduous study that Teika recommended could be spared by soldiers, farmers, and villagers, and from the twelfth or thirteenth centuries onward, poets from these classes began to express themselves not in the classical *waka* but in linked verse (*renga*). As far back as the *Records of Ancient Matters* can be found an elementary form of linked verse, one *waka* composed by two people. That is, one man gave the first three lines (of 5, 7, and 5 syllables), and the other man "linked" on the two remaining lines (of 7 and 5 syllables) to make up a normal *waka*. In time, this type of poetry became quite popular at the court, where it gradually developed into long poems in many "links" composed by three or more poets at a special meeting.

Late in the fifteenth century, war broke out in the capital. Most of the old palaces and temples were destroyed, and poets were among those who fled to the countryside for refuge. They found a ready welcome at the castles of local potentates, who were eager to acquire from them the culture of the capital. Linked verse was especially popular. Its appeal was not solely literary, as it could provide an evening's entertainment for groups of samurai or even farmers who had never before had direct contact with the court culture. The rules of linked verse drawn up at the court and transmitted by refugee poets to the provinces were extremely complicated, but (except to the masters of the art) they were essentially the rules of a game and not abstract poetic criteria based on purely aesthetic considerations. One can imagine a group of amateur poets of linked verse shouting down one of their number who mentioned cherry blossoms before reaching the link that was prescribed in the list of rules. This was quite a different matter from knowing by heart a dozen anthologies of poetry in order to be able to spot an allusion or to enhance one's own poem with a reference to the work of an admired predecessor. It is easy to see why linked verse was so popular with people in the provinces, even if their knowledge of the poetry of the past was limited.

On a typical evening of poetry making, the first hours would be devoted to "serious" linked verse, often referring (in the traditional manner) to the changing sights of nature brought about by the seasons. Such serious sessions would be followed by the composition of much less formal linked poetry, probably helped by generous libations of saké. During the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, these two varieties of linked verse flourished. The serious (*ushin*) linked

verse was refined, melodious, melancholy, and in the aristocratic tradition; the comic (*mushin*) linked verse, particularly popular in the hinterland, was prevailingly cheerful, simple, and often so crude in content that only the surface obedience to the codes of linked verse preserved a semblance of poetic quality. The serious linked verse soon developed into an important poetic form and at times possessed a unique beauty resulting from the blending of the images evoked in several poets' minds as they reacted to one another's contributions to the sequence. Although the form was different, the tone of the serious linked verse came to resemble more and more the *waka*, but the comic linked verse developed in quite a different direction.

The comic linked verse had a special importance in the decentralized culture of the medieval period. An account of 1470, for example, related that even in the most wretched village, the sounds of people composing sequences of one thousand or even ten thousand "links filled the ears of passing travelers," an indication of how popular this pastime had become. At many temples and shrines, which were the centers of local culture, linked-verse meetings were regularly held in which samurai, farmers, and villagers alike participated. Sometimes such meetings served purposes other than the mere composition of verse. That at least was the view of the Muromachi shogunate, which occasionally attempted to prohibit linked-verse meetings because it feared that they might actually be gatherings of dissident factions.

The greatest master of linked verse, Sōgi (1421–1502), came from the lowest class of society. Although he ultimately rose to be an arbiter of poetic taste almost comparable to Teika before him and he enjoyed the patronage of the aristocracy, there always remained a strong contact between Sōgi's art and the linked verse of the common people. Sōgi's chief works were not composed at the court but in different parts of the country, where he was welcomed by all ranks of people.

The comic linked verse did not represent a conscious revolt against the aristocratic traditions of poetry. Rather, it was a form that ordinary, untutored people enjoyed because it gave them the chance to compose verse together as a kind of game governed by clearly stated rules. The level of poetic quality tended to remain very low, but this did not dampen the enthusiasm of the participants, and the comic linked verse—largely through its use of a modern, colloquial vocabulary—retained a vitality that the court linked verse lost. It was almost in spite of its elegance and purity of diction that Sōgi's linked verse achieved greatness; most poets could say very little of interest within the stereotyped framework of the court linked verse. With the shift in cultural supremacy from the aristocrats and the great samurai (who absorbed the aristocratic culture through widely circulated textbooks) to the merchant class in the seventeenth century, a real revolt occurred in linked verse stemming from the active desire of the newly risen class to have its own forms of all types of literary activity.

The kind of poetry that best suited the exuberant, volatile, rather vulgar

society dominated by the merchant class was called *haikai no renga*. This may be translated as "comic linked verse" and was used in opposition to the serious linked verse. In the sixteenth century, Yamazaki Sōkan (1465?–1553?) was a pioneer in the use of the familiar language and ideas of the popular linked verse in compositions of a more artistic nature. Sōkan compiled an anthology called the *Collection of Canine Linked Verse*, "canine" to indicate the lowly and sometimes crude nature of the verse. A famous pair of "links" from this collection, one that was denounced by later advocates of refined *haikai* as a negation of filial piety, ran:

Niganigashiku mo	Bitter, bitter it was
Okashikarikeri	And yet somehow funny.

To which was added:

Ware oya no	Even when
Shinuru toki ni mo	My father lay dying
He wo kokite	I went on farting.

This "link" is certainly in very poor taste, but it cleverly captures the mixed emotions of the previous link and, in some ways, embodies the genius of *haikai* poetry by showing the contrast between the most solemn moment of a man's life and the coarse actions that may involuntarily accompany it.

The new *haikai* linked verse was immediately popular with poets tired of the stale vocabulary and images of the court linked verse, but it did not take long for a reaction to set in against the excessive liberty of expression found in Sōkan's collection. Matsunaga Teitoku (1571–1653) led a new movement in the *haikai* poetry that attempted to lift its artistic level while retaining its freedom of language. Teitoku compiled a *haikai* code that differed very little from the old linked-verse codes. What marked his linked verse as being *haikai* was his use of words drawn from common speech or from Chinese, unlike the court linked verse, which was restricted to old and pure Japanese words. Thus, according to Teitoku, if a verse contained a word like "slap" or "existence" instead of "strike" or "life" (to use approximate English parallels) it was *haikai*, even though the subject might be as hackneyed as the moonlight and cherry blossoms of the court linked verse.

It looked very much as if the fate of the new *haikai* poetry was to be that of the early linked verse, with a great cleavage developing between the work of professional poets and that of ordinary people. But *haikai* was saved by the vigorous reaction of the Danrin school and was made the glory of the Japanese people by the greatest of the *haikai* poets, Bashō (1644–1694). The Danrin school insisted that it did not suffice for the language of *haikai* poetry to be modern; the ideas also had to be new. The great attention paid by Danrin *haikai*

to the humor of the details of daily living won its popularity with people of every class. The masters of Teitoku's school, finding their pupils deserting them for the new school, declared that Danrin *haikai* went against the sacred Way of poetry, which enjoyed the blessings of the gods and Buddha, and even that Danrin's irreverence constituted a menace to the well-being of the nation. They could point, for example, to a Danrin verse in which Buddha was depicted in a privy, the victim of diarrhea. In demonstrating their emancipation from traditional ideas about linked verse, the Danrin poets often went to excess, as in this example. Danrin linked verse could be composed very rapidly by several poets or even one talented man because it did not insist on any fixed number of syllables for a given link, removing virtually the last formal restriction. Not surprisingly, the quality of much of the verse was poor. Rapidity of composition became more important than expression, and the poets increased the number of "links" composed in one day to incredible totals. Saikaku, whose career began as a Danrin poet, is reputed to have composed 23,500 "links" in a single day and night in 1684, too fast for the scribes to do more than tally. The Danrin insistence on up-to-dateness also meant that their verse quickly became dated, if not quite unintelligible, in a few years. The allusions to contemporary life and literature that in its day made Danrin verse so popular ultimately spelled its oblivion.

It was Bashō who saw the problem of rules versus freedom most clearly and solved it by insisting that the poetry of his school embody both change and permanence. Change, or novelty, he felt to be the essence of *haikai* poetry and the one thing that could keep it from becoming in time as stale as the conventional *waka* or linked verse. For centuries, the Japanese poets had been taught to imitate the writings of their predecessors; Bashō declared that in *haikai* there were no predecessors. His philosophy of poetry is perhaps best summarized in his advice to a pupil: "Do not seek to follow in the footsteps of the men of old; seek what they sought!"[2] Here we have the most vivid example of the two principles of change and permanence. Bashō urged his pupil not to imitate but at the same time to keep in mind the permanent objectives of poetry instead of frittering away his talents on the ephemeral subjects so dear to Danrin versifiers.

2. Bashō attributes this statement to Kūkai, who actually said, "In writing poetry, a study of the old forms is an excellent thing, but it is no mark of ability to copy old poems. In calligraphy, too, it is good to imitate the old conceptions, but it is not a mark of skill to make one's writing resemble the old examples" (*Shōryōshū*, in *Kōbō Daishi zenshū*, vol. 3, p. 427).

MATSUO BASHŌ

Matsuo Bashō began life as a samurai but renounced all privileges when he took up the career of a *haikai* master. He lived as a commoner and had nothing to do with either the emperor's court in Kyoto or the shogun's court in Edo (Tokyo). Nor did Bashō, like Sōgi and many other famous poets, become a Buddhist monk, although he dressed and, in some ways, acted like one. He likened himself to a bat, being "neither monk nor layman, bird nor rat, but something in between."[3] His pupils included men from every walk of life, from rich samurai and merchants down to poor farmers; two for whom he showed great affection were a criminal and a beggar. The democratic quality of his school was typical of the entire *haikai* movement and explains in part why *haikai* poetry found adherents everywhere. Bashō's journeys around Japan, although usually made under difficult and even disagreeable circumstances, had something of the triumphal progress about them. Wherever he went, Bashō found amateur poets who begged him to join in making a chain of *haikai* linked verse. Even an unlettered man like the farmer who led Bashō's horse across the fields surprised him by asking for a poem.

Bashō was famous for both his *haikai* linked verse and his *hokku*. The latter originally meant specifically the opening verse of a linked-verse series, and although it retained its potentiality of serving as the first link in a chain, it eventually developed into a complete and independent form, now usually called a *haiku*. Bashō's haiku covered a wide range of subjects. Nothing was too commonplace for him to treat, and nothing too sublime. Early in his career, Bashō had mastered the Danrin techniques, and he remained capable of turning out a lighthearted verse when he chose, but he is most renowned for the verses that show his warm sympathy and identification with the sights of nature and human life. The splash of a frog jumping into a pond, the sight of a monkey shivering in the wintry rain, or of a grasshopper under the brazen helmet of some long-dead warrior, or of a boatman smoking his pipe in the spring breeze—each became in his poetry a microcosm that suggested the macrocosm, a perception of universal truth based on one essential detail. Although we know that Bashō briefly studied Zen Buddhism, it is difficult to measure its influence on his poetry. The sudden illumination that enabled Bashō to detect something of universal significance in the quite ordinary sight of, say, a crow alighted on a withered branch certainly suggests the spirit of Zen, but no doubt various streams of influence converged to create his distinctive style.

Many of Bashō's best poems were composed while on a journey, the most important of which was the one to the northern part of Japan described in *The*

3. Bashō, *Kashima kikō*, in *Bashō zenshū*, in *NKZ*, vol. 42.

Narrow Road to Oku (*Oku no Hosomichi*). Many poets before Bashō had traveled to see the cherry blossoms at Mount Yoshino and other famous spots in the general area of Kyoto, but it remained for Bashō to celebrate the neglected northern half of the country. The lonely beauty of half-forgotten places attracted him far more than the gaiety of the cities, and he was constantly stirred by wanderlust. Bashō died on a journey, as he once had predicted. His last poem was

Tabi ni yamite	Stricken on a journey
Yume wa kareno wo	My dreams through withered fields
Kakemawaru.	Go wandering still.

THE RUSTIC GATE

The following is Bashō's farewell words to Morikawa Kyoroku (1656–1715), a samurai from Hikone and one of Bashō's favorite pupils, who was returning to his province.

It was just in the autumn of last year that quite by chance, I met him, and already I am deeply lamenting our separation. One day, when the time of parting approached, he knocked at the door of my thatched hut, and we spent the whole day in quiet conversation.

Talented as he is, he loves both painting and *haikai* poetry. I asked him once as a test why he liked painting, and he said it was because of poetry. "And why do you love poetry?" "Because of painting." Two things he studied for one purpose. Indeed, since it is said that it is shameful for a gentleman to have many accomplishments,[4] it is admirable that he makes one use of the two arts.

In painting he was my teacher; in poetry I taught him and he was my disciple. My teacher's paintings are imbued with such profundity of spirit and executed with such marvelous dexterity that I could never approach their mysterious depths.

I said to him as we parted, "My poetry is like a stove in the summer or a fan in winter. It runs against the popular tastes and has no practical use. But there is much that is affecting even in the poems of Toshinari and Saigyō[5] that were lightly tossed off. Didn't the retired emperor Go-Toba[6] say of their poetry that it contained truth tinged with sorrow? Take strength from his words and follow unswervingly the narrow thread of the Way of poetry. Do not seek to follow in the footsteps of the men of old; seek what they sought. That is what Kūkai

4. *Analects* 9:6: "Does it befit a gentleman to have many accomplishments? No, he is in no need of them at all" (Waley, trans., *Analects of Confucius*, p. 139).

5. Fujiwara no Toshinari (or Shunzei, 1114–1204) and the priest Saigyō (1118–1190). The latter poet, together with Sōgi, were the earlier poets whom Bashō most admired.

6. Emperor Go-Toba (1180–1239) was perhaps the best poet among Japan's sovereigns.

wrote,[7] and it is true of *haikai* poetry as well." Saying these words I lifted my lantern and showed him outside the rustic gate, where we parted. Summer [1693].

[Matsuo Bashō, *Bashō bunshū*, in *NKZ*, vol. 100, pp. 175–76; DK]

KYORAI'S CONVERSATIONS WITH BASHŌ

The brevity and apparent simplicity of the seventeen-syllable haiku led to its wide popularity in Japan, where only a very inarticulate person remained incapable of an extemporary verse. However, in the hands of its masters, the haiku, far from representing an impromptu reaction to the sights of nature, was usually a highly conscious form of verse, demanding compliance with exacting aesthetic principles. Bashō was famous not only as the supreme haiku poet but also as the foremost interpreter of its theories. His conversations with his pupil Kyorai (1651–1704) contain a sample of his critical views, some of which are translated here.

The method that Kyorai used to demonstrate various facets of the "Master's" opinions was to give a verse, either a haiku or a fourteen-syllable "second verse" (*waki*), and then report what the Master said about it. The editorial comments are intended to help elucidate special points.

One of the ideals of the haiku was to have each word indispensable and unalterable. This was no doubt a product of the brevity of the form. In the following, a critic suggests that the wording of a poem by Bashō might have been changed.

Yuku haru wo	The departing spring
Ōmi no hito to	With the men of Ōmi
Oshimikeru	Have I lamented.

Bashō

The Master said, "Shōhaku criticized this poem on the grounds that I might just as well have said 'Tanba' instead of 'Ōmi' or 'departing year' instead of 'departing spring.' How does this criticism strike you?" Kyorai replied, "Shōhaku's criticism misses the mark completely. What could be more natural than to regret the passing of the spring, when the waters of the lake of Ōmi are veiled so enchantingly in mist? Besides, it is an especially fitting poem to have been written by one who lives by the lake." The Master said, "Yes, the poets of old loved spring in this province almost as much as in the capital." Kyorai, deeply struck by these words, continued, "If you were in Ōmi at the close of the year, why should you regret its passing? Or if you were in Tanba at the end of spring, you would not be likely to have such a feeling. What truth there is in the poetry

7. See note 2.

of a man who has genuinely been stirred by some sight of nature!" The Master said, "Kyorai, you are a person with whom I can talk about poetry." He was very pleased. [p. 14]

Haiku poets, particularly of the schools before Bashō, often erred in the direction of excessive ingenuity in their choice of words. Even though Bashō criticizes it here, Kakei's verse may appeal to modern readers more than Kyorai's does.

Kogarashi ni	Will the two-day moon
Futsuka no tsuki no	Be blown from the sky
Fukichiru ka	By the winter wind?

Kakei

Kogarashi no	Kept by the winter wind
Chi ni mo otosanu	From falling to earth–
Shigure ka na	The drizzling rain.

Kyorai

Kyorai said, "I feel that Kakei's verse is far superior to mine. By asking if it will be 'blown from the sky,' he makes the mention of the two-day moon all the more clever." Bashō answered, "Kakei's verse is built around the words 'two-day moon.' Take away the 'two-day moon' and there is nothing left to the poem. It is not apparent what you based your poem on. It is good all around." [p. 19]

Kiyotaki ya	Clear cascades!
Nami ni chiri naki	In the waves immaculate,
Natsu no tsuki	The summer moon.

Bashō

One day when the Master was lying on his sickbed in Osaka, he called me to him and said, "This verse resembles one I composed not long ago at Sonome's house:

Shiragiku no	The white chrysanthemum
Me ni tatete miru	Even when lifted to the eye
Chiri mo nashi	Remains immaculate.

Bashō

"I have therefore changed the 'Clear cascades' verse to

Kiyotaki ya	Clear cascades!
Nami ni chirikomu	Into the waves scatter
Aomatsuba	Blue pine-needles.

Bashō

"The rough draft of the original must be in Yamei's house. Please destroy it." But it was too late—the poem had already appeared in several collections.

This example demonstrates what pains Bashō took with every verse, master though he was. [p. 22]

The Monkey's Cloak *(*Sarumino*) was a collection of verse by Bashō and members of his school, published in 1691. In the following excerpt, Bashō is struck by the words "skylark of Akashi" because of the graceful allusion to another poem.*

Omokaji ya	Port the helm!
Akashi no tomari	There, by Akashi harbor,
Hototogisu	A skylark!

Kakei

This poem was being considered for inclusion in *The Monkey's Cloak*. Kyorai said, "It is just like the Master's

No wo yoko ni	Across the fields
Uma hikimuke yo	Turn the horse's head—
Hototogisu	A skylark!

Bashō

"It should not be included." The Master said, "The 'skylark of Akashi' is not a bad image." Kyorai replied, "I don't know about the 'skylark of Akashi,' but the poem merely substitutes a boat for a horse. It shows no originality." The Master commented, "He hasn't made any advance in the conception of the verse, but you may include it or not as you please on the basis of the Akashi skylark." We finally did not include it. [p. 25]

Kyorai's poem has been interpreted as referring to himself, older but less talented than most of Bashō's pupils: "a back number." The question here treated is how openly emotional a poem may be.

Furumai ya	The attitudes they strike!
Shimoza ni naoru	I straighten on the lower shelf
Kozo no hina	Last year's dolls

Kyorai

I wrote this verse because of the special meaning it had for me. For the first line I had at first tried "the old court cap" or else "the paper cloak," but they left nothing to the imagination, and mentioning the doll's costume obscured my underlying thought. On the other hand, an expression like "how pitiable!" or "how unfortunate!" was too feeble. When, having finally hit on the present

opening line, I asked the Master about it, he replied, "If you really insist on putting your heart into the first line, you ought to say something like Shintoku's 'Ah, the world of men!' Your 'attitudes they strike' is not quite right, but it will do." [p. 28]

Iga was Bashō's native place, and he took a special interest in its poets.

Ta no heri no	Along the borders of the fields
Mame tsutai yuku	Following the bean plants
Hotaru ka na	Go the fireflies.

Banko

This verse was originally one by Bonchō that the Master had corrected. When we were compiling *The Monkey's Cloak*, Bonchō remarked, "This verse has nothing special to recommend it. Let's leave it out." Kyorai answered, "The lights of the fireflies following the bean plants at the edge of a field splendidly evoke a dark night." But Bonchō was not convinced by my words. The Master said, "If Bonchō throws it away, I'll pick it up! It fortunately happens that one of the Iga poets has a similar verse that I can modify into this one." That is why it finally appeared as Banko's poem. [p. 29]

The following illustrates the art of making a haiku from a trifling incident.

Kiraretaru	Stabbed to death!
Yume wa makoto ka	Was my dream true?
Nomi no ato	The marks of a flea.

Kikaku

Kyorai said, "Kikaku is really a clever writer. Who else would ever have thought of writing a poem merely about being bitten by a flea?" The Master said, "You're quite right. He's the Lord Teika of the haiku. He deals with trifling matters in a most grandiloquent way." This criticism seemed to me to describe Kikaku's art completely. [p. 35]

Ototoi wa	The day before yesterday
Ano yama koetsu	I crossed the mountain over there—
Hanazakari	With the full bloom of the cherry.

Kyorai

I wrote this verse two or three years before *The Monkey's Cloak* was compiled. At the time the Master told me, "I doubt whether anyone will appreciate this verse now. You'll have to wait a year or two." Later he wrote me on his journey with Tokoku to Yoshino, "My mind has been so dominated now by one

poem about the cherry blossoms of Yoshino and now by another, each of which so completely describes the scene that I myself have not written a single verse at Yoshino. All I do every day as I go along is to recite your 'The day before yesterday I crossed the mountain over there.'" The poem was acclaimed when I later read it to other people. How did the Master know that it would be popular in a year or two? I for one never dreamed it. [p. 36]

Bashō likens himself to a wild duck stricken while in flight; a fisherman's hearth has not only crickets but shrimps.

Yamu kari no	A sick wild duck
Yosamu ni ochite	Falling in the evening cold—
Tabine ka na	These traveler's lodgings!

Bashō

Ama no ya wa	The fisherman's hut—
Koebi ni majiru	Mixed with little shrimps
Itodo ka na	Some crickets!

Bashō

When we were compiling *The Monkey's Cloak*, we were asked to choose one of these two poems for inclusion. Bonchō said, "The verse about the sick wild duck is good, but the other about the crickets mixing with the little shrimps has a freshness that makes it truly outstanding." Kyorai answered, "The verse about the shrimps is unusual, but had I thought of the scene in the fisherman's hut I could have written it myself. The one about the wild duck, on the other hand, is so noble in tone, so subtly perceptive, that I wonder how anyone could have conceived it." After some discussion we finally asked permission to include both verses. The Master later said laughing, "You seem to have argued yourselves into thinking that a sick duck and a little shrimp have about equal value." [pp. 37–38]

In the attempt to make the haiku as suggestive as possible, deliberately ambiguous language was often used. Here, however, Bashō discovers a meaning in Kyorai's poem that the author did not think of.

Iwahana ya	The tips of the crags—
Koko ni mo hitori	Here too is someone,
Tsuki no kyaku	Guest of the moon.

Kyorai

Kyorai said, "Shadō thinks that the last line should be 'monkey of the moon,' but I think that 'guest' is better." The Master asked. "How can you suggest such

a word as 'monkey'? What did you have in mind when you wrote the poem?" Kyorai answered, "One night, when I was walking in the mountains by the light of the harvest moon, composing poetry as I went along, I noticed another poet standing by the crags." The Master said, "How much more interesting a poem it would be if by the lines 'Here too is someone, guest of the moon' you meant yourself. You must be the subject of the verse." [pp. 39–40]

Shimokyō was a very quiet district of Kyoto.

Shimokyō ya	Shimokyō!
Yuki tsumu ue no	On the piled-up snow
Yo no ame	The night rain.

Bonchō

This verse at first lacked an opening line, and everyone from the Master on down tried to think of one. At length the Master settled on the preceding line. Bonchō said "yes" to it but still didn't seem satisfied. The Master said, "Bonchō, why don't you think of a better opening line? If you do, I'll never write another haiku!" Kyorai said, "Anyone can see how good a line it is, but it's not so easy to appreciate that no other line would do. If members of some other school of poetry heard what you said, they would think that you were ridiculously self-assured, and they would make up any number of opening lines. But the ones that they considered to be good would seem laughably bad to us." [p. 43]

Different subjects are suited to the classical waka *and the haiku.*

Inoshishi no	Is that the path
Ne ni yuku kata ya	The wild boar travels to his lair?
Ake no tsuki	The moon at dawning.

Kyorai

When I asked the Master what he thought of this verse, he pondered for a long time without saying whether it was good or bad. I mistakenly thought that master though he was, he didn't know how hunters wait at night for a boar to return to his lair at dawn, and I explained it all to him in great detail. Then he remarked, "The interest of that sight was familiar even to the poets of former times. That is why we have the *waka*

Akenu to te	Now that it has dawned
Nobe yori yama ni	A wind from the clover
Iru shika no	Wafts away the spoor
Ato fukiokuru	Of the deer returning
Ogi no uwakaze	From the fields to their mountains.

"When a subject can be treated even within the elegant framework of the *waka*, there does not seem to be much point in giving within the freer compass of the haiku so prosy a description. The reasons why I stopped to think for a while was that the verse seemed somehow interesting, and I was wondering whether something couldn't be done with it. But I fear it's hopeless." [pp. 44–45]

Kyorai takes Bashō too literally.

Yūsuzumi	The evening cool—
Senki okoshite	I got lumbago
Kaerikeri	And went back home.

Kyorai

When I was first studying the haiku, I asked the Master how to write an opening verse. He replied, "It must be written firmly and clearly." As a test of my abilities I composed the preceding verse. When I asked his opinion of it, he gave a great laugh and said, "You still haven't got the idea!" [p. 54]

It is important to use words exactly appropriate to the season of a haiku.

Ume ni suzume no	In the plum tree the swallows
Eda no hyaku nari	Form countless clusters on the branches.

Kyorai

This was a "second verse" composed at the New Year. The Master heard it while he was at his retreat in Fukagawa. He commented, "Plum blossoms are a sight of the second month. Kyorai, how ever did you make the mistake of using that image in a New Year's poem?" [p. 62]

Detchi ga ninau	The water the apprentice
Mizu koboshikeri	Was carrying spilled over.

Bonchō

At first he used the words "night soil." Bonchō asked, "Is it permissible to mention urine and night soil in a poem?" The Master replied, "You need not avoid mentioning them. You should not do so more than twice in a hundred verses, and it is quite all right if they aren't mentioned at all." Bonchō changed it to "water." [p. 64]

It is important that the imagery of a haiku be sharp.

Tsuma yobu kiji no	The pheasant calling his mate
Mi wo hosō suru	Draws in his body.

Kyorai

At first it was "The pheasant calling his mate confusedly cries." The Master said, "Kyorai, don't you know even that much about poetry? A poem should have shape. If you say the same thing in the way I suggest, your poem will have shape." [p. 65]

Bashō's techniques in linked verse demonstrated that by evoking the excitement caused by the blossoming of the cherry tree, he could paint a dramatic picture of the arrival of spring in a dark wood.

Kuromite takaki	Somber and tall
Kashi no ki no mori	The forest of oaks
Saku hana ni	In and out
Chiisaki mon wo	Through the little gate
Detsu iritsu	To the cherry blossoms.

Bashō

When the former verse was recited, I thought how difficult it would be to add a verse about cherry blossoms without losing the image of the forest of oaks. When I asked the Master to add a verse, this was how he did it. [p. 67]

[Iwata, *Kyoraishō hyōkai*, pp. 14–67; DK]

ISSA

Among Bashō's many great successors, Issa (1763–1828) was one of the most original and beloved. Unlike Sōgi, who rose from the lowest class to official recognition as the nation's leading poet, or Bashō, who left the ranks of the samurai to lead the life he chose, Issa remained a farmer throughout his life. With Issa, the many generations of anonymous peasant-poets found their authentic voice. Like them, but with genius, Issa wrote about sparrows, frogs, mosquitoes, fleas, spiders, and farmers, with extreme simplicity and great feeling. Everyone can understand Issa, and since his poetry comes from the two true sources, the heart and nature, it is no wonder that it is so loved by the Japanese people. With him, the democracy of poetry attained universality.

Yasegaeru	Skinny frog
Makeru na Issa	Don't give up!
Koko ni ari.	Issa is here.

Japanese peasants have not always been poets, by any means. They have a common saying: "It is better to work in the fields than to write poetry" (*Shi o tsukuru yori, ta o tsukure*). But Issa's homespun reminder that the bodily need for food comes ahead of aesthetic satisfactions would have little point among

people with less flair for versification than the Japanese. Today at New Year's, thousands of humble folk still respond to the emperor's invitation to submit a poem (*waka*) on a theme he has selected for that year. During the Tanabata festival, young girls still write poems on thin streamers that they attach to stalks of green bamboo, telling of their yearning for a lover. And virtually all daily newspapers have a section devoted to haiku. Japan is perhaps the only country in the world where poetry can be called a national pastime.

Chapter 29

"DUTCH LEARNING"

In the seventeenth, the eighteenth, and into the nineteenth century, while the Netherlands lived on its flourishing international trade and commerce, especially through the remarkable East India Company (Vereenigde Ostindische Compagnie [VOC]), Japan adopted a so-called closed-country (*sakoku*) policy, to keep external contacts to an absolute minimum and to allow only a smidgeon of foreign trade under the closest government control. Nonetheless, through the tiny "window on the West," which first Hirado and then, after 1640, Deshima became, bilateral trade with the Dutch continued, even though its monetary significance to the Netherlands steadily declined. And through that same "window" into Japan by way of the very few Dutchmen who arrived each year or of Chinese reports about the West entered most of what the Japanese in their self-imposed isolation were able to learn about European culture, society, and politics.

The initial contact between the Dutch and the Japanese came in the year 1600, the same year in which the battle of Sekigahara brought an end to a bloody civil war and confirmed the supreme power of the Tokugawa house while the daimyo remained in local control of their own domains, a relationship that in theory was not to be disturbed as long as the Tokugawa regime held secure.

The study of the West, however, began some fifty years before this. Three Portuguese castaways reached the shores of the southern coastal island of Ta-

negashima in 1543, and in a very few years, Lusitanian ships were trading at several ports in Kyushu. In 1549, Francis Xavier and two other Spanish Jesuits arrived in Japan in order to spread the doctrines of the Catholic faith (see chap. 23). This began what became known to some Western historians as the "Christian century," an era marked by considerable tension and conflict that terminated in the *bakufu*'s firm resolve to eradicate forever the despised religion from the island empire. Despite the potential political advantages of trading with foreigners, the government's fear that native converts might harbor divided political loyalties and might even facilitate an invasion by a European power was conviction enough to ban from Japan both Christianity and its Iberian propagators.

At the beginning of the *sakoku* (closed-country) era, which lasted from 1640 to 1853, only the Dutch remained among the Westerners who had had contact with Japan before that time. Consequently, knowledge of the West that Japan absorbed during the *sakoku* period eventually came to be known as *rangaku*, or Dutch learning. The actual word *rangaku* seems to have originally been used by the Japanese in the 1770s to differentiate from the Nagasaki interpreters those Japanese scholars with a particular interest in the West. At first the *rangaku* scholars narrowly defined Dutch studies as the scholarship of Holland ([O]Ran). However, since commerce during the *sakoku* era was permitted only with Holland, all the knowledge and techniques from the West were transmitted through the medium of the Dutch language, and so it is not surprising that *rangaku* became the prevalent appellation for all Western learning.

Rangaku had two main strands: medicine and astronomy. The first included botany, pharmacopeia, mineralogy, chemistry, physics, and zoology, all deriving in some way from Western-influenced medical science. The second strand concentrated on calendrical science but eventually included surveying, cartography, and geography. The practical considerations attracting "Dutch" scholars to medicine and astronomy were the desire to prolong and save lives in the former instance and to correct the calendar to better manage the agricultural cycle in the latter.

Rangaku scholars initially concentrated on those Western technological skills that had the most obvious immediate application in Japan. Although the Tokugawa authorities recognized the potential value of practical scientific knowledge from Europe, at the same time they curbed inquiries into European history, philosophy, law, literature, and religion. Fearing any repetition of what was seen as the disruptive effect of introducing Christianity into Japan, the *bakufu* set specific limits on the scope of Western knowledge in Japan. But since most of the *rangaku* scholars were themselves either government employees or scholars well versed in Neo-Confucian instruction, they had little inclination to regard such study as outside the limits of the Neo-Confucian "investigation of things and extension of knowledge."

Dutch studies in Japan had certain distinct characteristics. The mainstreams

of medicine and astronomy are indicative of the *bakufu*'s and daimyos' support of the investigation of Dutch techniques by official physicians and astronomers in their respective fields. As the ruling authorities came to recognize the practical value of skills learned from the Hollanders, the *bakufu* engaged the services of scholars, knowledgeable in certain aspects of Western astronomy, who could serve a number of official purposes. First, since the traditional function of making the calendar in China and Japan had always been assigned to court astronomers, the establishment in Edo of an astronomical bureau, with greater competence in calendrical science than the traditional imperial astronomical bureau in Kyoto had, gave the shogunate an important reinforcement of its claim to political and cultural predominance. Second, as Tokugawa officials who supposedly understood Dutch, these astronomers were useful to have on hand in Edo, where in times of emergency their language skills could be pressed into service. Third, under government supervision certain of the astronomers were encouraged to study Russian and even Manchu in order to give the *bakufu* expertise in the problems emerging on Japan's northern frontiers. Fourth, by using the astronomical bureau as an official translation center, the government could supervise and control the *rangaku* scholars brought into government service.

In Edo, the astronomers focused on making calendars, which continued to be based on the traditional Chinese model, to which they simply added a few elements of Western astronomy. Such European concepts as Copernicanism and Newtonianism were introduced into Japan by the work of either the Nagasaki interpreters or private amateur astronomers. However, even these men often had difficulty understanding the theories with which they were working, especially in view of the prevailing acceptance of the Chinese dualist yin-yang cosmology. According to this, since heaven was positive and earth negative, heaven was seen as round and moving, and earth as square and motionless (quiescent), in diametric opposition to the Copernican theory. Conversely and by contrast, heliocentrism did not conflict with the centrality of the Sun Goddess in Shinto and of Dainichi (Great Sun) in Esoteric Buddhism. Yet given the particular intellectual environment into which Western astronomy was introduced, it is not surprising that the immediate Japanese comprehension of its theoretical basis was minimal, as was its general influence during the Tokugawa period.

The principal obstacle to the maturation of Dutch studies was that many of its practitioners, like the *bakufu* itself, saw it as a utilitarian technological supplement to a well-ordered, harmonious, intellectually "satisfying" ethical system derived from Zhu Xi Neo-Confucianism. Like Ancient Learning (Kogaku) or even National Learning (Kokugaku), Dutch studies was not a complete system of knowledge constructed on the basis of a single worldview. Rather, it was a random accumulation of certain quasi-scientific and technological information acquired from western Europe through restricted contact with the Dutch or

indirectly through the Chinese trade in Nagasaki. It was only exceptional scholars like Miura Baien and Honda Toshiaki who saw in it a greater challenge than this.

ENGELBERT KAEMPFER

The carefully recorded experiences of Engelbert Kaempfer (1651–1716), a German physician in the employ of the Dutch East India Company, on two trips to Edo in 1691 and 1692 are unique. Both these trips were in accordance with the requirement that the Dutch make annual pilgrimages to the capital to pay their respects and give appropriate presents to the shogun. Not only were these annual visits mandated by the original charter granted to the Dutch by the first Tokugawa shogun, Ieyasu (1542–1616), but they were understood as giving the Dutch *opperhoofd* (chief of the Dutch factory at Deshima) a status equivalent to that of a daimyo. These journeys, known in Dutch as *De Hofreis naar Edo* and in Japanese as *Edo sanpu* or *Edo sanrei*, were the only opportunity for the Dutch to know something about Japan outside Nagasaki. Likewise, the trips afforded a significant segment of the Japanese populace an opportunity to find out about the existence of the Dutch and, accordingly, the West.

It became customary for the *opperhoofd* to be almost always accompanied by the physician and the company secretary. Appropriate gifts in both number and value had to be selected and prepared. Accompanying Japanese personnel—that is, officials, interpreters, servants, and porters—also had to be hired. Since the trip from Nagasaki to Edo usually took around ninety days, an immense amount of baggage—including tables, chairs, wines, European foodstuffs, and the like—had to be packed.

The Dutch usually spent two to three weeks in Edo. They were housed at and, of course, confined to the Nagasakiya, the official inn for visitors from Nagasaki. Obviously the high point of their trip was their actual audience with the shogun. In Kaempfer's account of his experience in 1691, he refers to the shogun as emperor, as his understanding was that the emperor in Kyoto was the spiritual ruler of Japan and that the shogun was the temporal ruler.

ACCOUNT OF VISITS TO EDO

On the 29th of March, therefore, being Thursday, and the day appointed for our audience, the presents design'd for his Imperial Majesty were sent to court, attended by the deputies of Sino Cami[1] and of the commissioners for inspecting

1. Kawaguchi Munetsune, the *bugyō* (magistrate) of Nagasaki.

foreign affairs, to be there laid in due order, on wooden tables, in the hall of the hundred mats, as they call it, where the emperor[2] was to view them. . . .

Having waited there upward of an hour, and the emperor having in the meanwhile seated himself in the hall of audience, Sino Cami and the two commissioners came in and conducted our resident into the emperor's presence, leaving us behind. As soon as he came thither, they cry'd out aloud Hollanda Captain, which was the signal for him to draw near and make his obeisances. Accordingly he crawl'd on his hands and knees, to a place shew'd him, between the presents rang'd in due order on one side, and the place, where the emperor sat, on the other, and then kneeling, he bow'd his forehead quite down to the ground, and so crawl'd backward like a crab, without uttering a single word. So mean and short a thing is the audience we have of this mighty monarch. Nor are there any more ceremonies observ'd in the audience he gives, even to the most powerful princes of the empire. For having been call'd into the hall, their names are cried out aloud, then they move on their hands and feet humbly and silently toward the emperor's seat, and having shew'd their submission, by bowing their forehead down to the ground, they creep back again in the same submissive posture.

Formerly all we had to do at the emperor's court was compleated by the captain's paying him the usual homage, after the manner above related. A few days after, some laws concerning our trade and behavior were read to him, which, in the name of the Dutch, he promis'd to keep, and so was dispatch'd back to Nagasaki. But for about these twenty years, last past, he and the rest of the Dutchmen that came up with the embassy to Jedo were conducted deeper into the palace, to give the empress and the ladies of her court, and the princesses of the blood the diversion of seeing us. In his second audience, the emperor and the ladies invited to it attend behind screens and lattices, but the counsellors of state and other officers of the court sit in the open rooms, in their usual and elegant order. . . .

The emperor and his imperial consort sat behind the lattices on our right. As I was dancing, at the emperor's command, I had an opportunity twice of seeing the empress thro' the slits of the lattices and took notice that she was of a brown and beautiful complexion, with black European eyes, full of fire, and from the proportion of her head, which was pretty large, I judg'd her to be a tall woman, and about thirty-six years of age. By lattices, I mean hangings made of reed, split exceeding thin and fine and cover'd on the back with a fine transparent silk, with openings about a span broad, for the persons to look through. . . . The emperor himself was in such an obscure place that we should scarce have known him to be present had not his voice discovr'd him, which yet was so low, as if he purposely intended to be there incognito. . . . On our

2. Actually not the emperor, but the shogun Tokugawa Tsunayoshi.

left, in another room, were the counsellors of state of the first and second rank, sitting in a double row in good and becoming order. The gallery behind us was fill'd with the chief officers of the emperor's court and the gentlemen of his bedchamber. The gallery which led into the room where the emperor was, was fill'd with the sons of some princes of the empire then at court, the emperor's pages and some priests lurking. After this manner it was, that they order'd the stage on which we were now to act. . . . After the usual obeisance made, Bengo[3] bid us welcome in the emperor's name. The chief interpreter receiv'd the compliment from Bengo's mouth and repeated it to us. Upon this the ambassador [*opperhoofd*] made his compliment in the name of his masters, withal returning their most humble thanks to the emperor for having graciously granted the Dutch liberty of commerce. . . .

The mutual compliments being over, the succeeding part of this solemnity turn'd to a perfect farce. We were ask'd a thousand ridiculous and impertinent questions. Thus, for instance, they desir'd to know, in the first place, how old each of us was, and what was his name, which we were commanded to write upon a bit of paper, having for these purposes took an European inkhorn along with us. This paper, together with the inkhorn itself, we were commanded to give to Bengo, who deliver'd them both into the emperor's hands, reaching them under the lattice. The captain, or ambassador, was ask'd concerning the distance of Holland from Batavia and of Batavia from Nagasaki. Which of the two was the most powerful, the director general of the Dutch East-India Company at Batavia, or the prince of Holland? As for my own particular, the following questions were put to me: What external and internal distempers I thought the most dangerous and most difficult to cure? How I proceeded in the cure of cancerous humors and imposthumations of the inner parts? Whether our European physicians did not search after some medicine to render people immortal, as the Chinese physicians had done for many hundred years? Whether we had made any considerable progress in this search, and which was the last remedy conducive to long life, that had been found in Europe? To which I return'd in answer, that very many European physicians had long labor'd to find out some medicine, which should have the virtue of prolonging human life and preserving people in health to a great age; and having thereupon been ask'd, which I thought the best? I answer'd that I always took that to be the best which was found out last, till experience taught us a better; and being further ask'd, which was the last, I answer'd, a certain spirituous liquor, which could keep the humors of the body fluid and comfort the spirits. This general answer prov'd not altogether satisfactory, but I was quickly desir'd to let them know the name of this excellent medicine, upon which, knowing that whatever was esteem'd by the Japanese, had long and high-sounded names, I return'd in answer,

3. Makino Narisada, the grand chamberlain at the shogunal court.

it was the Sal volatile Oleosum Sylvii. This name was minuted down behind the lattices, for which purpose I was commanded to repeat it several times. The next question was, who it was that found it out, and where it was found out? I answer'd Professor Sylvius in Holland. Then they ask'd me, whether I could make it up? Upon this our resident whisper'd me to say no, but I answer'd yes, I could make it up, but not here. Then twas ask'd, whether it could be had at Batavia? and having return'd in answer, that t'was to be had there, the emperor desir'd that it should be sent over by the next ships. The emperor, who hitherto sat among ladies, almost opposite to us, at a considerable distance, did now draw nearer and sat himself down on our right behind the lattices, as near us as possibly he could. Then he order'd us to take off our cappa, or cloak, being our garment of ceremony, then to stand upright, that he might have a full view of us; again to walk, to stand still, to compliment each other, to dance, to jump, to play the drunkard, to speak broken Japanese, to read Dutch, to paint, to sing, to put our cloaks on and off. Meanwhile, we obey'd the emperor's commands in the best manner we could, I join'd to my dance a love song in High German. In this manner and with innumerable such other apish tricks, we must suffer ourselves to contribute to the emperor's and the court's diversion. The ambassador, however, is free from these and the like commands, for as he represents the authority of his masters, some care is taken that nothing should be done to injure or prejudice the same. Besides that he shew'd so much gravity in his countenance and whole behavior as was sufficient to convince the Japanese that he was not at all a fit person to have such ridiculous and comical commands laid upon him. Having been thus exercis'd for a matter of two hours, though with great apparent civility, some servants shav'd came in and put before each of us a small table with Japanese victuals and a couple of ivory sticks, instead of knives and forks. We took and eat some little things and our chief interpreter, tho' scarce able to walk, was commanded to carry away the remainder for himself. We were then ordered to put on our cloaks again and to take our leave, which we gladly and without delay complied with, putting thereby an end to this second audience. We were then conducted back by the two commissioners to the waiting room, where we took our leave of them also.

[Kaempfer, *The History of Japan*, vol. 3, pp. 85–94]

SUGITA GENPAKU

Sugita Genpaku (1733–1817), descended from a family of physicians, was trained in traditional Chinese-style medicine, studied with one of the Nagasaki Dutch interpreters, and closely questioned the Hollanders on their annual visits to Edo. Perhaps Genpaku's outstanding achievement was the famous autopsy that he, Maeno Ryōtaku (1723–1803), and Nakagawa Jun'an (1739–1786) performed. On the night of March 3, 1771, a letter from a man called Tokunō Manbei, a

retainer of one of the Edo magistrates (*machi bugyō*), reported that the corpse of a convicted criminal would be in Senju Kotsugahara at the execution grounds the following day. The corpse that the three *rangaku* scholars were permitted to view was that of Aochababa (Green Tea Hag), a woman of about fifty from Kyoto. Both Ryōtaku and Genpaku had with them copies that each had purchased of the Dutch translation (*Ontleedkundige tafelen*, 1734) by Gerard Dicten, a practitioner in Leiden, of the *Anatomische tabellen* (*Tabulae anatomicae in quibus corporis humani*, 1722) by Johan Adam Kulmus (1689–1745) of Breslau, who had studied medicine in Halle, Leipzig, Strasbourg, and Basel and with Hermann Boerhaave in Leiden and who was a teacher of medicine and pathology in Danzig. In accord with the experimental spirit of the times, Genpaku and Ryōtaku compared the anatomy of the woman's body with Kulmus's charts, and they were amazed and impressed with the accuracy of the Western, in contrast to traditional Chinese, descriptions. Realizing the importance of their discovery, Genpaku, Ryōtaku, and Jun'an agreed to translate Kulmus's book. With the help of other scholars of Dutch learning, after working for three years and five months they published the fruit of their labors as *A New Book of Anatomy* (*Kaitai shinsho*).

Despite the breakthrough that it definitely represented, *A New Book of Anatomy* had a number of weaknesses. Ryōtaku was the only one of the translators who knew a fair amount of Dutch, and no dictionaries were available. Kulmus's original work was a brief text with extensive footnotes, but the Japanese version omitted the footnotes. Since the Japanese physicians who worked on the translation had not learned Western medicine systematically and since they were still viewing the Kulmus volume as supplementary to their basic grounding in Chinese-style medicine, the translation's inaccuracies were due to the translators' not understanding several of the basic concepts familiar to Western medical practitioners. In addition, the illustrations were reproduced as woodcuts, thus diminishing their clarity and precision when compared with the engravings of the original.

Nevertheless, these negative observations pale into insignificance when compared with the remarkable impact of *A New Book of Anatomy* on the Japanese scholarly world. This undertaking, as a cooperative scholarly venture among already recognized physicians, had a particular distinction that, in turn, meant that other similarly qualified physicians became interested in medical knowledge from the West. Clearly, too, the translators' reliance on demonstrable proof of the correctness of Kulmus's anatomical charts laid the groundwork for scientific medicine and subsequently a more scientific attitude among a significant segment of the growing Japanese intelligentsia. Accordingly, the appearance of *A New Book of Anatomy* marked the opening of a new era in the history of *rangaku* in which the physical center of Dutch studies moved from Nagasaki to Edo and the intellectual mainstream broadened from the frequently part-

time and often dilettantish scholarship of the official interpreters to the national scholarly community, with Edo's prestigious physicians in the vanguard.

Perhaps the greatest importance for the future of Dutch studies was the translators' foresight in securing the *bakufu*'s sanction to publish their work. They did this by presenting *A New Book of Anatomy* to the authorities for their approval before its actual public release. While this act obviously reinforced the shogun's control of *rangaku*, it also was an implicit signal that the government was ready to permit further scholarly activity, at least in order to enhance medical knowledge.

For all its "newness," however, and the opening it gave to Western science and technology, Dutch studies did not stand entirely apart from the Neo-Confucian learning that held sway in the Tokugawa period. Although he was impressed by the new learning, Genpaku gave credit to the Neo-Confucian promotion of rational inquiry, critical inquiry, and "practical learning" that helped prepare the Japanese for their encounter with the West.

THE BEGINNINGS OF DUTCH LEARNING (*RANGAKU KOTOHAJIME*)

At the outset of *The Beginnings of Dutch Learning*, Sugita Genpaku compares the new European learning with the Confucian learning of China.

Dutch Learning Compared with Chinese Learning

It is really surprising that "Dutch learning" has gained such great popularity lately. Farsighted intellectuals study it with enthusiasm, while the ignorant praise it in grandly glowing terms.

This pursuit of Dutch learning was casually started by us—very few of us—about fifty years ago. We never expected that it would come into such a great vogue.

The way Chinese learning was begun and promoted was quite different. In old Japan, envoys were sent to Tang China (618–906), and some great Buddhist monks were sent there to pursue their studies under the direct tutelage of Chinese scholars. On coming back, these men were commissioned to educate the Japanese, high and low, in Chinese learning. It was natural, therefore, for Chinese learning to become gradually diffused among the people.

Nothing like this happened with Dutch learning. Yet it has come into such popularity that it makes me wonder what made it so. Was it because in medicine, teaching was first of all practical and it could be followed easily? Or was it because some old foxes, seeking after fame or gain, took advantage of the curiosity of the masses who considered Dutch medicine as a new, exotic, and mysterious cure?

National Isolation; Surgery in South Outlanders' Style; Surgery in Dutch Style

Let us consider here how the Japanese contact with outsiders has changed since early times. Western ships began to visit the extreme western part of Japan about the Tenshō (1573–1592) and the Keichō eras (1595–1615). Their avowed purpose was trading with Japan, but in fact they had an ulterior object, and this caused all sorts of trouble.

After the establishment of theTokugawa government (1603), all trade with Westerners came to be forbidden. This is a historical fact we all know about. The direct cause for this drastic measure, that is, the strict ban on heretical Christianity, is alien to me, and I have nothing to say about it. But I am quite positive in stating that some of the surgical knowledge, which the Japanese acquired from the doctors aboard the foreign ships coming to Japan in those days, is still with us as useful techniques in healing. These are designated as surgery in "south outlanders' style (*nanban-ryū*)."

In spite of the general ban on Western ships visiting Japan, the Dutch were allowed to keep on coming to Hirado, Hizen Province, as they were not considered "conspirators." Thirty-three years later, that is, in 1641 (the eighteenth year of Kan-ei era), all the other "south outlanders" who had been in Dejima of Nagasaki were expelled to allow the Dutch alone to reside there. Ever since, Dutch ships have made it a rule to drop anchor at Nagasaki every year. It is reported that on board the ships which visited there, there was not a small number of doctors who were instrumental in initiating the Japanese into the knowledge of surgical operations. The medical art thus transmitted was called the "surgery in Dutch style." Needless to say, the Japanese doctors did not acquire it by reading Dutch books but by watching what the Dutch performed and taking notes on their prescriptions. Since many of the drugs they applied were not available in Japan, some substitutes were used. . . . [pp. 1–3]

Dutch Learning Prospers

In the beginning, I did not think the Dutch learning would flourish and advance as we see today. This was due to my poor intellect and lack of foresight. Looking back now, I see that the Chinese learning took long to develop in this country, perhaps because it was primarily a rhetorical language while Dutch developed fast, because it expressed facts as they were and it was easier to learn. Or perhaps it was that Chinese had trained the Japanese mind and had made a foundation whereupon Dutch was able to make a rapid stride. I cannot tell.

Or it may be that the time was just ripe for this type of learning. Takebe, whom I came to know by correspondence, as I mentioned before, wrote in his letter that he was beside himself with joy to receive my answer, proving our intellectual coincidence. This gentleman was twenty years my senior. Claiming

that he was too old to study himself, he sent his son Ryōtaku and one of his pupils, Ōtsuki Gentaku, to Edo to be tutored by me.

I watched this man, Gentaku, and found him very positive in learning. He would not say or write anything unless he was convinced of it himself. He was not necessarily of vigorous mind, but he disliked frivolousness. He was exactly the man for the study of Dutch science. I loved his talent and personality and made a conscious effort to teach him. Afterward, I entrusted him to Ryōtaku's guidance. As was expected, he proved a diligent scholar, and Ryōtaku instructed him in the fundamentals of Dutch language. Thus in a short while Gentaku became thoroughly versed in the essentials of Dutch learning.

During this time, he made the acquaintance of such "Dutch" scholars as Nakagawa Jun'an, Katsuragawa Hoshū, and Lord Fukuchiyama, resulting in a rapid advance in his studies. Ever enthusiastic in its pursuit, he expressed his desire to receive lessons directly from interpreters in Nagasaki. Ryōtaku and I happily supported him in this idea. "Go, young man—and study!" we said. "You will achieve greatness in your cherished desire."

Gentaku decided to go to Nagasaki, but the trouble was the question of expense. Impressed by his fervor, I wanted to do something for him. But I myself was pressed financially then. Still, I did everything possible within my capacity. Our companion, Lord Fukuchiyama, himself a student of Dutch, kindly rendered him generous help. Thus he had the good fortune of going to Nagasaki. Having carefully disciplined himself for some time under the guidance of Motoki Einoshin,[4] an interpreter, and having sought every possible acquaintance with many experts in the line, he came back to Edo and became a permanent resident there.

After he returned to Edo, Gentaku put out the book *A Guide to Dutch Learning* (*Rangaku kaitei*) which he had compiled but had laid aside unpublished. Many of the scholars who read the book were deeply moved and were stirred to fresh exertions. I am thankful to the providence which obliged us with the appearance of such a man and such a book in support of my cherished dream. [pp. 51–53]

Report on an Autopsy

In his autobiographical account of the development of Dutch learning in Japan, *The Beginnings of Dutch Learning*, Genpaku vividly recounts the famous autopsy and the subsequent labors involved in the publication of *A New Book of Anatomy* (*Kaitai shinsho*).

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4. Motoki Einoshin (1735–1794) was a scholar knowledgeable about astronomy, humanities, and natural history.

All of us together arrived in the designated place in Kotsugahara. The executed body to be dissected was of a female criminal about fifty years old, who, born in Kyoto, had earned for herself the nickname of "Aochababa" (Green Tea Hag). She had committed a heinous crime, we were told.

Toramatsu, an *eta* and a skillful dissector, was expected to perform the task, but he failed to appear on account of a sudden illness. His ninety-year-old grandfather, a sturdy-looking man, took his place. He said that he had performed a number of dissections ever since his youth. In dissecting the human body, the custom till then was to leave everything to such outcast people [like the *eta*]. They would cut open the body and point out such organs as the lungs, liver, and the kidneys while the observing doctors simply watched them and came away. All they could say then was: "We actually viewed the innards of a human body." With no labels attached to each organ, all they could do was listen to the dissector's words and nod.

On this occasion, too, the old man went on explaining the various organs such as the heart, the liver, the gallbladder, and the stomach. Further, he pointed to some other things and said: "I don't know what they are, but they have always been there in all the bodies that I have so far dissected." Checking them later with the Dutch charts, we were able to identify them to be the main arteries and veins and suprarenal glands. The old man also said: "In my past experience of dissection, the doctors present never seemed puzzled, or asked questions specifically about one thing or another."

Comparing the things we saw with the pictures in the Dutch book Ryōtaku and I had with us, we were amazed at their perfect agreement. There were no such divisions as the six lobes and two auricles of the lungs or the three left lobes and four right lobes of the liver mentioned in old medical books. Also, the positions and forms of the intestines and the stomach were very different from the traditional descriptions.

The shogun's official doctors—Okada Yōsen and Fujimoto Rissen—had beheld dissections seven or eight times before, but always what they saw was different from what had been taught in the past thousand years. They said they had been making sketches every time they saw something that struck them as strange. On this basis, I suppose, they had written that perhaps the Chinese and Japanese were different in their internal structures. This I had read.

After the dissection was over, we were tempted to examine the forms of the bones, too, and picked up some of the sun-bleached bones scattered around the ground. We found that they were nothing like those described in the old books but were exactly as represented in the Dutch book. We were completely amazed.

On our way home, three of us—Ryōtaku, Jun'an, and I—talked of what a startling revelation we had seen that day. We felt ashamed of ourselves for having come this far in our lives without being aware of our own ignorance. How presumptuous on our part to have served our lordships and pretended to carry

out our duties as official doctors when we were totally without knowledge of the true makeup of our bodies, which should be the foundation of the art of healing! Based upon today's experience, suppose we should, by some means, learn even the bare outline of the truth about the body and practice our medicine according to that knowledge, we should be able to justify our claim as medical professionals.

Thus we talked and sighed. Ryōtaku, too, said all of this was very true, and he was in complete agreement. I broke the spell by saying, "Even this one volume of *Ontleedkundige Tafeln*—suppose we translate it—many facts about the body will be clarified and the art of healing will be greatly benefited. I would like, in some way or another, to read this book without the aid of a Nagasaki interpreter."

Ryōtaku replied: "I have had the cherished idea of reading a Dutch book, but I have not found a friend to share that purpose, and I have been passing the days in regret. However, if you are all for it—I have been to Nagasaki and learned something of the language—shall we, then, make mine the seed of our knowledge and start work on the book?"

"That makes me glad!" I said, "If you would join forces as comrades, I too will show you I can rouse myself to action."

Ryōtaku, very much elated, said, "'For good purpose, do not dally,' the proverb says. Let us meet in my home tomorrow. We will find some way to go at the work."

I promised earnestly to follow his words, and we parted.

Next day, we gathered at Ryōtaku's house. We talked over the experience of the day before. Then we faced the book.

But it was as though we were on a boat with no oar or rudder adrift on the great ocean—a vast expanse and nothing to indicate our course. We just gazed at each other in blank dismay.

Ryōtaku, however, had studied the Dutch language for some years. He had been to Nagasaki and had learned something of the Dutch words and syntax. He was also an old man ten years my senior. So we decided to make him our leader and respect him as our teacher.

As far as I was concerned, I knew nothing of the Dutch language, not even the twenty-five letters of the alphabet. As the project was such a sudden event, I had to begin by learning the letters and gradually familiarize myself with the language.

We conferred and discussed together how to approach the translation and put it into proper and intelligible Japanese.

We thought it too difficult to attack the internal structure of the body at the incipient stage of our work. At the beginning of the book, there were illustrations of the full view of the human body, front and back. As we were familiar with all parts of the body's outside, we thought it would be easy to pair off the signs on the illustrations and on the explanatory notes, thus to learn the names of

the parts of the body; at any rate, these were the first of the illustrations—we decided to begin with them. The result of this work was the compilation of the volume called *Atlas and Nomenclature of the Human Body* (*Keitai-meimoku-hen*) in *A New Book of Anatomy* (*Kaitai shinsho*).

But coming to such auxiliaries as "de" (of), "het" (it), "als" (as), and "welke" (which), we were completely at sea. We had a fragmentary knowledge of Dutch words, but their connections in a sentence were always puzzling to us. For example, we once came across the sentence: "The *wyn-braauwen* (eyebrows) are the hair growing above the eyes." To us, its meaning remained hazy in spite of a long spring day being spent on it. It was not rare that we would be thinking and staring together till sunset and yet be unable to decipher a line or even a sentence one or two inches long.

On another occasion, we came across the description: "The nose is a part which 'verhevene.'" We thought hard about it, but the expression remained a puzzle to us. Of course, we had no such thing as a *Wordenboek* (dictionary). We had only a small word book which Ryōtaku had procured in Nagasaki. In it we thought we read, "When a branch of a tree is cut, the cut end will 'verhevene.'" "When a yard is swept, the dust and dirt brought together 'verhevene.'" We tried to conjecture the meaning, as we always did, by straining its interpretation to the greatest conceivable extent, but in vain.

Just at this moment, it occurred to me: "When we cut a branch of a tree, and the cut end heals, it grows high; or when we gather dust and dirt, it will make a heap; the nose of a human being looks like a heap in the center of the face. So 'verhevene' may probably mean 'heaped up.' How would this go?"

This was my suggestion to my fellow workers. They all agreed it fitted in the sentence very well and decided on it. Our delight was beyond words. We felt as though we had found a "gem worth fifteen castles," as the old Chinese saying goes. Such was the way we sought the equivalent Japanese for a Dutch word and gradually enlarged our vocabulary and added to Ryōtaku's notes of translated words.

Often, however, we encountered such a word as "zinnen" (sense), which was beyond our comprehension. In such a case, we let it alone with a sign, expecting that we might at some other time understand it. The sign was a cross in a circle, which we called "a bit with a cross." Every time, therefore, when we had vainly struggled with an unintelligible word, we would exclaim in despair, "Let's give it the bit with a cross."

We used to say, "Man proposes, and God disposes." With this belief, we went on laboring and expending energy in six or seven meetings every month.

None of us missed an appointed date, although there was no immediate prospect of success. Truly, as the proverb says, "Mind the light itself." After the passage of one year or so, our vocabulary was enlarged, and naturally we became informed of Dutch things in general. By and by we found ourselves capable of

translating as many as ten lines a day without much trouble when the language was not very complicated.

Needless to say, we did take questions to the interpreters who came to Edo annually. Also, between times we attended the dissections of human bodies, and more often we opened animal bodies to confirm what we read.

When I first obtained that book of anatomy and ascertained its accuracy by actual observation, I was struck with admiration by the great difference between the knowledge of the West and that of the East. And I was inspired to come to the determination that I must learn and clarify the new revelation for applying it to actual healing and also for making it the seed of further discoveries among the general physicians of Japan. I was anxious to bring the work to completion as fast as possible. I had no other thought in those days than to write down in the evening what we had deciphered in the day's meeting. I considered the forms of expression in many ways, trying and retrying, and in the four years, I rewrote the manuscript eleven times over before feeling ready to hand it to the printers. Thus the work *A New Book of Anatomy* (*Kaitai shinsho*) was completed. [pp. 29–37]

[Sugita, *Dawn of Western Science in Japan*, pp. 1–3, 51–53, 29–37]

ŌTSUKI GENTAKU

One of the most noted and most learned of the scholars of things Dutch was Ōtsuki Gentaku (1757–1827), whom Sugita Genpaku referred to in the preceding excerpt. Gentaku began his study of medicine at age thirteen, and eager to acquire both language competence and Dutch medical skills, he studied with the official interpreters in Nagasaki and the Dutch-style physicians in Edo. Revered by both Tokugawa officialdom and Dutch studies specialists, by the time of his death Gentaku had reached the pinnacle of scholarly esteem for his all-encompassing knowledge. His *A Clarification of Misunderstandings in Theories* [*About*] *the Dutch* (*Ransetsu benwaku*, 1797), which was supposedly written down verbatim by one of his disciples, shows evidence of both the kinds of inquiry that were commonly addressed to *rangaku* scholars and the level of their "scholarly" achievement.

MISUNDERSTANDINGS ABOUT THE DUTCH (*RANSETSU BENWAKU*)

Short Life

Q: It is rumored among the public that all Hollanders are short-lived. Is there really any basis for this in fact?

A: Where this story sprang up or the reason for it, I do not know. Human life, both long and short, is exacted in heaven, and there is no difference throughout the whole world in all countries and in all places. This fact is well known in both China and in Japan. However, among those peoples [of the earth] who continuously sail over great expanses of rough waters, it is said that there are many who are short-lived and who generally die around forty. . . . Even on voyages of one or two hundred *ri*, how many times every year do we hear of ships sinking, goods being abandoned, or lives being lost? So all the more must such things be, since these others come and go, enduring the winds and waves of over tens of thousands of *ri* to the east and west. Therefore, people who continually sail the seas, though they be young, unwittingly grow old; moreover, though they may be treated kindly, they readily fall ill, and in the end many have difficulty even getting to their feet. After all, their spirits unconsciously become empty and deficient in ordinary work, and since they live on a boat for several hundred days, they are affected with seasickness; thus there are certainly natural reasons for the breakdown of their bodies. . . . On looking at the people who come to this country, [we see that] those who say they are twenty-two, twenty-three, twenty-four, or twenty-five all appear to be around forty. People who remain in that country [Holland] are no different from those in this country, and their spans of life are not all the same. There are those who live on to a hundred years and those who die after ten or twenty fleeting years. [*jō*, pp. 2–3]

Without Heels

Q: It is said that it is a natural characteristic of the Hollanders not to have heels or that they have eyes like animals or that these people are tall. What is really the truth?

A: Where did these false stories develop? Since the eyes of the people of this country are very different from [the eyes of] those people [Hollanders], are they scorned as though they were animals, or is this because they are from a different continent? There is some degree of difference in the coloring of Europeans and Asians. However, there is none at all in the physical composition [of their bodies], nor is there the slightest difference in how they use [their bodies]. When I was at Nagasaki and saw people who were Indians and blacks, they differed slightly in their eye structure. There is a small difference among the Chinese, Koreans, and Ryukyuans, and even in people of our same country I think I can discern some variations in the appearance of the eyes among the people of Tōō , Hokuetsu, Shikoku, and Tsukushi. There is a little difference in color and appearance, but as far as prac-

tical application is concerned, we are all the same. It goes without saying that citizens of a continent over ten thousand *ri* away will be different. Even though there are the same conditions of creation, there must be slight variations conditioned by the location of their homeland. Moreover, since the heel is the base of one's body—and without heels how could one move about?—this [question] is not even worthy of comment.

As far as saying that all of those people [Hollanders] are tall, was this said after looking at the height of the groups of three [Dutch captain, physician, and secretary] who have come to Edo? They are neither equally tall nor short. They are not of one kind, tall or short. The many Hollanders I have seen at Nagasaki are of varying [heights]. . . .

The captain named "Hanreide" [Baron van Reede tot de Parkeler], who visited Edo recently, was very short. However since they [the Dutch] wear tight-sleeved clothes and these do not flap about, people of medium height may seem as though they are particularly tall. Some even say that when those people [Hollanders] urinate, they lift one leg like a dog or that they have many sexual techniques or use various aphrodisiacs, but these are false stories to which not one bit of attention should be paid. [*jō*, pp. 4–5]

Wine

Q: I hear that as intoxicants they have various things such as grape wine, *araki* [Du. *arak* (Arab spice wine)], *chinda* [Port. *vinho tinto* (red wine)], etc. How do they manufacture them?

A: As for the Dutch wines in general, there are many purchased abroad or imported from various countries. They are all fermented from grapes. They have various names depending on the method of manufacture. Saké is called "uein." This is taken from [the word for] grapes "ueingaarudo" with the last part omitted. Therefore they are all grape wines and only have different names according to their manufacture.

That country [Holland] has a great many kinds of wine. Grape wine, *araki*, and *chinda* are not different things. They have names which differ according to the method of manufacture. And the thing specifically called "biiro" [Du. *bier*] is an alcoholic drink manufactured from grain. This is used after eating and is said to aid in the digestion of food and drink. [*jō*, pp. 9–10]

Various Glass Utensils

Q: The kinds of Dutch-made glass wine cups in this area are all called "koppu"; the wine containers are called "flasks" (*furasuko*); and the

glass is called "biidoro" [Port. *vidro*]. Are there any distinctions among each of these?

A: From ancient times, glass has been called "biidoro," and this is not a Dutch word. It is a Latin and Portuguese word. Years ago when Portuguese ships came to our country, this word was transmitted and became a common term. In Holland they say "garasu." Originally the thing known as "koppu" referred to an object like a *chawan* [teacup]. Now what is called "koppu" by the public is generally the "kerukii" [Du. *kelk*]. There are various names depending on the shape. As for "furasuko" [Port. *frasco*], the original name is "furesuku" . . . the glass container in which is put medicinal oils, saké, etc. Here I have selected and included suitable pictures. They should be looked at together. [*jō*, pp. 12–18]

Bread

Q: We hear the Hollanders eat a thing called "pan" as their staple food. What is this made of?

A: They mix yeast with wheat flour, knead them together, and bake. This is their food both mornings and evenings.

Q: Don't they ever use cooked rice?

A: They eat cooked rice but only in very small amounts . . . not as much as one bowlful in this country. For the most part they use Indian rice and call cooked rice "gekoukuto reisu" [Du. *gekokt rijst*]. This is what is called boiled rice. It is not yet clear from what country the word "pan" comes. In Holland they say "burouto" [Du. *brood*]. In a country next to Holland called France we hear that they call it "pain" [Fr. *pain*]. Can this be a version of the same word? [*jō*, pp. 23–24]

Portugal

Q: Usually caper spurge or mole-plant [*Europhorbia lathyrus*] is called "horutogaru" [Portugal], and among the imported oils and medicines there is one called "horuto no abura" [olive oil]. Please give me the correct information about these things.

A: Portugal originally is the name of the country that is more in the western corner [of Europe] than Holland. In China it is translated *Po-erh-tu-wa-erh*. The true name is "Poruchugaru." In days of yore it is said that many boats came here from that country. At that time, words of that country were transmitted to our shores, and even now there must be words that remain, such as "kappa" [Port. *capa* (raincoat)], "suppon" [probably Fr. *jupan* (petticoat)], "inondo" [Port. *eneldo* (medicinal herb)], "manteika" [Port. *manteiga* (grease)], and "hiriyōzu" [Port. *meias* (hosiery)]. This "horuto no abura" is also a famous product of that country, and since it was first brought over by people from that

country, it seems to have directly assumed the name of that nation. Basically it is an oil pressed from the fruit of a tree called the "oreifu boumu" [Du. *olijf boom* (olive tree)]. In Holland this is the only oil used especially for medicinal purposes. It is used like sesame oil in this country. [*ge*, pp. 35–39]

Food

Q: What sorts of things do the Hollanders have for food? People say that they are like the Chinese in eating inferior food and that like the Chinese also, they smoke tobacco a great deal.

A: This [story] must arise because it is said that foreigners have varieties of beef and pork as staple foods. This [diet] is not limited to Holland and China. All foreign countries have such foodstuffs. Since Japan is a country surrounded on four sides by water, and since ample food is derived from things produced in the sea, it seems that from days of old we have not made use of mountain products. Since foreign countries for the most part are states that continue far inland, distances from the seashore may extend from one hundred to three hundred *ri*. Therefore it is difficult to have a sufficiency [of food] by using sea products, and naturally people eat things that live on land. It is thought that pigs and the like were created and put on earth by heaven for food. Since even in our country there are places such as the northern provinces that are deep in the mountains and are far from the sea, it is said that there are many places where, besides salted fish, wild boar and deer are always eaten. This practice is probably the same [as in Holland and China]. The cuisine of both Holland and China, according to what I hear of the appearance of their food, might not be what common people rumor it to be; they have from the beginning used as staple foods varieties of fowl, cow, and pig which are raised by people. Of course, as far as their method of cookery is concerned, everything they eat is very well cooked, and they never eat things that are boiled alive or things like raw fish which, after entering the intestines, are difficult to digest. It is said that Hollanders and others, though they be lowly persons, have no wish to eat animals and fish of unusual shapes which from ancient times they have been unaccustomed to eat. They do not eat things like the sea-devil [devil fish], squid, and octopus. It is said that they eat such varieties of fish as the sea bream, halibut, salmon, trout, and carp. In reference to birds it is said that they do not make much use of birds like the pheasant and duck that are fat and deleterious. From the first they say that species such as the dog and the horse have not been [considered] edible. Of course, they have regular times for eating and drinking, but it is said that beyond these they never drink or eat to excess. When they [Hol-

landers] hear it said that all the people here ordinarily eat fish and that our town bullies can down two bonitos or . . . a great amount of saké in one gulp, the [Hollanders] must be horrified and must deplore it.

As for the saying that they smoke tobacco a great deal, this must be because they are seen using a long-stemmed pipe with a large pipe bowl. The whole pipe is made of porcelain. Since it has a long stem, it does not fill up with exudations over a long period of time, and from the way it is made one would think it would easily break in a short time. Its length is more than a *shaku* [0.994 foot], probably with the idea that the fragrance of the tobacco on the throat should be slight. Although the pipe's bowl is relatively large, the hole that transmits [the smoke] is extremely narrow. And the thing they call tobacco is first boiled in hot water and then dried after thus being separated from its violent poisons. Of course, as far as their smoking tobacco is concerned, they don't swallow [the smoke] but blow it all out. Always filling their cheeks up to the point of exhaling, they stop at two or three puffs. They are more moderate than our people who used short pipes that can be used coming or going and sitting and lying down. [*ge*, pp. 1–3]

Black-boys

Q: It is said that "black-boys" who come over on Dutch ships submerge in water easily and grow up practicing swimming or that they are a kind of monkey.

A: "Black-boys" are poor people from India. The Dutch have engaged them as servants at "Jagatara" [Jakarta]. In that area are people from various places, and all of them have homelands which have their origins in the deep south and therefore have very hot climates. Hence their bodies are bathed in the sunlight, and their coloring becomes extremely black. And since they are menial people, it is said that they do not clothe their bodies and only cover their private parts. Often they are said to have frizzled hair like Shaka who was born on a tropical island called "Seiran" [Ceylon] in India and whose swirled hair was curled by the extreme heat. Furthermore, it must have been owing to the heat of the land that the five hundred disciples of Buddha were either stripped to the waist or entirely nude. Among "black-boys" there is certainly a distinction between the noble and the lowly and the wise and foolish, and those people are no different from the rest of mankind. From the beginning I have not paid any attention to the story that they grow up practicing swimming. People are not what others say they are. Each Hollander has his own servant, and each is useful in different circumstances. Without distinction the various waiters and chambermaids and seamstresses assist in washing, drawing water, rice-

hulling, and cooking. The Dutch call them "suwaruto yongo" [Du. *zwarte jongen* (young black)]. "Suwaruto" is black , and "yongo" is a servant, a young person. This must mean a servant-slave. [*ge*, pp. 3–5]

Electricity

Q: "Erekiteru" [electrostatic generator] is said to be an instrument for taking fire from the bodies of human beings. What sort of thing is this?

A: A diagram of this [instrument] has already been detailed in Morishima's book *Kōmō zatsuwa* (*Miscellany of Dutch Studies*). ["Erekiteru"] is a version of the original word "erekiseriteito" [Du. *electriciteit* (electricity)]. The Dutch use the words "hiyufuru sutein karakuto" [Du. *vuur steen kracht* (fire-stone power)]. There is no justification of taking fire from human bodies. Fire emerges by contact with something. Rocks and minerals are rubbed against each other causing fire. Since this action is like steel striking flintstone to produce fire, we use the name "fire-stone power." And it is this device which, by causing friction among the forces of heaven and earth, proves the principle which is manifested in a flash of lightning. Fire does not emerge from the tip of the thing which is struck but erupts from the place which has been rubbed with this instrument and brings forth fire. In this light, it is not at all a mysterious thing. It is an implement which has been devised according to this principle and creates fire. It should be known that this fundamental principle is the same as that of the igniting stone which is used every morning and evening in every home. [*ge*, pp. 6–7]

Shadow Picture Lantern

Q: Of late it is said that there is a thing brought over by the Dutch called a "shadow picture lantern." In a dark room they light a fire in front of it, and show varicolored silhouette pictures on a blank wall-hanging that is placed opposite it; if [the pictures] are of human beings, they are of human size and even seem as though they are living, though it may be a trick. What is this called, and what sort of trick is it?

A: In Holland this is called "toufuru rantaaru" [Du. *touver lantaarn* (magic lantern)]. When this is translated, isn't it a magic lantern? Originally it was a plaything for little girls. They [the Dutch] leave an opening in the end of a small box which is put at the front, and they light a fire inside it. When they insert into this opening an inverted picture that has been drawn on glass, the shadow is turned about and is correctly reflected on the opposite screen. Moreover, its shape is large. This [apparatus] can be called an eye. It reflects all things using the same principle of the shadows making their impression on it. When one sees this thing and understands its principles, it should be

quickly comprehended. Didn't it get the name "magic lantern" from people to whom the principle was obscure and who therefore had difficulty understanding it? [*ge*, pp. 7–8]

First Entry into the Harbor and Accommodations at Nagasaki

Q: When were the Dutch first in this country, and have they come to Nagasaki since ancient times? Further, what sort of accommodations do they have in that place [Nagasaki]?

A: As I have already explained in my *Rangaku kaitei*, they began [coming here] about the time of Toyotomi [Hideyoshi (1536–1548)] in the Keichō period [1596–1615] and reached Hirado in Hizen. After that, during the Kan'ei period [1624–1644], they entered the harbor of Nagasaki in the same province. Not yet two hundred years have gone by. Ignorant and stupid women think that Nagasaki is a place in China, and there are those that think that the people of this country [Japan] are mixed with the people of that country [Holland]. These are gross errors. Both the Chinese and Dutch have places of residence. The Dutch live on a small island constructed on the shore of the place called Edo machi in the same city [Nagasaki]. It has been given the name Dejima. Facing northward from this place there is a gate by which various officials, interpreters, etc. may come and go. Nishikawa [Joken (1647–1724)] of this place has detailed this in a book called *Nagasaki yawagusa* (*Evening Thoughts of Nagasaki*). The abode of the Chinese is a place called Jūzenji-mura. At the east of the harbor on the outskirts of the city there is a place called Umegasaki. Here the Chinese ships anchor. Facing this is a temple called Daitokuji. Below is a common. At the right on a high place there is a village called Kojima. In the area between this village and the temple is the [Chinese compound]. From Dejima the terrain can be viewed very widely. In years gone by, when I went there to study, they were making prints at that place, and I bought some pictures of Nagasaki that were for sale. Pictures that showed the general outline of the quarters of both the Chinese and Dutch could be obtained, and I keep them at home. [*ge*, pp. 11–13]

The Origins of the Visits to Edo and Commerce

Q: Why do the Dutch come to Edo every year in the spring? Their ordinarily being called merchant foreigners is very strange. What is the origin of this?

A: This [visit] is to obtain permission to cross the sea [to Japan]. I hear that they are permitted to come every spring bringing products of their

country in order to pay homage in an audience with the shogun. As is the established custom, they leave Nagasaki on the fifteenth of January, and at the beginning of March various officials of the Nagasaki garrison, three Hollanders, the senior and junior interpreters, etc., leading several tens of men, go up to the castle for an audience and offer products of their country. When they take their leave, they are granted gifts from the shogun. I understand that they divide up these gifts into seven portions, send them to the seven provinces of their homeland, and distribute them respectively. As far as the conduct of their trade is concerned, after entering the harbor in early autumn, during the three months of July, August, and September, they exchange various goods at Dejima, Nagasaki. Those who come into port in early fall of the current year alternate with those who have remained on Deshima since the previous year. At the audience in the following spring the captain will take the secretary and the physician, and it is said that these are as a general rule the three who make the visit to [Edo]. [*ge*, pp. 13–14]

Surgery

Q: You speak as though all the Dutch doctors are ordinarily only surgeons. Is this really true?

A: As far as this [question] is concerned, when the first ships came into port skilled surgeons were on board, and the interpreters of that time [who were] learning the various unusual skills that they [the surgeons] had to offer were the founders of surgery and, before one knew it, formed a school. Following those people [these ideas] were handed down by hearsay and gradually became widespread, and it seems like Nagasaki was the source of surgery. At that time, since the books of that country could not be read directly, those studying these marvelous arts could only learn by memory, and it seems that these [students] did not extend their questioning into matters of internal medical treatment. Even when one speaks of Holland, how can external treatment alone be used to treat external injuries resulting from wind, cold, heat, and dampness, the various ailments brought on by internal injuries, conditions of women before and after childbirth, children's smallpox and boils, and varieties of measles? This is utterly unthinkable. Even aboard ship the same situation exists. Are there only external ailments and not internal ailments? On board ship, although [their doctors] do not distinguish between internal and external treatment, [they] combine both internal and external medical science. In their books, internal medical treatments and methods are very minute and detailed,

and that country [Holland] has a great many books which can be selected from among the work of its wise men. Generally those persons who are doctors consider that it is of first importance to know the whole human body under ordinary conditions. The four extremities and the whole external human body from the skin, flesh, body hair, and hair on the head to the viscera, veins, and membranes on the inside are all vivisected and investigated, and on the basis of these [studies] the [doctors] consider the source of the illness and give treatments. Learning these facts in detail by research in these techniques, they know their procedure. Among medical skills, internal medicine is especially difficult to master easily. . . . As for the whole field of medicine, even among the medical profession, it is said that there are men of [especially] good repute. They are called "heneisuheiru" [Du. *geneesheer* (physician)]. This is a title of respect. Another name is "dokutōru" [Du. *doktor* (doctor)]. Men such as these do not come over on ships, and it is understood that they recklessly [go] to other countries. They also are skillful surgeons. As far as [the doctors] who come over on the ships are concerned, many of them are persons who in a general way know the techniques. It is said that they come for the sake of pursuing their studies and that they endeavor to succeed in both medicine and surgery. From time to time there are people whose main endeavor is medicine, and for study and research they also come over to try to get better acquainted [with such work]. In their language a surgeon is called "heiru meisuteru" [Du. *heelmeester* (surgeon)] or "hando uerukerusu" [craftsman; i.e., surgeon] but since on the ships he combines medicine [with surgery] he is called "dokutōru." Two men come over on each ship. One is called "oppuru meisuteru," and the other is called "onderu meisuteru." Our comparable terms for these are senior surgeon and junior surgeon. "Oppuru" is senior. "Onderu" is junior. The one who pays his respects at Edo is the "oppuru meisuteru." However, as noted above, they are called "dokutōru." [*ge*, pp. 15–18]

[Ōtsuki, *Ransetsu benwaku*; Goodman, trans., "Translation of Ōtsuki Gentaku's *Ransetsu benwaku*," pp. 71–99]

SHIBA KŌKAN

Shiba Kōkan (1747–1818), an Edo man, was a painter of traditional Chinese and Japanese styles (especially *ukiyo-e* [woodblock prints]) before he developed an interest in Western art and, in association with the leading scholars of Dutch studies, became an enthusiastic advocate of Western art and civilization, manifested in his work as a painter, etcher, and engraver.

DISCUSSING WESTERN PAINTING (*SEIYŌGA DAN*)

The distinguished historian Sir George Sansom saw Shiba Kōkan as representing a significant restlessness among educated Japanese of his day: "[He] felt that his native culture was exhausted and stale . . . a man in revolt against contemporary Japanese life, . . . [and] impressed by the material and scientific aspects of Western culture."[5] The following comments by Kōkan, from *Discussing Western Painting* (1799), reflect his sense of impatience with his own countrymen for failing to appreciate things Western.

1. The diameter of the world is more than seven thousand miles, and the sea route circumnavigating it is over twenty-four thousand miles. The land known as the West is in the region lying to west of China and Japan. The most distant region of the West is called Europe. It is one of the great continents and contains several thousand countries the size of Japan. One of them, the Netherlands, is divided into seven districts, one of which is Holland.

The various countries of the West all have the same style of painting. Since this style was introduced to Japan by the Dutch, and since today there are numerous examples of Dutch art in Japan, we call all Western paintings "Dutch paintings." The technique employed in this art produces a true representation of reality, greatly different from the style that is used in Japan. Many persons in Japan—among them those who paint in the traditional Chinese or Japanese technique—consider Western-style painting absurd and have no desire to learn the Western method. Not only do they think it unworthy of study, but they feel that it has no artistic value and cannot be called painting at all! They seem to think that the artistic creations of the West are mere artisan's work. This is indeed an extremely foolish notion.

The Japanese and Chinese painting that we refer to as *saiga*, or minutely painted pictures, actually come under the category of *saiku*, or artisan's work. Take, for example, the manner in which the Japanese draw hair and beards: every single strand of hair is drawn individually. The Western technique of drawing hair, however, is to suggest the hair in a few brush strokes, so that the resulting appearance is one of real hair, not a mere mass of lines. In ancient times people were not concerned with the stress and character of the brush stroke. Fundamentally, a brush is a tool for drawing pictures. If one attempts to draw an ox without expressing the actual appearance of the ox, if one is concerned mainly with the impression given by the brush technique, then a mere spot of ink could just as well be called a picture of an ox.

For example, medical science cures illness with medicine. Relating this

5. Sansom, *The Western World and Japan*, pp. 232–33.

metaphorically to painting, let us call medical science the brush, illness the picture, and medicines the colors. The attempt of medical science to cure a specific illness with general medicine, or the attempt of the brush to correct a picture with color, is like not knowing exactly where the illness originates or just what is at fault in a painting. The primary aim of Western art is to create a spirit of reality, but Japanese and Chinese paintings, in failing to do this, become mere toys serving no use whatever.

By employing shading, Western artists can represent convex and concave surfaces, sun and shade, distance, depth, and shallowness. Their pictures are models of reality and thus can serve the same function as the written word, often more effectively. The syllables used in writing can only describe, but one realistically drawn picture is worth ten thousand words. For this reason Western books frequently use pictures to supplement written texts, a striking contrast to the inutility of the Japanese and Chinese pictures, which serve no better function than that of a hobby to be performed at drinking parties.

The bones of mermaids are reputed to make marvelous medicines. An old tale in a Dutch book tells of a mermaid who was caught just off the Indonesian island of Amboina, which once belonged to Portugal and later to Holland. The people of Amboina preserved the mermaid in embalming fluid and drew pictures of her, so that one could see both mermaid and illustrations. The drawings were done in color to convey her luster and shape, and they had an accompanying descriptive text. After some years the preserved mermaid lost her original appearance, so that a person today who desires to know what the mermaid once looked like must resort to the drawings made of her. Had the drawings not been executed in a realistic technique, they too would be virtually useless. (For further details concerning mermaids, see *Rokubutsu shinshi* [*Record of Six New Items*] by Ōtsuki Gentaku.)

2. Instead of using glue as we do to mix our pigments, Western artists use oil. This means that even if their paintings get wet, they are not damaged. These pictures are commonly called oil paintings. Although many artists in Japan have copied this technique, few have ever attained a genuine knowledge. When I visited Nagasaki some years ago, a Hollander named Issac Titsingh gave me a book on art entitled *Konst Schilderboek*. Perusing this work carried me into an intoxicating world. After a careful study of it, I finally attained a perfect command of its principles and can now draw whatever I wish with complete ease—landscapes, birds, flowers, men, or beasts.

Pictures that are intended to give information, because of the vast amount of accurate detail that they contain, are far more effective than simple words of description. All things depicted in paintings—from the great wild goose down to the tiny sparrow, and even further to the components of eyes and beaks and legs—differ in shape and feeling. Even the color in plumage varies exceedingly. The written word in black and white cannot possibly recreate an accurate image

of the true form. For this reason, the pictures drawn in Western countries are regarded even more highly than writing. Painting and writing both serve the nation; they are not devised merely for amusement.

3. Many Easterners consider Western art to be no more than "perspective pictures," but this belief is utterly fallacious for the reason I have stated previously: a picture that does not represent reality faithfully is not well executed. There is far more to realistic painting than the mere drawing of perspective. Eastern pictures have no accuracy of detail, and without such accuracy, a picture is not really a picture at all. To paint reality is to paint all objects—landscapes, birds, flowers, cows, sheep, trees, rocks, or insects—exactly as the original objects appear, thereby actually animating the drawing. No technique other than that of the West can achieve this feeling of reality. When a Western painter looks at the work of an Eastern artist, he surely must see it as the mere playing of a child, hardly worthy of the name "painting." But when an Oriental artist, who is used to living with his wretched paintings, has an opportunity to compare his work with the distinctly superior Western art, he stupidly considers the latter merely another school of art, calling it "perspective painting." Obviously, such categorizing represents an extreme misunderstanding of Western painting.

4. Western books contain pictures made by the copper-engraving process. They have, for example, botany books (something like our medicinal herb books) in which illustrations and words are equally important for description. Without illustrations it would be impossible to obtain a clear understanding of the plant's appearance. Similarly, in order to construct an unfamiliar article, one must know its shape. What better way could there be to describe this than by means of a picture? Being realistic representations, the drawings of Western countries are executed according to the "three-face method" of shading.

The technique of bestowing color tonality in addition to shading, particularly in copper engraving, is a very difficult art. Therefore, early Western books published before the technique of copperplate engraving was sufficiently developed contain extremely poor illustrations, which only slightly resemble the genuine article. An example of this is the ancient Dutch book by Ambrosius Paré, which roughly corresponds to our books on medical herbs. The inadequacy of these reproductions sometimes caused scholars of Dutch learning and others who were unaware of the misrepresentations to misjudge the engravings, making serious errors. Starting from the Dutch zoological encyclopedia by Johnston, the technique of making copperplates improved markedly, so that more recent publications reaching us from abroad all contain carefully detailed engravings, so realistic the pictures almost come alive.

Even though we often cannot read the descriptions written in the Dutch language, we still can get a thorough understanding of many of the things described merely by studying the pictures carefully. This fact alone proves the brilliance and superiority of Western art. Of course, the principles of Western

art are quite impossible to comprehend unless one first has some notion of the principles of the art of Japan and China with which he can compare the Western technique.

The three-face method of shading in Western art must be studied carefully and understood thoroughly: (1) Keep pure white that part of the painting which is to depict objects in direct sunlight. (2) Paint in pale tones those objects on which the sun shines obliquely. (3) Paint in deep tones those objects that are shaded from the sun and are therefore dark. The effect of light and dark shadows is achieved in engraving by the use of parallel lines: when single parallel lines are used in close proximity, the tonality is light; when two sets of parallel lines are used crossing each other, the tone becomes dark.

When I was a young man, Hiraga Gennai told me that many years ago a Hollander arrived in Japan, bringing with him several hundred Dutch copperplate pictures. He offered them for sale; but the Japanese, too frivolous and superficial to realize what a rare and wonderful opportunity this was, declined his offer! They knew nothing of the technique involved, and this, in fact, was their first indication of the existence of copper engravings.

No one in Japan knew the proper method of making a copperplate. I therefore turned to the formula given in a book by a Hollander named Boisu. I consulted with Ōtsuki Gentaku, who assisted me in translating the text so that I could manufacture copperplate pictures in Japan. In 1783, I produced the first engraving. Unfortunately, Asians are different in nature from Europeans, who have achieved such great skill in this art, and I could hardly hope to attain an equal perfection.

At the time of this writing I am more than fifty years old, and gradually my energy wanes. Though I have still much to learn, I should like to offer what slight knowledge I possess on the art of copperplate engraving to those whom it might interest. I therefore intend to publish another book, called *Oranda kikō*, which will explain the engraving technique.

5. Western artists apply their theories to a technique of precise representation, and their works cannot be viewed in a frivolous manner. There is, in fact, a specific way to look at them. Perhaps to facilitate this, the pictures are usually framed and hung on a wall. Even when a painting is to be looked at casually, it should be hung directly in front of the observer. In the picture there is always a horizon line between sky and land. The viewer should move back five or six feet to a position where the horizon in the picture is level with his eyes. In this manner perspective is expressed in its truest form, clearly delineating the foreground from the background and setting off objects in space. Often a mirror is used in looking at small pictures, giving them an even greater appearance of depth and reality.

6. Portraiture is an important art form in the West, where the faces of sages and political figures are recorded in copperplate engravings for the benefit of future generations. The portrayal of these men gives one as clear an understand-

ing of their physiognomies as seeing the men themselves. Again, the contrast to Japanese and Chinese paintings is striking, for without the technique of copying reality, the Eastern artist can paint only a subjective impression of an object or a face. The same man, if painted by two different Japanese artists, will appear to be two different men. Consequently, since the true form is not described, only a vague image appears. An image of grass and flowers that does not resemble the actual plants can hardly be called a picture of them.

7. The indigenous art technique of Japan and China cannot possibly reproduce reality. In drawing a spherical object, a Japanese artist will simply draw a circle and call it a sphere because he has no method for representing roundness. Being unable to deal with convexity, should he draw the front view of a man's face, there is no way of expressing the height of the nose! This difficulty is not due to the way in which the lines are drawn, but to the total disregard of shading in Japanese art. I shall discuss the drawing of Western pictures in greater detail in a later book, called *Seiyōga den*.

[French, *Shiba Kōkan*, pp. 171–74]

Chapter 30

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY RATIONALISM

As Japan moved into the eighteenth century, the Tokugawa shogunate was already a century old, with its power and prestige firmly established and its policy of peace enforcement a proven success. The country was entering a stage of economic and cultural prosperity that was accompanied by an outburst of intellectual activity and originality unprecedented in Japan's long history. Despite the shogunate's adherence to a seclusion policy, the events of the late sixteenth century leading up to its adoption also had left indelibly printed on many Japanese minds the vision of a new and larger world in which the West played a dynamic part. At the same time, the program of instruction based on Zhu Xi's texts, which for almost a century had been spreading its influence throughout the land, greatly stimulated scholarly study in general, sometimes along lines not anticipated by its Tokugawa sponsors. Furthermore, in the port cities and towns around the feudal castles, members of the growing merchant class, restricted by the lack of opportunities for overseas trade, developed new outlets for their energies and talents at home. As patrons of men like the novelist Ihara Saikaku, the poet Bashō, and the playwright Chikamatsu, they helped create a variety of popular arts that displayed the people's increasing wealth and culture. In some instances, these merchants and their fast-growing towns also contributed materially to the development of independent thinkers and scholars.

One epoch-making development in peaceful eighteenth-century Japan was

the construction of a new calendar by an official commission of scholars, working with new methods similar to those then used in the West. It had been the fond dream of Yoshimune (1684–1751) to issue a calendar using the services of his newly built observatory, and there was great satisfaction with the proclamation of a new era name, Precious Calendar (Hōreki), in 1751. The satisfaction was doubly felt because it meant that the Japanese no longer had to rely on the Chinese for what was considered to be the almost sacred duty of calendar making.

The newly awakened sense of cultural independence was far reaching in its effect. As the eighteenth century brought to full flower the needs of the independent and, particularly, scientific thought sown in the preceding period, there was a steady rise in both rationalist and nationalist thinking. The latter trend is dealt with in other chapters. Here we offer a few examples of the growing rationalism in this period. One proponent was Tominaga Nakamoto (1715–1746), the son of an Osaka merchant, whose name is associated with an original method of historical criticism. Another is Miura Baien (1723–1789), a rural physician in Kyushu, under no feudal bond, who carried on in the tradition of Kaibara Ekken, another Kyushu man, who had brought Zhu Xi's spirit of objective investigation into the open field of nature, regarding the study of man and nature as one. Baien went further to insist that man cannot be understood except in terms of nature and that nature can be understood only if man divests himself of his anthropocentric point of view. The third representative is Kaiho Seiryō (1755–1817), who was born by the shores of the Japan Sea into a warrior family of good standing. He renounced his hereditary status, however, to become a teacher among merchants and farmers. Seiryō argued in favor of the realistic study of the laws governing social and economic behavior, as compared with the moralistic approach of the traditional Confucians.

None of these figures had a wide influence in his own time, and none can be considered representative of the eighteenth century as a whole. They are, rather, symptomatic of an intellectual ferment that threatened to eventually break through the narrow limits of humanistic scholarship. It is true that this trend toward greater independence in thought, which had expanded steadily throughout the eighteenth century, was partly checked by a shogunal decree in 1790 known as the Prohibition of Heterodox Studies. Nevertheless, the fact that such a prohibition was felt to be an urgent necessity indicates in itself the extent to which independent minds were active and articulate by the end of the century.

Before turning to these more striking cases of independent thought, however, we shall see how, in the person of a far more widely recognized scholar and statesman, Arai Hakuseki, this rationalist tendency was supported by the ranks of orthodox Confucianism. He also serves as a reminder of the fact, sometimes lost to modern sight, that this rationalist temper of mind owes more to the Neo-

Confucianism that it sought to displace than to any other single influence in Japanese thought. Neo-Confucianism itself provided the means of its own self-criticism.

ARAI HAKUSEKI'S CONFUCIAN PERSPECTIVE ON GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY

Arai Hakuseki (1657–1725) was notable among Tokugawa Confucian scholars for his great influence on government policy. Although he did not hold an official post in the *bakufu*, as the personal adviser to the sixth Tokugawa shogun, Ienobu, and Ienobu's attendant, Manabe Akifusa, Hakuseki succeeded in promoting a number of changes in *bakufu* policy. After Ienobu died in 1712, having served for only four years as shogun, Akifusa continued to consult with Hakuseki during the following four-year reign of Ienobu's young son Ietsugu. But with Ietsugu's premature death in 1716, both Akifusa and Hakuseki fell from favor. The following shogun, Yoshimune, promptly discontinued most of the projects that Hakuseki had promoted, many of which had already encountered fierce opposition from ranking members of the *bakufu* bureaucracy.

Hakuseki's key aim as shogunal adviser was to transform the shogun from a feudal hegemon, one of the 260-odd daimyo writ large, into a national monarch, a "true" king in the Confucian sense. He was inspired in this effort by two key premises of Chinese Confucian political thought. One was a belief that the preservation of political and social stability depended on the establishment of a clearly defined hierarchy. The other was the assumption that the figure standing at the pinnacle of such a hierarchy, the king, not only had to possess actual power but also had to be endowed with various symbols of legitimate authority. In Confucian terms, he should combine in his person both the "substance" (J. *jitsu*, Ch. *shi*) of power and the "names" (J. *mei*, Ch. *ming*) that appropriately manifested his authority to others. This combination would signal that the shogun was the recognized holder of the Mandate of Heaven.

Considered from this perspective, the Japanese polity was anomalous in several regards. Rather than presenting a single, clear hierarchy, it rested on a system of bifurcated sovereignty. Two figures, the emperor in Kyoto and the shogun in Edo, might plausibly claim to head the polity, but neither, in Confucian terms, combined the "substance" and "names" of authentic rulership. By the Tokugawa period, the imperial court had long lost effective power. First, within the framework of Heian court politics from the ninth to the twelfth century, the Fujiwara regents had encroached on the function of the emperor in whose name they acted. Then, at the end of the twelfth century, with the establishment of the Kamakura *bakufu*, the governmental powers had become divided, with the Kamakura shogun assuming authority over military and peace-

keeping matters. From that point on, successive military leaders steadily absorbed the court's remaining responsibility for civil administration. The Tokugawa shogun had signaled his de facto authority over all aspects of government by issuing a code that defined the parameters of imperial court activities in the same manner as the Code for the Warrior Households (Buke shohatto) set out the responsibilities and obligations of the daimyo. The shogun also demonstrated his superior power by awarding the emperor and nobility their source of livelihood in the form of landholdings, in effect enfeoffing them as he did the daimyo. Simultaneously, however, the Tokugawa continued to treat the court as the repository of ultimate symbolic authority. The shogun formally received his appointment from the emperor, and within Tokugawa warrior society, the long-standing system of noble ranks and offices awarded by the court in Kyoto continued to be an important demarcation of status (see chap. 20).

Regarding such anomalies as a potential source of instability, Hakuseki set out to correct them. In China, on occasion,"name" had been separated from "substance" at the time of transition from one dynasty to another. The noted Northern Song statesman and historian Sima Guang had held that in such cases, the possessor of the substance of power had the greater claim to legitimacy. Following this argument, Hakuseki took for granted that it was the shogun—by the Tokugawa period universally acknowledged as the holder of the substance of power—who should properly assume the role of an autonomous national monarch recognized by Heaven and endowed with the authentic symbols of rulership. He recommended a range of measures to enhance the status of the shogun as the national ruler. These included adoption at the shogunal court of more kingly forms of dress and furnishings modeled after those of the imperial court and revision of the Code for the Warrior Households to emphasize that the daimyo had civil as well as military responsibilities in a comprehensive national government headed by the shogun. Hakuseki failed to win acceptance of a proposal to adopt a new system of honorary ranks centered on the shogun instead of the emperor. But in a dramatic step toward showing the shogun to be an autonomous national monarch, he convinced Ienobu to adopt the title of king of Japan (Nihon kokuō) in relations with other countries (primarily Korea).

Through these measures, Hakuseki in effect presented the Tokugawa house as the ruling dynasty, the successor to the Mandate of Heaven held originally by the imperial line. In so doing, he adhered to the premises of Chinese Confucian political thought, which accepted dynastic change as a norm of human society. To justify his position in the face of criticism from inside and outside the *bakufu*, Hakuseki turned to the classic form of political analysis used by Chinese Confucians like Sima Guang: the writing of history. Hakuseki wrote several major works dealing with Japanese history from this perspective. Among those that survive, of particular importance are *Views on the Course of History*

(*Tokushi yoron*), an account of the evolution of the Japanese polity from the early Heian period to the eve of the establishment of the Tokugawa *bakufu*, and *An Interpretation of Ancient History* (*Koshitsū*), in which he interpreted as an epoch of human history the so-called Age of the Gods depicted in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*. Both *Views on the Course of History* and *An Interpretation of Ancient History* emphasize that dynastic change in accordance with the will of Heaven had characterized the history of Japan no less than that of China. In this way, Hakuseki's analysis of history supported his argument that the shogun should adopt the symbols of kingship appropriate to a national monarch recognized by Heaven. He did not intend, however, that the shogun should oust the emperor. On the contrary, he also used Chinese political ideals to argue that as a sign of his virtue, the shogun should make various efforts to show respect for the emperor in Kyoto as the representative of the former dynasty.

THE FUNCTION OF RITES

The Confucian political tradition stressed the importance of ritual forms as a means of establishing correct hierarchical relations throughout human society. As part of his effort to transform the shogun into a more complete monarch, Arai Hakuseki thus placed great emphasis on the adoption of appropriate forms of dress and titles. In a memorial calling for the revision of various current *bakufu* practices in this area, he explained both the power of ritual and the reasons why his own time (rather than one hundred years earlier, when the Tokugawa *bakufu* had been founded) was the right moment to establish proper ritual forms.

When the founder of this house [Tokugawa Ieyasu] came to rule the realm, he wished to revive the ancient ways of the shogunal houses; however, of the elders among the military class, only Hosokawa Fujitaka was still alive. The founder seems to have consulted with him about various matters . . . but although Hosokawa far surpassed others of the day in his accomplishments in civil and military affairs, he had been born at a time when the realm had been in total disorder for two hundred years and when the ancient ways of the military houses had all been lost. . . . Had the founder lived longer, doubtlessly he would have had the ritual forms appropriate for this house discussed and settled upon. However, in the fourth month [of 1616] he passed away. . . . During the reign of Lord Hidetada [the second shogun], there was at length a declaration that the ancient ways of the military houses should be revived. I wonder if the founder did not leave posthumous instructions to this effect. Among the elders entrusted with the handling of government affairs at that time, however, there was one who objected, and so in the end this matter was not carried out. The

objections to establishing ritual forms at that point in time were not totally unfounded.

In antiquity, at the beginning of his reign, Han Gaozu,[1] observing the effects of the excessively harsh laws of the Qin, sought to make everything uncomplicated and direct. The people who held office during his reign were all fierce and experienced warriors, fresh from having fought in a hundred battles. They had no idea of such a thing as the ritual of court; they became drunk and quarreled over whose martial exploits were greater, going so far as to draw swords and strike a pillar. Gaozu was greatly troubled by this, and following the advice of a scholar named Shusun Tong, he commanded that scholars of ritual from the state of Lu be summoned and put in charge of the matters of court. The scholars were summoned, and taking some one hundred senior officers and disciples, they made a practice stage in the field in the shape of a palace, like our cordoned-off arenas today, and there they studied ritual. In the seventh year of Han, the Changle Palace was built, and there Gaozu held audience and received tribute. From the rulers of principalities to the most lowly officials, all presented tribute in order, and there was none who did not tremble in awe and reverently correct his posture. After the ritual wine was distributed, and from the reception of tribute to the completion of the drinking of the wine, there was not a single person who failed to observe the proper ritual forms. "Today I know what the dignity of the Son of Heaven is," declared Gaozu, greatly delighted. This was the start of the majesty of Han officialdom.

Now, when Shusun Tong summoned the scholars of ritual, there were two Confucians from Lu who did not respond. "Peace has just been established in the realm," they said. "The dead have not yet been buried; the wounded are not yet healed. And yet you wish to establish the rites. To establish the rites requires the accumulation of a hundred years of virtuous rule. What your lord seeks to do does not accord with ancient practice. We will not go." Thus, the attempt during Lord Hidetada's reign to revive the ancient ceremonial of the military houses was the same in spirit as the wish of Gaozu to establish the rites of the Han dynasty, and the objection of the elder was the same as those of the two scholars from Lu. Now, in those remarks of the two scholars, it says that the rites are to be established after the accumulation of a hundred years of virtuous rule. Thus the time for the present house, taking account of the ancient ceremonial of the military houses, to settle the ritual forms appropriate for ten thousand generations to come is precisely today, a hundred years since the founding of this house!

[*Arai Hakuseki zenshū*, vol. 6, pp. 477–78; Nakai, *Shogunal Politics*, pp. 188, 293–94]

1. Han Gaozu (247–195 B.C.E.) was the founder of the Han dynasty.

THE EVOLUTION OF JAPANESE HISTORY

In *Views on the Course of History*, Hakuseki adopted an innovative approach to show how the pattern of bifurcated sovereignty, so irregular from a Confucian perspective, had emerged over the course of Japanese history from the Heian to the Tokugawa period. In the prologue he noted, "In our country, after nine epochal changes, the government of the realm was assumed by members of the warrior class; in the age of warrior rule, there were five further epochal changes leading to the rule of the present house." These two eras did not constitute two chronologically distinct blocks of time. Rather, the final three epochs of court rule and the first two of warrior rule overlapped. In line with this conceptualization of the stages of the Japanese polity's evolution, Hakuseki traced in the first part of *Views on the Course of History* the nine stages in the history of imperial rule from the early Heian period to the reign of Go-Daigo in the early fourteenth century. Applying the traditional criteria of Confucian historiography, he showed how the imperial line had progressively disqualified itself as rulers of Japan. The lack of virtue requisite in a ruler was evident in contests over the succession and in the failure of emperors to give due care to the critical matter of designating an heir. It was laxity in this latter matter that had opened the way to the Fujiwara family's usurping imperial authority as regents, a development that over time weakened the position of the court as a whole. The decline in court rule culminated in the division between two rival courts at the time of Go-Daigo. As Hakuseki interpreted it, Go-Daigo's reign marked the irrevocable loss by the imperial line of Heaven's mandate.

In the second part of *Views on the Course of History*, Hakuseki turned to the way in which warrior rule had evolved within the framework of the decline in imperial competence. He noted that just as the emperors had not paid proper attention to the choice of an heir, they also had neglected military affairs. They had delegated campaigns of pacification to others, and instead of reintegrating meritorious generals into the civil officialdom upon completion of the campaigns, the emperors had treated them as specialized military officials and distinguished them from civil officeholders. This development had led to the rise of the warrior class and, with it, the movement toward the division of civil and military authority that contradicted the way of the true king:

> As kingly virtue slackened and favorite ministers came to monopolize power, little importance was placed on the appointment of generals. No military figures obtained high civil office, and both civil and military posts became hereditary in nature. As a consequence, the court's authority declined daily; meritorious vassals [i.e., warriors] came to oversee military prerogatives; the tide of the times underwent a fundamental change; and things became such as to make impossible a return to the ways of antiquity.

The court's formal recognition of the prerogatives of the Kamakura *bakufu*, which marked the first epoch of warrior rule, was a fateful step. During the Kamakura period, the court's authority continued to diminish, and the actual power of the military class continued to grow. Following the debacle of Go-Daigo's reign, there was no way for the court to recover the authority it had lost. From that point on, "the court existed only as a facade propped up by others, and the realm was completely under the rule of the military class."

Unlike in China, however, the collapse of court rule did not result in the rapid establishment of a legitimate new dynasty. Rather, until the founding of the Tokugawa *bakufu*, a succession of warrior leaders continued to help prop up the facade of court rule. In analyzing this phenomenon, a key theme of the third part of *Views on the Course of History* (which covers the three epochs of warrior rule after Go-Daigo's downfall), Hakuseki employed another key notion of Chinese Confucian political thought: the *ba*, or hegemon. The term *ba* referred historically to the succession of feudal lords of the late Zhou who sought to establish themselves as supreme over their peers by championing the cause of the increasingly powerless Zhou king and by carrying out, with the king's nominal sanction, certain of his functions as ruler. As Hakuseki put it, "Since *ba* means 'chief,' it refers to one who, becoming chief of the feudal lords, raises up the Son of Heaven and issues orders [in his name]." The *ba* did not try to replace the ruler, but by effectively absorbing what remained of the substance of the ruler's authority, they both contributed to the further decline of kingly government and made themselves liable to the charge of usurpation. In Hakuseki's view, this was exactly what had happened under warrior leaders from Yoritomo down through Hideyoshi. Depicting them as a series of variations of *ba*, he in effect rejected previous warrior regimes as a viable model for the Tokugawa house and implicitly tried to justify his alternative vision of the shogun as a true Confucian king.

Following an established tradition of Confucian historiography, in *Views on the Course of History* Hakuseki presents many of the main points of his argument in the form of short appraisals of major political figures. The following selections illustrate his use of this technique.

VIEWS ON THE COURSE OF HISTORY (*TOKUSHI YORON*)

Tenmu as Usurper

Hakuseki held that the first contest over the imperial succession took place in 672, when the future emperor Tenmu raised an army against his deceased brother Tenji's legitimate heir, Prince Ōtomo. As Hakuseki described the situation, despite Tenmu's apparent triumph, the fate of his descendants clearly reflected Heaven's disapproval of his usurpation.

While Tenmu succeeded for the moment in defeating the imperial forces and claiming the realm, only seven reigns and a hundredsome years later, his line terminated with his great-great-grandchild, the female ruler Shōtoku [r. 749–758, 764–770]. The grandchild of Tenji, Kōnin [r. 770–781], succeeded to the throne, and his line has continued to the present. One must say that it is clear that Heaven joins with those who uphold the Way. This was the beginning of the rivalry for the throne between two rulers that marked later ages; clearly, kingly virtue had already slackened, and social customs had begun their decline.

Go-Daigo as Loser of Heaven's Mandate

In his summation of Go-Daigo's reign, Hakuseki painted the emperor in the classic colors of the last ruler of a dynasty, fated as a result of his own lack of virtue to lose Heaven's trust.

Even in the best of times, is not restoration a more difficult enterprise than founding? Founding is like building a house anew. Even if the construction is not that great, once accomplished, the house will stand for hundreds of years. But to try to restore to its former state a great mansion that has started to collapse is a major task. . . . That, after the Fujiwara regents began to use their power as they pleased and the rites of the court declined, Emperor Go-Sanjō [r. 1068–1072] was able readily to restore things to what they had been in the past, was because the degree of decline was not yet that great. It was like a house repaired when the damage to it is yet small.

After Yoritomo had divided the powers of the realm and Hōjō rule had continued for nine generations, the warriors of the sixtysome provinces had grown used to exerting power and having their way. How could they be expected now to bow and plead before those without any merit? To attempt to restore things to what they had been in the days before the court's decline, as if such a task required no particular effort, was like propping up the walls and adding embellishments to a building whose foundation is crumbling. Certain collapse was only a matter of days. And when the people had not yet been relieved of the burden on their shoulders, to seek to build a palace and to award grants of land first to palace attendants, female servants, actors, and priests, allotting nothing to those with military merit, or else soon retracting what rewards were given—this was to invite revolt.

Again, at a time like this, it is essential to handle rewards and punishments equitably. Unless one deals properly with such matters, one can evoke neither feelings of gratitude nor awe. But in dealing with those of great merit, let alone those whose accomplishments were slight, the emperor failed completely to make rewards appropriate to the accomplishments of those concerned.

Minamoto no Yoritomo and the Tradition of the *ba*

In Hakuseki's eyes, Yoritomo was one of the main figures responsible for setting the evolution of military rule in Japan along the path of the *ba*. He began his appraisal of Yoritomo by comparing Kitabatake Chikafusa's praise of Yoritomo for having maintained order and stability in an age of chaos[2] with Confucius's admission that Guan Zhong, a key adviser to the *ba* of ancient China, "might be termed benevolent." Like Guan Zhong, Yoritomo had demonstrated a political competence that temporarily improved the unstable conditions of his day. But seen in its entire context, his actions were far from praiseworthy.

When Yoritomo first raised an army, he did not do so out of a desire to uphold the ruler and succor the people. Coming at a time when the evils brought about by the Taira were rampant and when the powerful houses of the realm were quarreling among themselves, one talented and fleet got his deer. In the years from the time Yoritomo first raised his forces until the campaign against Yoshinaka,[3] there is no evidence of his having taken a single warrior west to chastise evildoers and uphold the ruler. Moreover, under broad Heaven to the far reaches of the nation, who is not the subject of the ruler? Where is the land that is not the ruler's? The people whom Yoritomo destroyed, the land that he claimed for his own, whose subjects were these? Whose land? . . . His army may have appeared righteous, and it may have seemed that it was for that reason that he readily accomplished his task. But had the Taira succeeded, as they plotted, in taking Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa with them when they fled the capital, or had Yoshinaka succeeded, as he plotted, in taking the retired emperor with him to the western regions when fighting broke out between him and Yoritomo, then under what name would Yoritomo's army have attacked Yoshinaka; under what pretext would he have put down the Taira? That Go-Shirakawa managed to stay in the capital and that the Taira left the fourth prince [the later Go-Toba] in the capital was none other than the doing of Heaven, an indication that the imperial lineage was not to be extinguished. Claiming [the destruction of Yoshinaka and the Taira] as his own merit, however, Yoritomo used these acts as an excuse for pressuring and controlling the court. Should it not be said that in truth he was stealing the accomplishments of Heaven? . . .

Having succeeded in rallying a band of defeated fighters, Yoritomo gained the trust of the warriors and people of the eastern provinces. With his military

2. See de Bary et al., eds., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, chap. 11.

3. A cousin of Yoritomo, Yoshinaka took part in the campaign against the Taira and drove them out of Kyoto. Displeased with Yoshinaka's acting too independently, in 1184 Yoritomo dispatched his younger brother Yoshitsune to drive Yoshinaka in turn from the capital.

triumphs, the realm ultimately submitted to his martial accomplishments. This was not owing solely to the legacy of the merit of his ancestors. He himself had heroic qualities, and he was able to get capable people to assist him. . . . But as a person, he was extremely cruel and suspicious. Intending to secure the benefit of his own house and descendants, he destroyed his brothers and their families. Instead he allied himself with his wife's family [the Hōjō] and left his young sons in their charge, only to have their actions result in the termination of his line. It is said that Heaven never errs in its retribution, but this is something that Yoritomo brought about himself.

Ashikaga Takauji: Military Rule After the Collapse of the Court

Hakuseki portrayed Ashikaga Takauji, the founder of the second *bakufu*, as an opportunistic figure whose lack of personal virtue made it impossible for him to establish his government on a stable footing. The degree of success he did enjoy, however, was further evidence of the bankruptcy of court rule.

Takauji established his house by casting aside the ties of his family [to the Kamakura *bakufu*] of many generations' standing and going over to the side of the emperor. Shortly thereafter he turned against the emperor and brought the realm to turmoil. The emperor had rewarded his small merit far beyond its due. However, having raised his army with his own interests rather than those of the emperor in mind, Takauji no doubt always had planned to turn against the emperor in the end. . . . From the time he first raised his forces in battle, for twenty-six years there was not a day without fighting. In the end, he was unable to pacify the realm, and the fighting between lord and vassal, father and son, brother and brother, was without parallel, past and present. It all resulted from the fact that lacking rectitude himself, he was unable to rectify others. That nevertheless Takauji was able to become leader of the military houses was because both warriors and the populace knew that government under the court was far inferior to what had existed during the period of warrior rule [under the Kamakura *bakufu*]. Thus everyone, no matter who, throughout the realm longed to take as ruler whoever could revive the age of warrior rule. Takauji opportunely having become an enemy of the court, [they followed him], for although they disliked the name [of traitor], they longed for the substance of what Takauji represented.

Ashikaga Yoshimitsu

Among previous warrior rulers, the third Ashikaga shogun, Yoshimitsu, presented a special challenge to Hakuseki's skills in historical analysis, for he had come the closest to trying to make the shogun into a more monarchal figure. In trying to justify his own recommendations, Hakuseki sometimes alluded to the third shogun as a positive

precedent, but in *Views on the Course of History* he criticized the ambiguities of Yoshimitsu's position relative to the court. In particular, he condemned Yoshimitsu for having tried to stay within the shell of the authority of the court even while he in fact, in the manner of a *ba*, dominated it.

In antiquity, Confucius said, "If names be not correct, language is not in accordance with the truth of things. If language be not in accordance with the truth of things, affairs cannot be carried on to success. . . ." Now, the term "minister" refers to a subject who serves the ruler in an official capacity. When one holds an office, there necessarily are functions specific to it. . . . Since the court had already fallen into decline, and the military houses, governing the realm, had set up the emperor as the ruler, although [Yoshimitsu] called himself by the name of subject, what he was in substance differed from that name. If, receiving the office of minister to the king, one does not undertake to carry out the affairs of the king, how can he expect true submission from those whom he in turn commands to carry out his affairs?

Further, the office [Yoshimitsu] held was that of minister to the king; the offices his vassals held were also those of minister to the king. When both lord and vassal hold the post of minister to the king, in substance they may be lord and vassal, but in name they are both ministers of the king. In such a situation, how can the vassal in fact revere his lord? The unending succession of rebellious vassals during Yoshimitsu's reign may be attributed to his lack of virtue, but it also had its source in the lack of true reverence for the lord. Moreover, while assuming the status of a subject, Yoshimitsu summoned ministers of the court to serve him, calling them attendants or retainers of his house; how could he escape the condemnation of the ages for such an act of overt usurpation? Since the age had already changed, he should have established the rites for his reign in accordance with those changes. This is the principle of according with change. Had he not been unlearned and unlettered, at that time he could have investigated the practices of the Minamoto house and of our country, old and new, and established his title, making it one rank below the emperor and clarifying that apart from the ministers of various ranks serving the court, the entire populace of the sixtysome provinces were his subjects. Had he done so, his efforts would be of use even in this age today.

Toyotomi Hideyoshi

In his critique of Hideyoshi, Hakuseki noted that Hideyoshi had sought the old court office of regent to the emperor and had issued orders to various daimyo as if commanded by the emperor.

As for one who had the intention to become a true *ba* and who succeeded in the work of a *ba*—may Hideyoshi be counted as such? This person followed

the policies of Nobunaga in everything he did, but perhaps because he was impatient to achieve his aim, unlike Nobunaga he did not bother to exterminate the established daimyo and lesser lords. Instead he awarded their existing lands to those who submitted to his military power. The only house he destroyed was the Hōjō of Sagami. Thus he soon was able to show evidence of the achievement of his aim. The missives he sent to the Shimazu and the Hōjō all purported to express the will of the emperor. This was indeed an instance of raising up the Son of Heaven and issuing edicts in his name. However, at that time who knew anything of respect for an edict from the Son of Heaven? Thus neither the Shimazu nor the Hōjō responded to those purported commands. It was like putting on the mask of a demon to frighten a child. When one thinks about it today, it was most ridiculous.

[Nakai, *Shogunal Politics*, pp. 255–57, 262–64, 279–81, 283–86, 302]

HAKUSEKI'S VIEW OF CHRISTIANITY AND THE WEST

Among the most dramatic events of Hakuseki's career was his meeting with the Italian priest Giovanni Battista Sidotti, who in 1708 tried to enter Japan to reinaugurate the proselytizing of Christianity. Sidotti was quickly discovered and eventually taken to Edo, where Hakuseki interviewed him on several occasions. Hakuseki subsequently also met a number of times with representatives of the Dutch East Asia Company when they visited Edo. Through his interviews with Sidotti and the Dutch and his readings of a range of works in Chinese about the West and Christianity, Hakuseki acquired a degree of knowledge about these things unmatched by anyone of his time. He recorded his findings and described his meeting with Sidotti in *Tidings of the West* (*Seiyō kibun*), written between 1715 and 1725. Because it deals with matters concerning the proscribed religion of Christianity, *Seiyō kibun* was not published until the 1880s. It seems to have circulated to some extent in manuscript form, however, and after the reopening of Japan to the West in the 1850s, it was one of the first works translated from Japanese into English.

In *Tidings of the West*, Hakuseki reported on various aspects of what he had learned about the customs and political systems of Europe (he discussed at some length the events of the War of the Spanish Succession and noted the existence of parliamentary forms of government as well as monarchies). He also provided a summation of Christian doctrine. Hakuseki's evaluation of Christianity had two distinct sides. On the one hand, he argued that those who, like Sidotti, sought to spread Christian teachings to other countries did not have aggressive designs on those countries. He further expressed admiration for Sidotti's knowledge of science and mathematics. These aspects of Hakuseki's analysis of the West are held to have paved the way for the more open attitude toward the study of Western scientific learning that began under the next sho-

gun, Yoshimune. But, on the other hand, Hakuseki's appreciation of Western science did not extend to religion. Appraising Sidotti's knowledge from the perspective of Confucian rationalism, he noted that when the Italian priest began to speak of religion, "it was as if stupidity had taken the place of intelligence, and as if I were listening to the words of a completely different person. I thereupon realized that while the learning [of the West] may be advanced in regard to forms and objects, it pertains only to the so-called physical realm and has nothing to do with the higher realm of principle and moral knowledge." And while he did not see any immediate danger of an invasion by Christian countries, Hakuseki remained convinced that to allow Christian missionaries to resume their activities would have socially and politically subversive consequences. Reflecting his emphasis on the importance of establishing a clear overarching hierarchy, he particularly stressed the dangers that Christian doctrine posed to such a goal.

TIDINGS OF THE WEST (*SEIYŌ KIBUN*)

As I see it, when [Sidotti] says that discussions of a country must not be based upon that land's small or great size, near or far distance, he has a good argument. And when he says that what corrupts a country is not its religion but its people, his words also have the ring of truth. But [the Christians] teach that Deus produced heaven and produced earth and make him out to be the Great Lord and Great Father who generated the myriad things. In other words: I have a father, but I do not love him; I have a lord, but I do not revere him. Now this is what we call impious and disloyal. Nor is that all! This Great Lord and Great Father cannot be served without exhausting all one's love and all one's reverence—is what they say. But the Book of Rites reserves the rites of serving Shangdi, the Lord on High, to the emperor, the Son of Heaven; no such prerogative of worshiping Heaven is given the various princes or those ranking below. And that is in order to prevent the disturbance of the distinction between the exalted and the base. Rather, the sovereign is Heaven to the subject; the father is Heaven to the child; the husband is Heaven to the wife. And therefore, he who serves his sovereign with loyalty thereby serves Heaven. He who serves his father with filial piety thereby serves Heaven. She who serves her husband with propriety thereby serves Heaven. Outside the constancy of these Three Bonds, there is no way of serving Heaven. If I have a Great Lord to serve beyond my lord and a Great Father to serve beyond my father, and if this [Great Lord and Father] is sacred beyond my lord and my father, then not only are there two sacred personages in the house and two lords in the land, but the highest duty must be to set at naught the lord and set at naught the father. Even if they do not go as far as teaching to set the father and the lord at naught, still the

atrocious nature ingrained in their doctrine is of such enormity that even at the point of regicide or parricide they must not look back and, in the end, think nothing of it.

[Arai Hakuseki, *Seiyō kibun*, pp. 16, 79; Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, p. 241]

HAKUSEKI'S APPROACH TO FISCAL POLICY AND TRADE

As an adviser to Ienobu and Manabe Akifusa, Hakuseki also gave extensive attention to *bakufu* fiscal policy. By the late seventeenth century, the *bakufu* faced a financial crisis. The combination of general economic growth and a marked decline in the yield of domestic gold and silver mines had led to a shortage of currency. The *bakufu*'s expenditures were also outpacing income. To solve these problems, *bakufu* officials resorted to successive debasements of the currency, but they led to rampant inflation. Hakuseki was highly critical of the debasements and argued vigorously for restoring the original metallic value of the currency (among other things, in an early recognition of Gresham's law that bad currency will drive good from the market, he pointed out that the lack of popular confidence in the debased coins had resulted in people's hoarding the older, more metallically pure coins). In line with standard Confucian economic thought, Hakuseki also called for reducing expenditures rather than increasing income.

Hakuseki took a similarly conservative position regarding the foreign trade conducted in Nagasaki by Chinese and Dutch merchants. Because this trade largely involved the importation of foreign goods (particularly Chinese silk, books, and medicine) in exchange for Japanese precious metals, it had a direct bearing on the currency problem. From the 1680s on, *bakufu* officials tried to limit the outflow of precious metals by limiting the amount of foreign goods that could be imported each year, but various loopholes in the regulation of trade had allowed extensive smuggling outside the officially set quotas. Hakuseki was highly critical of this situation. Among the types of wealth that could be extracted from the soil, he noted, the five grains and the raw materials used for cloth were like the blood, flesh, and hair of the human body. Even if used excessively, they could be replenished. But gold and silver were the "bones of the earth," and "once removed, they will not grow again." To stop the loss of the "bones" of the country, Hakuseki argued for more comprehensive regulatory measures, including the adoption of a tally system like that employed by the Chinese Ming dynasty to control more effectively the number of foreign ships allowed to enter *bakufu* ports. He also advocated trying to reduce the country's dependence on imports of foreign goods and instead to increase the domestic production of items like silk. In the following passage from his autobiography,

Musings by a Brushwood Fire (*Oritaku shiba no ki*), Hakuseki reviews developments in trade policy up to his time.

MUSINGS BY A BRUSHWOOD FIRE (*ORITAKU SHIBA NO KI*)

During the spring of this year, in the second month, the opinions of the port commissioner and other local officials of Nagasaki were sought regarding the shortage of copper coins for foreign trade. As there was nothing worthy of official adoption in the written reports they submitted, I was assigned to write out and submit a set of revised regulations along the lines suggested during the rule of the former shogun [Ienobu (d. 1712)]. These regulations that I drafted contained 211 articles in some eight fascicles. . . .

I will not go into events that occurred before the present dynasty of shoguns. For some time after 1601, foreign ships coming here to trade were not regulated. This was at a time when Ming China maintained strict prohibitions against overseas trade, especially during the Wan-li era [1573–1620]. Thus, Chinese ships were not seen here, as they are now. Only Western ships cast their anchor at Nagasaki. . . . During these days the number of foreign ships coming here or the volume of trade permitted was not restricted.

In 1685 the first regulation was enacted, limiting trade with the Chinese to six thousand *kan*[4] in silver and with the Dutch to fifty thousand *ryō*[5] in gold. Then in 1688 the number of Chinese ships permitted to trade was set at seventy. This was because the number of Chinese ships arriving annually in Japan had reached two hundred, following the lifting of trade restrictions in China during the reign of the Kangxi emperor. After 1695 a system was established of using copper, in addition to silver, as a medium of exchange. As a consequence, from 1698 onward ten more Chinese ships were allowed to come to Japan each year, increasing the number of Chinese ships to eighty and the volume of Chinese trade by two thousand *kan* in copper in addition to the amount permitted in silver. Because the number of Chinese ships permitted to trade was fixed, all ships over the fixed number were called "cargoes to be sent home" and were not allowed to trade. Moreover, in accordance with the regulations limiting trade, even ships within the specified number were permitted to trade only to the extent of 160 *kan* per ship, and any cargo beyond that amount was termed "leftover goods." Since those who had come, traveling a great distance and braving many dangers, had no desire to return empty-handed, without selling the large quantity of goods they had brought, they tried to dispose of their

4. One *kan* of silver was about 8.25 pounds.

5. At this time, the *ryō* was roughly equal to a half-ounce.

merchandise in any manner they could, even at the risk of violating the law. Our merchants, too, tried to buy in any manner possible the "cargoes to be sent home," for buying legal cargo entailed paying high commissions and incurring heavy expenses and consequently low profits. Thus, the volume of illicit trade rose each year.[6]

During the rule of the previous shogun, the Port Commissioner's Office in Nagasaki was ordered to find out the volume of gold, silver, and copper that flowed out from Nagasaki in exchange for foreign goods. It reported that the records for the forty-six years from 1601 to 1647 are not clear. In the sixty years that followed—from 1648 to 1708—2,397,600 *ryō* of gold and 374,229 *kan* of silver left the country. For copper the figures are not clear for the sixty-one years before 1662, but in the forty-four years from 1663 to 1707, the total reached 1,114,498,700 catties (*kin*). These figures, which come from the records of the Nagasaki port commissioner, represent only the trade of Nagasaki and only the outflow from 1648 on. But trade was not limited to Nagasaki. As I wrote above, in earlier years foreign ships came to trade at various ports in our country, and ships from here went overseas to trade at various places. Apart from that, there is Tsushima's trade with Korea and Satsuma's with the Ryūkyū Islands. It thus is impossible to make a comprehensive estimate of the total amount of the gold, silver, and copper that has left the country.

On the basis of reports submitted by the Nagasaki commissioner, if a rough estimate of the volume of gold and silver lost to foreign countries for the 107 years since the Keichō era [1596–1615] is compared with the amount of gold and silver coined in our country for the same period, we must conclude that one-fourth of the gold and three-fourths of the silver have been lost.[7] At this rate, half the gold remaining will be lost in another hundred years, and the silver left for use in our country will be completely lost before another century has passed. As for copper, there is a shortage not only in meeting the present needs of foreign trade but also in meeting our country's annual expenditures. The treasures of permanent value produced in our country are being diverted to pay for curios of momentary value that come from afar. Indeed, such transactions for commercial profit work against our national interest and prestige. If payment abroad is necessary for the purchase of medicines and books, we should estimate the current need for them in our country and the annual amount of domestic production in the various provinces. On that basis, we can fix a limit on the annual payment for such products [coming] through Nagasaki, Tsushima, and Satsuma. Merely limiting the annual volume of gold, silver, and

6. This trade and illegal cargo were known variously as "outside trade," "trading through brokers," "chance goods," and "chance trading."

7. Although often cited, Hakuseki's estimates of the total outflow of precious metals have been strongly questioned.

copper to be used for foreign trade at Nagasaki without taking further measures is meaningless. Even if limits are set, private illicit trade will continue unchecked unless the number of ships and the cargo of each ship also are regulated. Therefore, I suggest estimating the annual production of gold, silver, and copper in our country relative to the volume of their flow into foreign countries [and] fixing the annual limit on their use for foreign trade accordingly. Similarly, we should estimate the amount of cargo carried here by foreign ships and fix a limit for both the numbers of ships allowed to come and the amount of cargo they may carry. If the permitted volume of cargo is purchased [through regulated channels] in its entirety, we shall no longer lose our national treasures in illicit trade, nor will foreigners continue to defy our country's laws. Our national prestige will prevail far and wide, and our national wealth will prove adequate for all time.

[Arai Hakuseki, *Oritaku shiba no ki*, in *NKBT*, vol. 95, pp. 391–93; KN]

TOMINAGA NAKAMOTO'S HISTORICAL RELATIVISM

Osaka, where Tominaga Nakamoto (1715–1746) was born, had something of a reputation for independence and individual initiative. It was there, at the end of the Middle Ages, that a militant Buddhist organization had asserted its independence by resisting the attacks of Nobunaga for nearly a decade. Subsequently, Osaka had been proud to serve as headquarters for the ambitious Hideyoshi in his heyday of power; and even after Ieyasu's triumph, it was the first city to recoup its economic fortunes, win a measure of self-rule from its Tokugawa masters, and lead in the development of a new bourgeois culture. Here Saikaku's novels were written, with sex and money as their leading themes, and here Chikamatsu's dramas, with their love triangles and suicides, filled theaters to capacity (see chap. 25). In Osaka, too, in 1726, the shogun Yoshimune saw an opportunity to start a Confucian educational center, with financial support from the town's merchants. It was from this new center that the son of one such enterprising merchant struck out on his own, against formidable opposition from many quarters, to explore the past.

Tominaga, who died at the age of thirty-one after a protracted illness aggravated by persecution and penury, did not live to write the complete history of Japan that he had in mind. Apparently much of his writing was lost as a result of the Prohibition Act of 1790, according to which it would have been classed as nonconforming and dangerous. But fortunately two of his important works, *Discourses After Emerging from Meditation* (*Shutsujō kōgo*) and *Testament of an Old Man* (*Okina no fumi*), preserve for us something of his critical historical method. Another work, now lost, *Failings of the Classical Philosophers* (*Seppei*), seems to have been a critical examination of Chinese thought in the pre-Qin

period. That it was an outspoken and provocative piece is certain, for it started the stone of persecution rolling over him before he was twenty. Not only did it lead to his expulsion from the Confucian school that his father had helped establish (the Kaitokudō), but it also forced the young man out of his father's home. Thereafter, he is said to have earned a meager living at a Zen monastery in Uji, working as a proofreader of the newly edited *Tripitaka*. This gave him an opportunity to test his historical method and textual criticism in the field of Buddhism. *Emerging from Meditation* was a result.

At that time, thirteen Buddhist sects with sixty-three subdivisions were established throughout the nation, and Tominaga's historical analysis left none of them unscathed, causing a great furor. "The rise of the sects and denominations is due to everybody's striving for 'advancement,'" he wrote in the second chapter of *Emerging from Meditation*.

> It is an effort to promote a certain teaching by making an additional contribution of one's own, without which religion would never spread. In the past as in the present, it is the nature of religion to develop in this way. Students of later times, however, consider that all religions were the same originally as they are found to be in later transmission, unaware that a great many innovations and reforms have taken place.

Elsewhere (in paragraph 9 of the *Testament*), Tominaga says that in all historical religions, the followers appeal to the founder's authority by seeking to rise above or push beyond those who preceded them. That is the rule and not the exception, and it is the reason why, in the study of religion, historical criticism is indispensable. It is not difficult to see in this the logical extension to other schools of thought of the critical method that Ogyū Sorai had advocated for the study of Confucianism.

As criteria for textual criticism, Tominaga specified three "things" and five "categories." "My method of study emphasizes three things by which all human discourse can be properly understood," he wrote. "As long as one's approach is made through these three things, there is no discourse that defies clear understanding." First, discourse has man behind it, and just as one man or one group of men differs from another, so does discourse. Tominaga illustrates this by showing how the terminology used in the various Buddhist scriptures reflects the difference in various authors' language and outlook and shows that they do not derive from one original source. Second, discourse is related to time, and just as each age has its own characteristics, so does human discourse. Third, discourse falls into different "categories." Although Tominaga did not fully explain these types or categories, they seem to have referred to the ways in which different teachings or truths were further developed or modified by others. First, there was assertion or expansion; second, general-

ization; third, collision or contradiction; fourth, revision or inversion; and fifth, transformation or modification.

The terms that Tominaga used to represent these terms or categories are metaphorical and suggest the movement of water at the seashore as a wave swells up and rolls forward, spreads out, breaks against the shore, washes back, and then turns away. The examples he gives, however, are drawn from Buddhist teaching, and their exact significance is not always clear. First, when a Buddhist says that the historical personage Shakyamuni achieved Buddhahood, it is a case of assertion or expansion. Second, to say that all creatures are potential Buddhas is a case of generalization. (The original meaning of Tathagata as applied to the Buddha was "He who comes thus." As the storehouse of the mind, however, it is described in the Lankavatara Sutra as the source of good and evil, and in the Prajnaparamita Sutra, all creatures from heaven to hell are seen as embraced in the storehouse of the Tathagata.) Third, to say that the Truth-body (Dharmakaya) does not exist apart from the world of passion or, in other words, that in the storehouse of the Tathagata, the Tathagata is found amid all the passions of the sentient world, is a case of collision or, in this instance perhaps, paradox. (That is, as absolute Truth, the Tathagata transcends good and evil, but as the perfection of virtue Tathagatahood proceeds from the stilling of the passions.) Fourth, the use of the expression "to follow one's own bent" as a translation from the Sanskrit *pravarana* is a case of inversion. ("To follow one's own bent" originally had the bad connotation of lacking restraint; here it takes on the good connotation of acting spontaneously in accord with one's true nature.) Fifth, that a member of the shudra caste, originally considered to be lacking a Buddha nature, should—as a sentient creature capable of spiritual conversion—possess the seeds of Buddhahood is an example of modification or transformation (i.e., a modification or transformation of the idea of potentiality for Buddhahood as deriving from the possession of spiritual selfhood rather than from one's status among men).[8] Thus Tominaga goes on to show in detail how Buddhism evolved over time into so many different schools, sects, and denominations through individual contributions following the different possible lines of development.

In his *Testament*, Tominaga tried to synthesize his historical interpretations of the three existing religions—Shinto, Buddhism, and Confucianism—into a kind of ethical culture that he called Makoto no oshie, or "the Teaching of Genuineness." It was long preserved in a manuscript from which only a few copies were made and did not attract the attention it deserved until 1923 when Professor Naitō Konan of Kyoto Imperial University had reproductions made of it for distribution among his friends. To Dr. Anesaki Masaharu, a modern

8. As reconstructed from *Shutsujō kōgo*, sec. 11, in *NST*, vol. 43; Ishihama, *Tominaga Nakamoto*, pp. 96–107.

authority on the history of Japanese religion and the author of *Historical Criticism of the Buddhist Scriptures* (*Bukkyō seiten shiron*), Tominaga Nakamoto seemed like a lotus in the muck because of the critical powers and broad knowledge of cultural history that he displayed at a time when the historical sense was almost wholly lacking in the study of Buddhism.

TESTAMENT OF AN OLD MAN (*OKINA NO FUMI*)

Having provoked great hostility from the established religions because of his unorthodox views, Tominaga Nakamoto found it prudent to represent this short work as expressing the opinions of an anonymous old man rather than himself. It nevertheless provides a convenient summary of his own philosophy and his critique of established teachings.

This writing is the work of a certain Old Man and was lent to me by a friend. Even though this is a degenerate age, the author appears to be a wise old man. Departing from the Three Teachings of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Shinto, he advocates what he calls the Way of genuineness (*makoto*). Truly, it seemed to me that if one conducted oneself in accordance with what the Old Man said, one would make no mistakes in life. And having thus subscribed to his teaching, I asked my friend what the Old Man's name was, only to be told that he did not know and there was no way of finding out. The Old Man must have been like those personages in ancient times who chose to live in obscurity so that they might be free to say what they thought. Wishing to preserve this as my own family teaching and also to pass it on to others, I have copied it all down from beginning to end.

Genmon 3 [1738]: 11th month, Ban no Nakamoto

I. In the world today there are three religions: Buddhism, Confucianism, and Shinto. Some think they represent the three different countries—India, China, and Japan—while others consider them essentially one or else dispute with one another over the truth or falsity of each. However, the way that may be called the Way of all ways is different from these, and what each of these Three Teachings calls the Way is not in accord with the Way of genuineness. The reason is that Buddhism is the Way of India, and Confucianism is the Way of China. Because they are peculiar to these countries, they are not the Way of Japan. Shinto is the Way of Japan, but because of the difference in time, it is not the Way for the present generation. Some may think that the Way is always the Way despite differences in nationality and differences in time; but the Way is called the Way because of its practicality, and a Way that is not practical is

not the Way of genuineness. Thus, the Way as taught by these three teachings is not a Way practicable in present-day Japan.

Deleted here are four sections dealing with the Indian character of Buddhist practices and their unsuitability to Japan; similarly with regard to the Chinese practices prescribed for Confucians; and ancient practices associated with Shinto, which are impractical in the present day—as are all the traditional practices of the Three Teachings.

VI. What is the Way of genuineness, then, that will be practicable in present-day Japan? It is simply this: Be reasonable in everything you do. Consider today's work of primary importance. Keep your mind upright. Comport yourself properly. Be careful in speech. Be respectful in manner and bearing. Care for and honor your parents.

(A note by the Old Man refers to the [Buddhist sutra] Rokkōhai-kyō, in which the Five Human Relationships are specially dealt with. Confucians also consider these relationships important, and the Shinto regulations likewise mention these five things. Therefore just as these three are indispensable to the Three Teachings, so are they to the Way of genuineness.)

If you have a master, serve him well. If you have children, educate them well. If you have an elder brother, show him every respect; if you have a younger brother, show him every sympathy. Toward old people, be thoughtful; toward young people, be loving. Do not forget your ancestors. Be mindful of preserving harmony in your household. When associating with others, be completely sincere. Do not indulge in evil pleasures. Revere those who are superior while not despising the dim-witted. What you would not have done to yourself, do not do to others. Do not be harsh; do not be rash. Do not be obstinate or stubborn. Do not be demanding or impatient. Even when you are angry, do not go too far. When you are happy, be so within bounds. You may take pleasure in life, but do not indulge in sensuality. Do not lose yourself in sorrow; whether or not you have enough, accept your lot as good fortune and be content with it. Things that you should not take, even if they seem insignificant, do not take; when you should give, do not hesitate to do so, even if it means giving up everything, even [rulership of] the state and empire. As for the quality of your food and clothing, let it conform to your station in life, and avoid extravagance. Do not be stingy; do not steal; do not lie. Do not lose yourself in lust; be temperate in drinking. Do not kill anything that does not harm mankind. Be careful in the nourishment of your body; do not eat bad things; do not eat too much.

(A note by the Old man says: in the [Buddhist] Yoga Shastra, cases of untimely death are listed under nine types as [1] too much eating, [2] untimely eating, [3] eating again before food has digested, and so forth. The *Analects*, too, say that one should not eat in the wrong proportions or at the wrong time or in excessive amounts. They all have insight into the Way of genuineness.)

In your free time, study the arts of self-improvement; try to be better informed.

(A note by the Old man says: The *Analects* has it that when one has energy to spare, one should study the polite arts. The [Buddhist] Discipline [Vinaya] also says that to understand order and gradation, you should study history. Also, the young *bhikshus* [acolytes] are permitted to study arithmetic. These, too, are in accord with the Way of genuineness.)

To write with present-day script, to use present-day vernacular, to eat present-day food, to dress in present-day clothes, to use present-day utensils, to live in present-day houses, to follow present-day regulations, to mix with present-day people, to do nothing bad, to do all good things—that is the Way of genuineness. That is the Way that is practicable in present-day Japan.

(All these things are mentioned in Confucian and Buddhist writings and do not need to be made a special point of. But the Old Man is presenting these ideas as if they were something new of his own, so as to persuade people to discard all that is useless and go straight to the Way of genuineness. His aim is truly praiseworthy.) . . .

VIII. That it is difficult to invent any system of teaching that can do without the Way of genuineness can be surmised from the fact that Buddha preached the Five Commandments and Ten Virtues; called greed, anger, and folly the Three Poisons; and declared filial piety to parents and loyal service to teachers to be one of the Three Blessings. "Not to do anything bad but to do everything good and keep one's motive pure is the essence of all the Buddha's teaching," it is said.

Confucius also talked about filial piety, brotherliness, loyalty, and tolerance. He taught fidelity and reverent devotion. Wisdom, Humaneness, and Valor he called the Three Cardinal Virtues. Restraint of anger, stifling of passion, correction of mistakes, and conversion to goodness also were emphasized. "The superior man is always poised for action, while the inferior man is ill at ease," he said.[9]

Shinto people also taught purity, simplicity, and honesty.

These all are in accord with the Way of genuineness, well expressed and to the point, each resembling the other. As long as the followers of the Three Teachings abide by their respective beliefs, without bias or prejudice, not giving themselves over to the strange and exotic, but living in the society of men to the end of their lives—then they also are following the Way of genuineness.

(In the foregoing the Old Man has expressed his main ideas. He does not mean to discard the Three Teachings in their entirety. He simply wants everyone to act on the Way of genuineness.)

At this point, however, the Old Man has his own theory. Generally speaking,

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9. *Analects* 7:36.

it has been the rule that all those who have started teaching what they call the Way as handed down from ancient times have inevitably appealed to the authority of a founder while at the same time trying to go further than any predecessor has gone. Posterity, however, has been ignorant of this fact, and it has resulted in great confusion.

Tominaga proceeds to explain how the teaching of the Buddha and the various schools of Buddhism successively appealed to some earlier authority while at the same time either reacting against or attempting to surpass their immediate predecessors. Instead of representing a pure and untouched revelation from the past, these teachings were actually the product of a considerable development in human hands. The same pattern of evolution is indicated for the Confucian tradition. Finally he takes up Shinto.

XII. As for Shinto, it is what certain medieval Japanese dressed up as ancient traditions of the Divine Ages and called the Way of Japan in an attempt to outdo Confucianism and Buddhism. In the time of Abhasvara in India, for instance, or of Ban Gu in China,[10] there were no definite teachings like Buddhism and Confucianism. What later came to be known as Buddhism and Confucianism were wholly purposeful and conscious creations of men in later times. In exactly the same way, there could be no such thing as Shinto in the Divine Ages. The first Shinto taught was the syncretism known as Dual Shinto, which was a combination of Confucianism and Buddhism arbitrarily put together to suit the occasion. Then followed the Shinto called Honjaku engi, which regarded Shinto deities as Japanese manifestations of Indian gods and buddhas. This was an attempt by Buddhists envious of the rise in popularity of Shinto, who taught Shinto outwardly but inwardly wanted to capture it for Buddhism. Then came another form of Shinto known as Yui-itsu sōgen [the One and Only Original Source]. It was an attempt to separate from Confucianism and Buddhism and to claim Shinto as pure and unique. All three of these appeared in medieval times.[11] A new type of Shinto that has recently appeared is known as Ōdō Shinto, the Shinto of the sovereign way. It teaches that Shinto has no particular way of its own and that the Way of the sovereign is the Way of the Gods. There is also a form of Shinto that professes Shinto outwardly but inwardly identifies it with Confucianism.[12] None of these things existed in divine antiquity; they have simply arisen from the struggle of each one to get ahead of the other. But not realizing this, ignorant people of the world believe one of these to be the true Way, identify themselves as partisans of this teaching or that, and start

10. The first beings to appear in these countries.

11. Concerning the foregoing types of Shinto, see de Bary et al., eds., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, chap. 15.

12. Reference to Yamazaki Ansai, *Suika Shintō*.

violent controversies. It is at once pitiful and ridiculous to this Old Man's way of thinking.

XIV. The distinguishing feature of Buddhism is magic, which today [in Japan] is known as *izuna*. India has a love of magic, and when those who wish to propagate a teaching mix it with magic, people there accept it without question. . . . Many of the sutras speak of supernatural transformations, supernatural breakthroughs, supernatural powers, and the like. . . . This is the way people are led on in India, but it is not anything needed in Japan.

XV. The distinguishing feature of Confucianism is rhetoric [literate discourse]. Rhetoric is what we call eloquence. China is a country that greatly delights in this. In the teaching of the Way and in the education of men, if a man lacks proficiency in speech, he will find no one to believe in or follow him. For example, take the word "rites" (*ri*). It simply signified the ceremonies on the four great occasions in life: coming of age, marriage, mourning, and religious festivals. But as you know, they talk now about what the rite of a man as the son to his father is, what the rite of a man as the subject to his sovereign is; they speak of it in connection with human relationships, they speak of it in regard to seeing, hearing, speaking, and acting. They also assert that rites owe their inception to the division of heaven and earth and embrace the whole universe. Take again the character for "sage," which originally signified a man of wisdom. They have gradually stretched it to the point that a sage is the highest type of humanity, even capable of working miracles. Thus we know when Confucius talked about humaneness, Zengzi about humaneness and rightness, Zisi about sincerity, Mencius about the Four Beginnings and the goodness of human nature, Xunzi about the badness of human nature, the *Book of Filial Piety* of filial piety, and the Great Learning about [what the superior man] loves and hates, the *Book of Changes* about Heaven and earth—that all of these were just ways of presenting the plainest and simplest things in life with a rhetorical flourish in order to arouse interest and make people follow them. Chinese rhetoric is like Indian magic, and neither of them is particularly needed in Japan.

XVI. The distinguishing feature of Shinto is secrecy (mystery), divine secrets, secret and private transmission, such that everything is kept under the veil of secrecy. Hiding things leads to lying and theft. Magic and oratory are interesting to see or to listen to—they thus have some merit. But this vice of Shinto is of the lowest sort. In olden times people were simple, and so secrecy may have served certain educational purposes, but the world today is a corrupt world in which many people are addicted to lying and stealing, and it is a deplorable thing for Shinto teachers to act in such a way to protect and preserve these evils. Even in such lowly things as farcical performances (*sarugaku*) and the tea ceremony, we find them all imitating Shinto, devising methods of secret transmission and authentication, and attaching a fixed price to the transmission of these "secrets" for selfish gain and benefit. It is truly lamentable. If you ask the

reason why they devise such practices, their answer is that their students are immature and untried and must not be granted too ready an access to their teachings. It sounds plausible, but any teaching that is kept secret and difficult of access and then is imparted for a price cannot be considered in accord with the Way of genuineness.

[Tominaga Nakamoto, *Okina no fumi*, in *Nihon jurin sōsho*, vol. 6, pp. 1–14; WTdB]

DISCOURSES AFTER EMERGING FROM MEDITATION (*SHUTSUJŌ KŌGO*)

The title of this work recalls the traditional account of the Buddha's original experience of enlightenment: that it was inexpressible in words, and it was only as a concession to ordinary beings that he attempted to explain the truth in conventional language. Tominaga's title also conveys the sense that he himself left the monastic life to engage in scholarly inquiry and intellectual discourse.

Preface

When I was young and had time for it, I was able to read the texts of Confucianism, and later on, when I had time, I also read those of Buddhism. Thus I can now say that the ways of Confucianism and Buddhism are alike in that they aim to do good. But when we try to trace the meaning of the Way in detail, we find that we do not get a satisfactory explanation because there are gaps and inconsistencies in the textual record. This state of affairs gave me the idea of "Emerging from Meditation." I have had this idea in my mind for ten years, but when I have spoken to people about it, they all have been uncomprehending. As the years accrued to my age, my hair has begun to whiten. [Meanwhile] everyone has accepted the Confucian and Buddhist Ways just as they appear to be, Confucian and Buddhist, and there has seemed to be no point trying to persuade them otherwise.

Alas, I am now in a deplorable condition and painfully sick, of no use to anybody. Yet, as I am nearing my end, how can I not pass my thoughts on to someone? I am already more than thirty years old and can no longer hold back. I hope that those who take it up will tell it to many, passing it on to Korea and China, from Korea and China to the peoples west of China, and on to the land of Shakyamuni's divine descent. If it helps the people to be illumined by the Way, then my death will not be a mere putrefaction. Nevertheless, some may charge that this is a kind of "bad wisdom"—which is difficult [for me to deal with]. In regard to this, I must await [judgment by] the combined efforts and supplementary work of later scholars.

First year of Enkyō [1744], autumn, 8th month,
Tominaga Nakamoto

Part 1: Sequence

In this section, Tominaga cites the conflicting testimony of several canonical Buddhist works with regard to the sequential order of the Buddha's teaching.

Divisions appeared among the various teachings because they all first arose by superseding others. If it had not been for this relationship of superseding, how would the path of Dharma have been extended? This is the natural path for Dharma, whether old or new. However, scholars of later generations vainly say that all these teachings came directly from the golden mouth [of the Buddha] and were personally transmitted by those who heard him frequently. They do not realize that on the contrary, there are many gaps as well as connections. Is this not sad? . . .

From the six statements [cited], we can conclude the following: We can tell that for long after the Buddha's death there was no definitive exposition among his followers and there were no writings on which a person could depend. Everyone revised the teaching according to his own opinion and passed it on orally. Thus it is that there are endless differences in the exegesis of the scriptures, and this again is why no one can trust them. When the Zen school says, "Do not rely on the written word," perhaps this is what they mean!

The bulk of Emerging from Meditation *is an analysis of the conflicting textual evidence with regard to doctrinal issues, orthopraxis, and contingent factors in the development of Buddhism. Finally, in the conclusion of the work, Tominaga affirms that despite their contradictory sectarian claims, Buddhism and Confucianism can be seen as serving an underlying common purpose.*

Teachings may be diverse, but their main point comes back to doing good. If these teachings are sincerely and well kept and each is fervent in doing good, what need is there to choose some and criticize others ? Buddhism is all right. Confucianism is all right. If they sincerely try to do good, then they are of one school. How much more so with those who claim the religion of the Buddha as their own while differentiating it into sects! I know of none who, though vainly quarreling over differences among the sects, is not trying to do good. Letters are all right. Magic is all right. If the intention sincerely lies in doing good, then why should they not be all right? I know of none who, though they may vainly indulge in magic or letters, is not concerned with doing good.

[Tominaga Nakamoto, *Shutsujō kōgo*, in *NST*, vol. 43, pp. 12 [106], 19–21 [109], 105 [128]; trans. adapted from Pye, *Emerging from Meditation*, pp. 71, 81–83, 183]

ANDŌ SHŌEKI'S ECOLOGICAL COMMUNITY

In contrast to Arai Hakuseki, who was widely recognized in his time as a Confucian scholar and statesman, Andō Shōeki (1703–1762) was typical of less well

known—indeed, relatively obscure—figures whose importance to the development of Japanese tradition lies in demonstrating the wide range and diversity of eighteenth-century Tokugawa thought, rather than in the immediate impact any of them made on their times or the establishment of a major school.

A native of the northern province of Akita, Shōeki committed himself early to study and practice in the Sōtō sect of Zen and had already experienced a kind of enlightenment (confirmed by an accredited master). Although he would have been qualified to teach Zen himself, at age twenty he renounced the religious life altogether and began to study medicine. During his studies, he gained a broad knowledge of East Asian thought as a whole, subjecting each major tradition to the same searching critique as he had for Buddhism. "Dutch learning," available through Nagasaki (see chap. 29), also came within his ken, although it was of less interest to him for purposes of medicine and natural science than for what he learned about Dutch government and society or for what he conjectured as Western ideals.

Shōeki's attraction to natural science arose from his early view of medicine as a holistic science: a view of the human person as inseparable from nature and of human health as fundamentally conditioned by its physical and social environment. He concluded that human life was almost totally corrupted by the institutions of civilization and by established ideologies. Nothing less than total preventive medicine—nothing less than a radical overhaul of language, religious and cultural traditions, or social and political structures—could enable human society to return to a simpler, more natural, and spontaneous way of life. For him, this could mean a return to a primeval, natural style of life with the individual person thoroughly integrated into a communal society and with all its members living close to the soil, cooperatively engaged in and sustained by what Shōeki called "direct cultivation" (*chokkō*): hands-on agricultural production. In this state, a natural equality would be achieved, replacing the artificial hierarchies—religious, scholarly, economic, and political—that stood as vested interests protected by self-serving laws and systems. Freed from such repressions, this natural society would depend only on the voluntary initiatives and self-sustaining activities of human individuals living in close accord with one another and with nature (heaven-and-earth). Such a way of life he called the "Natural Way of True Self-Operation" (Shizen shineidō).

Although Shōeki's utopian conception assumed a need to reverse civilization's long-term degeneration from a primitive ideal, seen as the original state of nature-cum-human nature, he did not think of it as returning to a purely static state. Rather, the creative powers of nature would be released in the process, and in a voluntaristic, cooperative society, this creativity would be expressed in new social and cultural forms. Natural equality need not result in uniformity, in a loss of individuality or diversity; instead, it would produce a new human development or "flourishing," as inspired by the title of Shōeki's major work, *The Natural Way of True Self-Operation* (or *Enterprise*). Although

this natural equality was not predicated on modern "evolutionary" or "progressive" assumptions, it would allow, as Shōeki saw it, a certain organic growth and spontaneous development.

This development would rest on certain given "natural" values, most easily identified with the native traditions of simplicity, naturalness, and spontaneity often associated with Shinto. We can see how Shōeki assumed a common ground of such values among Buddhism, Confucianism, Daoism, and Shinto that would underlie his basic community. Nor is it difficult to see how he brought the distinctive values of these traditions—especially the rational humanism of Neo-Confucianism and the compassionate skepticism of Buddhism—to bear in his critique of these traditions on their own terms.

In Shōeki's utopian ideal, we can detect a strong reaction to the developing problems of Tokugawa society: the complications arising from the growing market economy, the commercialization of agriculture, the exhaustion of the land from market-oriented monoculture, the inadequacies of the established class system (especially in view of the failed leadership of the military aristocracy in coping with economic distress), the pressure on the land from the expanding population, as well as the great and growing disparities of wealth.

Late in life, when Shōeki returned to his native ground in Akita and attempted to construct a model community based on his principles, he was unable to succeed. Resistance and repression by the authorities partly accounted for this failure (not surprising, since his teachings openly challenged all established authority and institutions), but Shōeki had no practical way of coping with these obstacles or organizing a process to work within or through established mechanisms. Often he seemed visionary, hoping for some savior to appear who would set things right and jump-start the process.

The repression experienced by Shōeki and his small group of followers sufficed to keep Shōeki's writings out of circulation and largely unnoticed until the twentieth century. When they finally attracted attention, especially in left-wing circles, it was for their radical critique of the old order and seeming anticipation of, if not congruence with, anarchist and Communist doctrines from Europe. In the long-term perspective, however, Shōeki's holistic, nature-oriented approach to human problems, and especially to that of sustainable agriculture, may be seen as a more prophetic vision, not of social revolution but of the increasingly intense and intractable problems of the environment, produced by modern capitalism as well as by Communism itself in the rush to industrialize.

THE NATURAL WAY OF TRUE SELF-OPERATION (*SHIZEN SHINEIDŌ*)

The following excerpts from Andō Shōeki's major work, *The Natural Way of True Self-Operation*, summarize a complex system of thought that was subject to revision and

development over his lifetime. The word in the title translated here as "natural" has many connotations (as does the English word "natural"), but the principal meaning for Shōeki was "self-operating" or "self-acting" and suggests a way of acting in accord with the workings of nature. The term translated as "self-operation" normally refers to the successful management of human affairs, especially business enterprises.

Shōeki's economic ideas were grounded in a complex, highly original synthesis of cosmology, physiology, and psychology, reflecting his holistic approach to human health in an ecological setting. Because he reinvented language for his own purposes and expressed himself in highly abstract and abstruse terms, the exposition of his very original, if not idiosyncratic, system is difficult reading.

The key expression in the first excerpt, the "mutualization of natures," is Shōeki's characterization of the Way in which all things properly interact through the operations of the four phases (or elements) and mutually define one another in a complementary fashion.

This translation is based on the Kano manuscript of *Shizen shineidō* as edited and translated by Yasunaga Toshinobu, with some adaptations in terminology.

1. Spontaneous action is the special name of the subtle Way of mutualization of natures. What is mutualization of natures? It is as follows: Namely, the beginningless and endless Living Truth of earth acts spontaneously, advancing and retreating to a greater or lesser degree, creating the four elements: lesser advancing wood, greater advancing fire, lesser retreating metal, and greater advancing water. These in turn, advancing and retreating, produce the eight energies as mutualization of natures. The element wood controls inception, and its nature is water. Water controls termination, and its nature is wood. Because of this interrelationship, wood is not only inception, and water is not only termination. They are beginningless and endless. Fire controls the beginning of vivid movement, and its nature is metal, which controls cessation. Metal controls cessation, and its nature is fire, which controls the beginning of vivid movement. Thus they are beginningless and endless. This process is the subtle Way. . . . It is mutualization of natures that makes this process subtle [or wondrous], and the "Way" is the interaction between things in relations of mutualization of natures. This is the spontaneous action of the Living Truth of earth as, untaught and unlearned, neither increasing nor decreasing, it spontaneously does. Thus we call it "spontaneous action." [p. 5]

What is the Living Truth? The earth is located on the central axis of Heaven-and-earth, and the Living Truth is in one body with earth, thus it is the Living Truth of earth. It dwells in the central place of Heaven [the North Star]. It is alive, alive, beginningless and endless, always active, never ceasing or perishing. . . . [p. 14]

Heaven-and-earth, the stars, the sun, the planets, the moon, and the eight planets and the stars of the eight directions, that is, Heaven-and-earth that is produced by the perfect manifestation of the Living Truth of earth. The Living

Truth acts spontaneously, creating Heaven-and-earth and making Heaven-and-earth into the four parts of its body, the four limbs, the full and empty organs, the intellect, emotions, and actions. . . . [p. 15]

A key metaphor for Shōeki is the interaction of life-sustaining processes represented by cooking and the operation of the hearth. Shōeki's explanation of it invokes his concept of "direct (or right) cultivation," which suggests hands-on manual labor as well as the synchronizing of human effort with organic processes.

Even if there are many differences among countries and clans throughout the world, the subtle functions of the eight energies as mutualization of natures that the four elements in the hearth produce are universal. Since all human beings gain sustenance through that universal hearth, earning their living is the universal right cultivation. That the activity of the great multitudes of people can be reduced to the activity of a single person is also evidenced by the example of the hearth. When man-and-woman [the person] were first born in the world, who taught them the subtle function of the hearth? From whom did they learn it? There was not a single person who knew of it. Ah, how clearly, this shows that the hearth is entirely the working of the Living Truth! It is through the self-awareness and the self-action of the Living Truth that the eight energies as mutualization of natures, being found in the empty and full organs of the human body, circulate subtly in the upward, sideways, and downward directions. Thus the hearth in the home and the empty and full organs in the body correspond to one another in function. The actions of the eight energies as mutualization of natures circulating in the four empty and four full organs appear in the face.

3. The eight energies as mutualization of natures in the four empty and four full organs appear in the face, and they have direct intercourse with the eight energies of Heaven-and-earth. The gates of their intercourse are the eight gates[13] of the human face. Among the four empty and four full organs, the stomach acts corresponding to the ashes in the hearth; the gallbladder to the firewood; the liver to the pot lid; the small intestine to the flame; the heart to the steaming heat inside the pot; the large intestine to the pot handle; the lungs to the pot; the bladder to the boiling water; the kidney to the wetting water. All this is the spontaneous action of the Living Truth in the stomach. The face, the empty and full organs, and the inside of the hearth all correspond to one another. . . . [p. 33]

Another of Shōeki's key concepts was the coimplication and coinherence of male and female in the concept of the human and of all human beings in one person. This

13. The eight gates are eyelid, eyeball, lips, tongue, nose, teeth, ear, and earlobe.

established the unity and equality of all humanity as the fundamental principle of the social and political order and rendered all hierarchical conceptions void.

Even if millions of man-and-woman [i.e., persons] exist, the evidence that they all converge into a single person can be obtained by observing the single face. We can find out from the following examples that there is no dualism in the eight gates of the human face. The most revered sacred king above does not have nine or ten gates in his face, and the humblest of the common people below do not have only six or seven. While there are small differences of large and small or long and short in size and round or square in shape among human faces, there is no dualism in having the eight gates. This is the proof bestowed inherently on human beings by the spontaneous acting [Living Truth] that there is no dualism of human beings into ruler and ruled, lofty and lowly. [p. 39]

The fundamental economic basis for human society is the activity of right (direct) cultivation with universal participation in productive activities and with all idle or leisured classes abolished.

Right cultivation is another name for the production of food and clothing. [The production of] food and clothing is another name for right cultivation. Therefore the actions of Heaven-and-earth, human beings, and all things are nothing but the single Way of [the production of] food and clothing. There is no other Way than this one. Therefore, the Way is right cultivation, namely, the [production of] food and clothing.

4. The ultimate aim of the subtle Way of the eight energies as mutualization of natures in the hearth as they circulate in the upward, sideways, and downward energies is to cook food. When humans keep grain and eat it raw, they are not able to subsist for long because its raw, cold energy is harmful to them. The practice of cooking food to eat is the spontaneous action of the Living Truth, which controls human beings and completely fulfills their function, causing them to build homes and make hearths in them, where they cook grains and eat vegetables to eat in order to live out their natural span of life. Thus it is that when people eat cooked grain and vegetables, their minds, feelings, and bodily functions are normal and regular. When, for example, during a year of bad harvest, they cannot eat cooked grains and vegetables, they starve, and the operations of their minds, feelings, and bodily functions cease; they lose consciousness and soon are dead. But even in this state, if they are able to eat some cooked grains and vegetables, they regain consciousness, their minds and emotions awaken, and their bodies function again. We can see then that the minds, the emotions, and the bodily functions are not really the activities of human beings in themselves but the activities of cooked grains [and vegetables]. The normal state of the human body and life is, therefore, based on the subtle Way in the hearth. Humans eat cooked grains and nourish the empty and full organs

as mutualization of natures reach the face, where they activate the eight gates. The eight gates as mutualization of natures in turn fulfill their subtle functions and have intercourse with Heaven-and-earth. The four empty and four full organs are the eight energies as mutualization of natures, and the four mental faculties and the four emotional faculties are the eight energies as mutualization of natures. These are the Way that has been provided for human existence. [pp. 43–46]

I do not say this based on my mere cogitation, nor because I have been instructed by some teacher. Since this truth is completely absent from the thousands of volumes written by the sages of old, Shakyamuni, Laozi, Zhuangzi, and Prince Shōtoku, I could not have learned it by studying them. Always, by looking at the hearth, by observing the human face, and by seeing what was there in the hearth of my home and my own face, I have apprehended this truth in its totality. . . . [p. 51]

5. The face is the root of Heaven-and-earth and the root of human beings through which the spontaneously acting Living Truth manifests the provision of the Subtle Way of the eight energies as mutualization of natures . . . there are not four gates to correspond to a theory of the four statuses of people, or any sign of the superiority of one of the gates over the seven others to correspond to a theory of a single ruler over the realm. There is no praise of some gates as virtuous and others as criminal to correspond to a theory of government based on rewards and punishments.

There are not two gates to correspond to a dualistic theory of the enlightened Buddha, on the one hand, and deluded ordinary people, on the other. One of the gates is not devoted to saving the seven others to correspond to a theory of the Buddha saving all sentient beings. There are not five gates to correspond to the five rules of Buddhist discipline or the Tathagatas of the five periods. There are not three gates to correspond to the practices of the Buddhas in the three worlds of past, present, and future to eliminate the three poisons and plant karmic causes/conditions and reap their effects. Although Buddhism talks of the eight teachings, there are no eight gates based on an unbalanced knowledge and emotions, lacking mutualization of natures.

There is not a single gate to correspond to Laozi's preaching of the nameless, the dark and profound, the unbalanced praise of water. There are no traces of a vacant gate to correspond to Zhuangzi's theory of Nothingness, the great Way, and doing nothing. There is no one immortal gate that corresponds to a theory of attaining immortality. There is no gate that shows any trace of accelerating a proclivity for fabulous tales and for deluding oneself with an unbalanced knowledge.

There are not two gates to correspond to a theory of gods born in pairs, and although Shinto talks about the eight million deities, there are no eight gates that lack a mutualization of natures. . . . [p. 54]

All letters are nothing more than arbitrary and capricious constructions contrived by the sages of old. They use characters for studying with books and use them to place themselves above all others, and with the excuse that they were going to teach those below them, they established self-serving laws. Then they were able to eat greedily without cultivating and stole Heaven's Way of right cultivation. Saying that they were "pacifying the realm," they planted the roots of thievery and strife. From that time on, forever and ever, the world has been one of thievery and strife. We can see, then, that books and scholarship are merely tools to steal Heaven's Way. . . . [p. 64]

The classics of medical science, for example, do not display any knowledge of mutualization of natures in the causes of diseases, nor do they demonstrate an understanding of the energies' action of mutualization of natures among compounded drugs. As a result, all the thousands and thousands of medical books are, each and every one, in error. I use the erroneous medium of characters to correct these errors so that the characters and books of medicines may be abandoned and also to reveal the mutualization of natures in the causes of disease and the energies' action of mutualization of natures inherent in the compounding of drugs . . . [p. 69]

10. The [Confucian] sages say, "Control yourself, order your house, rule your country, and bring peace to the world." The scholars of the world value these words. Do they actually have any value? When there is a bad harvest, it is the scholars, who eat greedily without cultivating, who are least able to control themselves. Suffering from starvation, they must either extort food from the masses who rightly cultivate or die of starvation themselves. . . . [p. 71]

All things, from the beginningless and endless [Living Truth] to the most minute portion of Heaven-and-earth, human beings, and things, are nothing except in relation to the subtle Way of mutualization of natures. Fire [and water], metal [and wood], sun [and moon], and the planets [and stars] as mutualization of natures [of the Way of flavor] are the bright capacity of the advancing Living Truth. Water [and fire], wood [and metal], the moon [and the sun], and the stars [and the planets] as mutualization of natures [of the Way of flavor] are the dark capacity of the retreating Living Truth. As a result, brightness and darkness as mutualization of natures make up the one Living Truth.

The nature of the sentiment is intellect, and the nature of intellect is sentiment. When sentiment and intellect are mutualization of natures, sentiment functions. When intellect and sentiment are mutualization of natures, intellect functions. When consciousness and soul are mutualization of natures, consciousness functions, and when psyche and spirit are mutualization of natures, psyche functions. . . . [p. 95]

The Living Truth has equipped human beings with the subtle Way of the eight roots of the eight gates as mutualization of natures so that human beings might know everything without exception, down to the most minute fact, rea-

son, and truly subtle in Heaven-and-earth, of human beings and all existent things.

But those like the sages of old, Shakyamuni, Laozi, and Zhuangzi, ignorant of the principle of mutualization of natures inherent in their own faces, were far more than ignorant—they were maddened by unbalanced knowledge and deluded by confusion. . . . [p. 132]

"Heaven produces all existence, but it does not give it to human beings, nor does it give life to it and then abandon it. Heaven produces things constantly only through its right cultivation. When people take the fruits of this right cultivation, they are not receiving them and they are not stealing them. They are only engaged in right cultivation to produce food and clothing. Heaven and human beings are engaged in the same right cultivation; they are united in harmony, together in the beginningless and endless spontaneous action of the Living Truth." [p. 144]

[*Shizen shineidō*, pp. 5, 14, 15, 33, 39, 43–46, 51, 54, 64, 69, 71, 95, 132, 144; trans. adapted from Yasunaga, *Andō Shōeki*, 253–55, 258–59, 261, 263–66, 268, 270, 271, 279, 292, 297]

MIURA BAIEN'S SEARCH FOR A NEW LOGIC

Miura Baien (1723–1789) was a philosopher before there was a word for the discipline in his language. The pen name Baien means "plum garden," from his plum orchard above the village of Nakamoto in the Kunisaki peninsula, in northeastern Kyushu. In contrast to his more itinerant scholarly contemporaries and predecessors, Baien kept to this garden as the single center of his sixty years of scholarship. No other Japanese thinker of his era could match his elaborate philosophical system, yet behind even his most abstract thoughts we find, in some guise, sunlight and shade, cold and heat, wet and dry, which govern the life of a valley where summers are hot and the sun sets early in winter.

Baien studied first at a temple school and then at the private school in Kitsuki taught by Ayabe Keisai, but learned mostly through his own reading. Like many scholars of his day, he wrote about a wide variety of topics. The school in Kitsuki fostered an interest in astronomy. Ayabe's fourth son became Edo Japan's foremost astronomer, Asada Gōryū (1734–1799), who was Baien's close friend and correspondent. Quiet Kitsuki was not isolated in those days, for foreign books from the port of Nagasaki came in overland to Kitsuki's harbor and were loaded into boats for Osaka. At sixteen, Baien had already constructed a celestial globe, and at twenty-three he made the first of two journeys to Nagasaki, to hear for himself about the latest foreign learning.

By tradition, the heads of the Miura family were landlords and physicians. Baien studied anatomy and wrote about it at great length, eventually incorporating some of that knowledge into his own philosophical system. He consci-

entiously applied his analytic skills to meet the needs of a village at the mercy of the floods and droughts. In 1756, a time of hardship, he wrote *Mutual Charity* (*Jihi mujin*), describing a cooperative scheme that he organized among his villagers to set aside reserves for lean times. More than once he refused to take office in the Kitsuki fief, choosing to remain at home as head of his small household, landlord of the village, and, most important, teacher of a small school at his home. In a letter to Asada Gōryū, he describes waking his pupils early and climbing with them to a vantage point to watch an eclipse of the sun.

Western materials reached Baien through several removes of translation and editing, but a great deal else came through China and Korea. His scientific mind was encouraged by seventeenth-century critiques of earlier doctrines, such as the theory that the world was composed of five phases (or elements): fire, water, wood, metal, and earth; or the idea that the stuff of the universe (J. *ki*, Ch. *qi*) was simple and homogenous. Among all his scholarly interests his overriding mission was to discover and set out in writing what the universe really was. This was the motive for his *Deep Words* (*Gengo*). Such a realist attitude was common among Edo scholars. In 1730 Nishikawa Seikyū stated, "Even the words of the ancient sages are useless when they do not fit the phenomena of the earth and sky." Baien himself maintained. "Although we may come to truly understand fire, fire will continue to burn as it did before, and water will continue to flow as it did before we came to understand it. Names are indeed made by people and thus the reed of Naniwa has come to be called the reed of Ise. But we ourselves cannot alter reality."[14]

The works often referred to as "The Three *Go*"—*Gengo*, *Kango* (*Daring Words*), and *Zeigo* (*Superfluous Words*)—are quite dissimilar in structure and content. *Kango* was completed well before the others. *Zeigo* was a late work, more an anthology of essays and letters on such subjects as cosmology, astronomy, ancient theories, zoological classification, and anatomy. Baien revised *Gengo* at least twenty-three times in as many years, but his final draft went far beyond his earlier ones in originality and importance.

Baien was familiar with the protoscience of the old cosmologies and with the much more substantial advances made by astronomers such as Nishikawa Joken and in botany by Kaibara Ekken in *Plants of Japan* (*Yamato honzō*). In his later years, Japanese progress in science accelerated, and Baien was in touch with several scientists. Two brilliant models in particular inspired him, the astronomy of his friend Asada Gōryū and the courageous undertaking of Sugita Genpaku (1733–1787) and his friends, who, noticing that drawings in a Dutch anatomy text were at odds with the familiar Chinese ones, first established the correctness of the Dutch anatomical drawings by observing a dissection, and then translated the Dutch text against almost insuperable odds. It is as though

14. *Baien zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 100.

Baien had thought that if Asada Gōryū and others could devise theories for special fields of study, it might be possible to devise a theory that would reveal the order of the whole universe. *Gengo* is his attempt to do just that. From the practicing scientists, he recognized the importance of observation and objectivity, but *Gengo*'s outstanding features are its technical language and orderly system. In short, Baien set out alone to write an objective account of the universe in which each thing and phenomenon had a place. Although the Chinese classic *Yijing* was an ordered system, it was useless for organizing new scientific knowledge and empirical observation.

Baien's bold endeavor brought new problems. How could such diversity and complexity fit into a single order? How could it be expressed in a single language? *Jōri* (logic) was Baien's answer to both those questions. What Baien calls *jōri* has to do with opposition, which gives him a superficial resemblance to numerous philosophers, ancient Greeks, Chinese, European dialecticians, and others. Nevertheless, his *jōri* is unique. Baien's objectivity required that it be discovered in the universe and confirmed or corrected by observation. He began with a relatively simple principle and eventually modified it beyond recognition. He came to see that setting out a system for the whole universe was more than one man could do, but he was convinced that it was theoretically possible. He never abandoned *jōri* and persisted in fitting it to his observations and theories, in the course of which he invented an ingenious machine for generating terminology. Words from ordinary language, while always related to their meanings, are precisely defined as members of pairs of opposites.

The name of Miura Baien does not occur often in the works of his contemporaries and immediate successors, but his contribution to Tokugawa thought is beyond doubt. He corresponded and sometimes talked with several prominent scientists, especially those of the Kaitokudō, the famous academy in Osaka, to which he sent some of his pupils. (One of them was the grandfather of Fukuzawa Yukichi.) He learned much from these colleagues, and they received ideas and encouragement from him. For him, it was not enough just to ask questions; the more elusive the answers were, the harder one should work to find them. A Baien revival began early in the twentieth century with the publication of his complete works, and in Japan since the 1970s there has been a vigorous study of many aspects of his work.

The near oblivion into which *Gengo* fell and remained for one hundred years or so after Baien's death is attributable in part to its difficult and unconventional style. Miura Baien appreciated something about science proper, in contrast to the old protoscientific five phases (or elements) and yin-yang theories that were relatively accessible to any reader. That is, he realized that significant science was for the specialist, for much of it was not widely accessible even to the educated, and he saw his own theory as the same. He wrote to Asada Gōryū, "The more advanced my investigations [are], the less they will be accepted. But that does not matter."

"THE ORIGIN OF PRICE" (KAGEN)

Miura Baien was not one of those scholars who despised merchants; on the contrary, he believed that each of the four classes—samurai, farmers, artisans, and merchants—should be respected for its necessary role in a balanced community. The Kaitokudō in Osaka, where some of his friends and pupils studied, was a merchant academy. In 1773, when asked his view of local problems, Baien wrote "The Origin of Price." One of its themes is managing the currency in a closed economy, discussed already by his predecessors, Ogyū Sorai and Arai Hakuseki. Other parts of the essay have the ring of a Confucian teacher. The following passage is more topical.

As the quantity of gold and silver increases, the rich accumulate greater wealth, and the poor collect greater debts. As bad money is circulated, good money disappears. . . . Thickets and deep pools do not draw fish and sparrows; hawks and otters drive them there. Likewise, the wealthy themselves do not draw in gold and silver; it is the borrowers who pay interest that drive gold and silver to the wealthy families, where it might increase five times, ten times, then a hundredfold, while the debtors have insufficient income for years to follow. Nowadays, perhaps nine out of ten wealthy people are merchants. The 10 percent who are not merchants perform no service; they are carefree itinerants who follow the merchants around. Samurai, farmers, and artisans are the poor. . . . Two or three out of every ten samurai and farmers reject their proper work for trade and commerce, and three or four out of every ten become itinerants. There is a constant drift away from farming; when farming declines, assets decline, and the foundations of the nation are weakened. . . . For example, until quite recently, many people from my own village would return from Tokyo or Osaka with their children to make their home here, where some now have grandchildren. But nowadays many who go to Tokyo or Osaka do not return.

When the supply and distribution of goods are controlled by merchants and tradesmen, common necessities such as rice, millet, silk, cotton, fish, and salt all are sent to the towns. Poor families begin the year short of food and clothing; in some years the wealthy may sell some food and cloth, but the farmers have no reserves. When commodities from all over the country converge in the cities, the surplus is stored there. If trading ceases, people in the provinces are deprived of food, and when the day comes that they can no longer sell rice, they receive no gold or silver. Surplus from the provinces goes to the big merchants in the cities. If the country people can no longer make money, they will abandon their proper business to work for gold and silver. Although the price of grain rises, the same sum buys less than before. Add to this the cost of transport, and where does that find them?

The city is the place of abundance. There the itinerant merchants gather day and night, captivating eyes and minds with patterns and colors, carvings

and inlays, sounds and songs, gadgets and gimmicks. They fish the purses of good people for gold and silver, the fruits of honest labor. Thus the fishers are fished, and people have spent sweat and blood in vain. We small people, who cling to our money because we need it, might ignore all this, but it is not a reason for the nation to rejoice. When the circulation of money is looked at from the point of view of heaven and earth, it is nothing but the shifting of things from left to right, right to left. How can this be compared with the art of producing today rice, cloth, and implements that yesterday did not even exist, thus protecting us from cold, heat, and starvation?

[Miura Baien, *Baien zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 917–20; RM]

DEEP WORDS (*GENGO*)

Preface

The volumes of *Deep Words* give an account of just what I see. I have added the several hundred thousand words of *Superfluous Words* (*Zeigo*), assembling various doctrines and criticizing them according to *jōri*. *Zeigo* is superfluous in contrast to *Gengo*. Those who read *Gengo* well do not need to read *Zeigo*. Heaven and earth are there already. Because it is nothing but written words, *Gengo* itself is superfluous. Anyone skilled in observation would not need to read *Gengo*. . . . How miserable it would be always to have one's eyes fixed beyond moral principles and neglect mankind. Therefore I have added the one volume of *Daring Words* (*Kango*) to clarify moral principles and complete the task. In *Gengo* I have borrowed no words from the ancients. But in *Zeigo* and *Kango* I deal with current matters in the usual way. . . . Nevertheless, quoting ancient writings, or examining their many doctrines, is like looking cross-eyed or walking with a limp and should invite ridicule from the learned.

[*Gengo*, in *Miura Baien*, in *NST*, vol. 41, p. 383; RM]

BAIEN'S SYSTEM OF "LOGIC" (*JŌRI*)

From any approach, *Gengo* is a difficult work. Traditional terminology was inadequate for Baien's detailed analysis. His "logic" (*jōri*) system enabled him to create a vast lexicon of old words with new meanings. Pairs of terms are defined precisely by their opposition. By using the same word as a member of several different pairs, he could give it several definitions without confusion. The following gives a clue to what he meant by *jōri*.

If we want the word to identify the subject correctly, we must infer the meaning from the pair. That is the method of seeking *jōri*. . . . When I use "spirit," there

are the kinds: heaven and spirit, essence and spirit, spirit and object, spirit and soul, phantom and spirit, spirit and man, sagacity and spirit, and so on. When I use "heaven," there are the kinds: heaven and earth, heaven and spirit, heaven and object, heaven and man, heaven and destiny, and so on. . . . If we did not rely on pairs, we might mistake the subjects. [p. 381]

On the first pages of Gengo, *the dense text suddenly breaks out into the metaphor of a brocade robe, which illuminates many distinctive features of Baien's work. The* jōri *pairs in the first lines of the following passage are "object and nature," "nature and body," "object and* ki," *"merging and distinctness," "whole and side," and so on. Already the words "object" and "nature" have occurred in two different pairs. By such a shift in meaning, Baien was able to make fine, precise distinctions where natural language makes none. The pair "whole and side" exemplifies Baien's theory. The two sides of the brocade are not two parts that can be separated and be put together. What we call the right side, with dragons and phoenixes, is intrinsically different from the wrong side, intertwined scarlet and green threads. Although each of these is the whole brocade, the functions of the warp and woof are not at all the functions of the dragons and phoenixes. A twentieth-century expression of this would be to say that the functions of atomic particles are not at all the functions of trees and rivers. Unifying theories are constantly sought in various fields of science, and some, like Baien, seek a unifying theory for everything that exists.*

Object has nature, and nature is endowed with object. Nature and object merge seamlessly. They are thus one whole. Nature pairs with body; object pairs with *ki*. Nature and object stand distinct; this is *jōri*. Thus they are two sides. Nature is nature alongside object; object is object alongside nature. Therefore, one is one and one; and one and one is one. *Ki* is heaven; object is earth. Nature is endowed by one, and bodies are divested from one. This endowment by one and divestment as two corresponds to the warp from the aspect of division and to the woof from the aspect of the contrast of one *ki* and one object.

As an illustration, take a piece of brocade. The raw side consists of warp threads and woof threads, scarlet threads and green threads, but on the finished side are flowers, grass, and fabulous birds. The spirit of these comes from the imagination of a clever woman. . . . One piece of brocade has a nature that is endowed with two bodies, the raw side and the finished side; the weaver's skill brings spirit to it; objects are fixed to it by silk threads; and an incomprehensible human art attains the mystery of heaven's creation.

Now, the great object becomes *ki* and object. Warp threads pass through it, and woof threads fill it up; the fine is concealed; the coarse is manifest. The passage of the warp threads makes the hours in which spirit produces events. The filling up of the woof threads makes the places in which objects have the bodies of objects.

Thus, in a single piece of brocade, warp and woof comprise an object; their weaving is an event. Dragons leap and phoenixes dance. They give brilliance to the finished side, but if one looks into the obscurity of the raw side, one will see the opposition of warp thread to woof thread, and the alignment of like thread with like. So we discover the way of contrast. The whole is a single piece of brocade, but it has two sides, front and back. So we discover what division is. Thus, the piece of brocade is originally one and therefore a whole, but the front and back as two, are two sides. Being a whole requires that front and back merge, and the seams between them are concealed. Being two sides means that front and back stand distinct and reveal *jōri*. The brocade is ordered by *jōri*. Without overlooking a single scale or feather, the clever seamstress weaves dragons and phoenixes. When leaping dragons and dancing phoenixes are traced out with warp and woof, how lifelike they are! [p. 389]

[*Gengo*, *Honsō*, in *Miura Baien*, in *NST*, vol. 41, pp. 381, 389; RM]

SPACE AND TIME

A fundamental *jōri* pair in the brocade just described is "warp and woof." This pair refers to space and time or, more accurately, to a pair, "the all-pervading and the perpetual ongoing," that represents the preconditions of space and time. Thus the interwoven warp and woof threads of the brocade illustrate a basic dynamic feature of the physical universe. Baien invites the reader to try the following thought experiment.

If we were to shut our eyes and imagine this heaven and earth swept away, we could not extinguish the hours, the perpetual ongoing that passes through, surging on. Nor could we extinguish place, the all-pervading that fills up everywhere. The perpetual ongoing would flow on like water with neither beginning nor end in sight. And even though the sun, moon, stars and planets, the earth on which we tread, the heaven at which we gaze would all be swept away, so that we could not point to south, east, north, or west or distinguish up from down; the boundless all-pervading would remain.

[Miura Baien, Reply to Taga Bokkei (1777), in *Baien zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 95; RM]

HEAVEN-AND-EARTH IS THE TEACHER

If we were to rely entirely on books for knowledge, believing this knowledge to be thorough—as though the lords of creation themselves had spoken to us and things could not possibly be otherwise—we would still be relying on human habits of thought; there would be no escape.

Thus I may visit schools and speak to the masters; I call them educated and well informed because when I question them, I find that they share my own ideas and attitudes. I ponder the relics of the past and study the geography of

distant lands, how far away they are to east or west, and a hundred other such things. For noting things beyond what I see and hear directly and confirming other people's discoveries, books are indeed important.

Nevertheless, heaven and earth are not old or new, ancient or modern; they are always constant and unchanging. The fire in my fireplace is the same fire that is ten thousand miles away; the water in my bowl was the same water a thousand years ago. Since this is so, if we try to understand heaven and earth and to understand this fire and this water, we must first apply ourselves to the unchanging. When we consult the books beside us, we should reject anything contrary to our findings and accept only what does agree.

When it comes to seeing Heaven-and-earth with insight, some people have been called "sages" or "buddhas," but because they were nothing other than human beings, their place is in the long line of companions in our continuing discussion. Heaven-and-earth is the teacher.

[Miura Baien, Reply to Taga Bokkei (1777), in *Baien zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 88; RM]

JŌRI AND SCIENCE

I am nearsighted; my measurements are clumsy. I observed celestial phenomena when I was young and have not abandoned the old teachings. Every book I read reveals my ignorance. At the beginning of this spring, I reread several of the passages you recommended. I spent several days unrolling volumes. At last I understood your meaning and was overjoyed. I applauded you and sighed, "Oh my dear friend, your understanding is almost godlike. What things you have understood! . . . Although I cannot understand all your methods, you have given me a great notebook for the study of *jōri*." [p. 753]

Jōri *pairs are seen as genuine features of the universe, hence sun and moon, or circle and square, are false oppositions. Astronomy gives no foundation for the former, and in the latter case, circles are natural phenomena, but squares are artificial, constructed from natural straight lines.*

In the method of inquiry according to *jōri*, if I have one trace and cannot find a pair for it, I postulate some other object and try to pair it. If this does not give me the truth, I pair it with another object; if that fails, with another; and so on, stopping when I reach a pair that matches. Before hitting on the straight line as the pair for the circle, one might first try the square; before pairing the sun with shade, one might first try the moon and finally arrive at the straight line and shade in this way. Since the time of the ancients, no one has put forward the theory of *jōri*. I myself do not expect to have found all the true pairs, although I have devoted my efforts to this for fifty years. Therefore in my book you will find the false intermingled with the true. [p. 754]

[Miura Baien, Letter to Asada Gōryū (1785), in *Baien zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 753, 754; RM]

KAIHO SEIRYŌ AND THE LAWS OF ECONOMICS

Kaiho Seiryō (1755–1817) was born into a warrior-class family of some standing, the eldest son who gave his inheritance to a younger brother. When called to serve as secretary and lecturer to one of the three Tokugawa families, he resigned this, too, citing poor health. He was thus free of any allegiance or responsibilities and spent most of his life as a wayfarer, covering the length and breadth of the country. That he never married was due not to any ascetic convictions on his part but simply to his love of independence. Although Seiryō's early education reflected the influence of Ogyū Sorai's school—its critical scholarship and its revisionist views of Neo-Confucianism—much of his own learning was based on his direct observations of Japanese life. In an autobiographical sketch at the end of his *Lessons of the Past* (*Keikodan*), he wrote:

> After I resigned from service, I visited Echigo for a year. The following year I made my way to Kaga, spending more than a year there and climbing Mount Tate for the sake of my health. After that I visited Kyoto twice and traveled to the eastern circuit (from Edo to Kyoto) back and forth, ten times. Twice I journeyed to remote Kiso; the northwestern coast, by the Japan Sea, I also visited. All together, the places I visited for longer or shorter stays numbered nearly forty, and the mountains I climbed numbered a few hundred. I never had a wife, never spent money on concubines, and have no children. . . . Being fifty-nine years old, I have so far been fortunate enough not to have starved and free enough to keep on writing whatever I wanted to write. Without a guilty conscience, without obligation to any offspring, I have felt that my way of life was quite enjoyable.[15]

As he traveled through Japan, Seiryō talked with farmers, shopkeepers, and tradesmen, emphasizing that human society rests on two pillars: labor and the exchange of merchandise. Society is basically economic in character, and the first principle of government is the law of economic balance: unless both ends meet, distress and disaster are inevitable. In order to achieve this balance of goods and needs, the size of unproductive classes such as Buddhist priests, Confucian scholars, and hereditary warriors should be strictly regulated. The first two should never be allowed to increase in number; in fact, their total elimination is desirable. Handicrafts and home industries should be encouraged in the warrior class, for it is the law of Heaven that everybody should work. It is preposterous to assume that the ruling warrior class is exempt from this fun-

15. *Keikodan*, in *Kaiho Seiryō shū*, pp. 19–92.

damental law of economics, for according to this economic rationalist, warriors themselves are only so much human merchandise sold into the hands of a feudal lord. Feudal service is basically a business transaction. The exchange of commodities is the primary mechanism for sustaining society. But, unfortunately, the ruling class is unwilling to recognize this basic mechanism of society, so its members are condemned to a life of poverty or utter destitution.

This rationalist and mercantilist also believed in the rule of law instead of the arbitrary rule of man, but it was human law grounded in natural law (Heaven's principles as the inherent infrastructure of the universe). "To act in strict accordance with Heaven's principles, completely restricting one's own arbitrary desires, is the secret for bringing happiness and forestalling evil," Seiryō wrote.[16] In respect to legal codes, however, he advocated a minimum of laws with a maximum of enforcement. An extensive and detailed code with vague means of enforcement more often than not defeats its own purpose. In this way, Seiryō mediated between the traditionally opposed Confucian and Legalist positions: he agreed with the former that too much legal regulation is self-defeating and with the latter that ultimate authority must rest in the law rather than in the individual ruler. His view of law as universal and transcending all personal considerations thus reflected his general belief in a system of natural law prevailing throughout the universe—in the political and economic sphere as well as in the physical or moral sphere.

Despite the universalizing trend of Seiryō's economic thought, as a practical matter he had to accept that Japan was divided into feudal domains that were more or less autonomous in regard to matters of local governance not specifically related to Tokugawa military control. Thus he could only hope to prescribe more realistic household management for feudal domains (akin to the provisions of household law [*kahō*]), but not policy or organization on the scale of a unified national regime, as Honda Toshiaki and Satō Nobuhiro did later (see chap. 35).

The fact that Seiryō conceived of the natural order in characteristically Neo-Confucian terms as the "principles of Heaven (or Heaven-and-earth)" suggests again how much even the most independent Japanese rationalists owed to the conception of a rationally ordered universe that was part of their Neo-Confucian heritage. In Seiryō's case, however, as in that of Miura Baien, the moral aspect of things (or the moral order as understood in human terms) assumed much less importance than their factual or empirical base and intelligibility in scientific terms. For Seiryō, "a sage is one who understands the law of nature, who keeps the ways of Heaven-and-earth and all creatures in mind. Since he knows the quality of the soil and the nature of the tree, the trees planted by him have

16. *Yorozu-ya dan*, in *Kaiho Seiryō shū*, p. 294.

a better chance of taking root."[17] Thus it is his intelligence, not his virtue, that really makes a man a sage or saint. For Seiryō, the great founders of Buddhist sects in Japan like Kūkai, Shinran, and Nichiren were to be appreciated simply because their intelligence, not their moral character, was far above that of contemporary Confucians.

THE LAW OF THE UNIVERSE: COMMODITIES TRANSACTIONS

The following selections are from *Lessons of the Past* (*Keikodan*), a summation of Kaiho Seiryō's economic thought written in 1813. The title, as he explains in the opening lines of the work, means "comparing the past with the present, considering the outstanding excellencies of the past and making use of them." "Study should not be for the acquisition of detailed information concerning the past," he writes elsewhere. "It should seek detailed accounts of affairs today." Seiryō's use of his own classical learning is well illustrated in the references to Mencius in the following passage. Even his style demonstrates his freedom from conventional practices and his independence of mind. Not content to quote verbatim the words of the sage, he paraphrases them expansively, almost in the language of the marketplace.

Seiryō's frequent references to the *Rites of Zhou* also indicate his esteem for this classic as providing a more realistic model for the organization of the political economy than do the texts featured in Zhu Xi's Four Books. Despite its attribution to the "feudal Zhou," the *Rites of Zhou* (often referred to as the *Offices* or *Institutes of Zhou [Zhouguan]*) embodied an ideal of unified, centralized administration.

It is ridiculous that the aristocracy and military class in Japan should disdain profit or that they should say that they disdain profit. When a man does not disdain profit, he is called a bad person. Such is the perverse practice of the times. In China it is the same. A man who is clever at making profits is called a sharp enterpriser or some such bad name. But if collecting taxes from those beneath you is to be a sharp enterpriser, then the *Rites of Zhou* is a book for sharp enterprisers; and if lending rice and money to the people and extracting interest from them is to be a sharp enterpriser, then the duke of Zhou himself was a sharp enterpriser. Let us first make a general case of this, go to the root of it, and examine it close at hand.

What sort of thing was it when rice fields were originally handed over to the people and rice was collected from them in return? By what logic was rice taken from the people? If we recognize only the natural principle by which this was done, we shall understand it completely. Rice fields, mountains, the sea, gold, rice, and everything between Heaven-and-earth are commodities. The gather-

17. *Yorozu-ya dan*, in *Kaiho Seiryō shū*, p. 299.

ing of rice from rice fields is no different from the gathering of profit from gold. The gathering of timber from mountain land, the gathering of fish and salt from the sea, and the gathering of profit from gold and rice are the natural principle of Heaven-and-earth. If one lets a field go uncultivated, nothing will be grown on it; if one lets gold go unused, nothing will be produced from it. But if one lends a rice field to the people and exacts an annual tribute [tax] of one-tenth on it, then one will make a profit of 10 percent. . . . Of course, the realization of profit is fast or slow depending on the case, so the rate of interest should vary accordingly. Taxes on the rice fields and taxes on mountain land are similar forms of interest, levied on commodities that have been lent. Such commodities are things on which interest must be levied. This is not sharp enterprise or anything of the sort; it is the natural principle of Heaven-and-earth.

Bo Gui was an economist in ancient times. He said to Mencius: "I think I shall take a twentieth of the produce as a land tax." He boasted that since the state had become wealthy, even a tax that small would be enough for its needs. Then Mencius said: "You had better exact a tax of one-tenth. A tax of one-twentieth would be the way of the barbarians, but the barbarians have no fortifications, no palaces, and no rites or music, so even that little is sufficient for the needs of the state. However, China has a splendid way of life, so a tax of one-tenth must be levied."[18] . . . From ancient times it has been said that the relationship between lord and subject is according to the way of the marketplace.[19] A stipend is offered for the service of a retainer, and the retainer is a seller. It is simply a business transaction, but business transactions are good, not bad. When it is said that business transactions are not things for a superior man to worry about, this is a misunderstanding that comes from everyone's having swallowed whole the idea that Confucius despised profit. Much parasitism and wasted labor have resulted from the notion that the relationship between lord and subject is not a trade relationship. . . .

Heaven-and-earth consist of principle; buying, selling, and paying interest are inherent principles. If one wishes to enrich the country, one should return to principle. The ruler is the landlord who owns the land as a commodity. The feudal houses also are landlords who own the commodities known as feudal domains. They lend these commodities to the people and live on the interest from them; ministers and high officials sell their knowledge and abilities to the ruler and live off the daily wages he pays. Porters carry a sedan chair, and for each *ri* they carry it, they get paid so much money, with which [in their own turn] they can buy some rice cakes or wine. . . .

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18. *Mencius* 6B:10.

19. Reference to *Shiji*, chap. 81: "Relationships in the nation are according to the way of the marketplace. If the lord is powerful, I shall follow him. If he is without power, I shall leave him."

In Seiryō's Lessons of the Past, *it is often the Chinese past rather than the Japanese past from which he draws his lessons. From his detailed knowledge of Chinese thought and history, he generally expresses a low opinion of the Confucians' performance as practitioners of the art of rulership, while giving far more credit to the Legalists. The Confucians tended toward a humanitarian benevolence that was liberal and lax; the Legalists served a higher humaneness in insisting on the exactness characteristic of monetary exchange. Seiryō's constant theme is strictness in enforcing punishments and in monetary exactions lest people become lazy, frivolous, and wasteful. The following passage makes clear his agreement with basic Legalist assumptions.*

The unity of law and punishment is also a law of the universe. . . . In Chinese antiquity when a death sentence was passed, the sentence was reported to the sovereign; then the sovereign would request a reprieve three times, but the penal officer would not listen to the request and proceeded to execute the death sentence. To repay a capital crime offender with capital punishment is a matter of simple business arithmetic. That the death sentence had to be executed, despite the sovereign's request for a reprieve, is proof that Heaven's principle weighed more heavily than the will of the ruler and that business arithmetic was more important than the will of the sovereign. [pp. 11–14]

Nowadays what is thought of as "loving the people" means only letting the people do as they please, but this is only "lesser humaneness." To condone crime is a form of "lesser humaneness" and greatly damages "greater humaneness"; when 10 percent interest is appropriate, to charge only 5 percent is "lesser humaneness" and again does damage to "greater humaneness." It is good for people to work. If one lets up on one's demand for taxes, even though it might be regarded as a way of encouraging savings on the people's part, since the people are generally foolish, they will only squander the balance on frivolous enjoyments. [p. 16]

The warrior laughs when told that the king of Holland engages in commerce. But he himself buys and sells commodities; it is a law of the universe that one must sell in order to buy and hardly a thing to be laughed at. [p. 37]

[*Keikodan*, in *Kaiho Seiryō shū*, pp. 11–37; RT, WTdB]

Chapter 31

THE WAY OF THE WARRIOR II

The Way or ethos of the warrior (*bushidō*), which achieved its first notable articulation in medieval times,[1] continued to assert itself under the Tokugawa shogunate, a basically military regime. As we have seen, the Way of the warrior strongly influenced the Japanese understanding of the Five Human Relationships, a core Neo-Confucian teaching, by transforming the second of these relationships—for the Chinese, a predominantly civil conception of ruler/minister—to one between lord and samurai, giving the highest priority to personal loyalty to one's lord, over the mutual dedication to principle stressed by Chinese Neo-Confucians.

As the shoguns tried to give their military supremacy an aura of civil legitimacy, they and their scholarly adherents found themselves in conflict with old samurai loyalties entrenched in feudal relations. This conflict underlay the debate over the Akō vendetta, the subject of the excerpts immediately following, inviting a diversity of opinion among many schools of Tokugawa-period thought and even dividing scholars within the same school.

The spread of Neo-Confucianism in vernacular forms also brought it into contact with popular culture, especially the drama and fiction of the so-called floating world. One of the most famous works of the puppet theater, and later

1. See de Bary et al., eds., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, chap. 12.

the kabuki, dramatized the same issue of samurai loyalty versus the claim to "public" authority questionably asserted by the shogunate. Both the scholarly debate and the popular dramatization reflect the uneasy coexistence of Neo-Confucian civil culture with many feudal values persisting not only in the samurai class but in the popular mind as well.

As the Way of the warrior became increasingly codified in literary form, other long-standing religious influences showed themselves. One of the most famous of these is found in *In the Shadow of Leaves* (*Hagakure*), which reflects the persistent influence of Zen in the Tokugawa period (see chap. 33), especially Zen in the cult of swordsmanship—the cult that Ruth Benedict referred to in her classic characterization of Japanese culture, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*.

THE DEBATE OVER THE AKŌ VENDETTA

Few events both fascinated and frightened the peaceful world of eighteenth-century Tokugawa Japan as much as the Akō vendetta of 1703. The vendetta had its beginnings in the spring of 1701, when a *tozama daimyō*, Asano Naganori (1667–1701), lord of the Akō domain, attacked and wounded Lord Kira Yoshinaka, a high-ranking master of shogunate court ritual. The reason for the attack remains unclear, but the usual explanation is that Lord Asano lost his temper because Lord Kira continually humiliated him. The attack occurred on the final day of an important state ceremony in which the shogunate hosted imperial emissaries sent from Kyoto to convey the emperor's New Year greetings to the shogun. Lord Asano, who had been serving as one of the shogunate's representatives during the ceremony, was detained, interrogated, and sentenced to die by committing *seppuku* on the very same day.

After learning of their master's death, the now masterless samurai (*rōnin*) of Akō disagreed about the appropriate response. Some advocated the peaceful surrender of Akō Castle. Others recommended defending the castle to the death. Still others called for immediate revenge on Lord Kira. The matter was resolved when most of them agreed to surrender Akō Castle in the hope that the Asano family would be allowed to continue as daimyo of Akō. After the shogunate decreed that Naganori's branch of the Asano family would be discontinued and the domain confiscated, the castle at Akō was surrendered and Asano's retainers became *rōnin*. A number of them had vowed in Akō to protest what was regarded as an unjust punishment by the *bakufu*, and after many months of debate on how to accomplish their goals, in the late summer of 1702 they resolved on revenge. A contingent of forty-seven of the Akō *rōnin*, led by Ōishi Yoshio (Kuranosuke), took their revenge on Lord Kira one year and ten months after their master's suicide. The *rōnin* next marched to Sengaku Temple and presented Kira's severed head to the grave of their deceased master. They

then reported their deed to the shogunate and awaited its verdict. After long deliberations, the shogunate decided that the *rōnin* had broken the law and would have to be punished: each was sentenced to die by *seppuku*.

A lengthy debate over the revenge vendetta soon followed, centering on issues of the samurai code, duty, and ethics but also, implicitly, issues related to religious practice, such as the possibility of venerating figures otherwise sentenced to death as felons.

Much of the debate hinged on the interpretation and importance of Japanese concepts of loyalty (J. *chū*, Ch. *zhong*) and duty or righteousness (J. *gi*, Ch. *yi*). To Chinese Confucians, *zhong* had strong connotations of personal fidelity, or being true to oneself, and not necessarily blind loyalty to a ruler. To the Japanese, in keeping with earlier feudal traditions of the samurai class, *chū* had more emphasis on self-sacrificing loyalty to one's lord. Here the Chinese Confucian term *yi* is rendered as "rightness" because it has a contingent, contextual character (what is right or proper in a given situation), whereas Japanese writers tend to assign to *gi* an absolute value and religious intensity, translated here as "righteousness." Much of the Akō debate was spent assessing priorities among the universalistic values and particularistic duties affirmed in each case. We should also note the difference in the meaning of the term *chen* (J. *shin*), which Chinese Confucians generally understand as "minister" (usually civil) and Japanese regard as "retainer," harking back to the medieval, feudal traditions of the samurai. A certain asymmetry and incongruity was inevitable in the adaptation of Confucian concepts to the different Japanese scene.

Along with the debate, the Akō vendetta inspired numerous dramatic productions, including one of the most famous of the Japanese stage, *The Treasury of Loyal Retainers* (*Kanadehon chūshingura*), excerpts from which follow the passages presented here from some of the most important early statements in or related to the debate.

OKADO DENPACHIRŌ

Okado Denpachirō (1659–1723), a deputy inspector (*ometsuke*) serving the shogunate, was on duty overseeing the ceremony when Lord Asano attacked Lord Kira. Immediately after the attack, Denpachirō interrogated both men and reported his findings to the junior councillors (*wakadoshiyori*) serving the shogun. After interrogating the two men, Denpachirō and the other inspectors submitted their reports to their superiors. These ultimately reached Lord Matsudaira, the governor of Mino, who was also known as Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu and was the shogun's favorite and arguably one of the most powerful men in the shogunate. Later the same day, the shogunate's verdict was read by Nagakura Chin'ami, the chief of servants at Chiyoda Castle.

MEMORANDUM

In the following document, Okado Denpachirō presents himself as an eyewitness who twice protested the shogunate's decision to punish only Lord Asano. Some modern scholars argue that this document, which gives readers the impression that it was composed shortly after Asano's suicide in 1701, was probably written well after the 1703 revenge vendetta and is questionable on a number of counts.

Lord Asano, the chief of the Imperial Bureau of Carpentry, earlier today failed to respect the fact that he was in the shogun's castle. He succumbed to his own resentments and attacked Lord Kira, the lieutenant governor of Kōzuke. Such behavior is insufferable. It is decreed that Lord Asano be put in the custody of Tamura Tateaki, high steward of the Right Division, and that he commit *seppuku*. Lord Kira was mindful of [being in] the shogun's castle. He did not even lift a hand during the altercation. This is extremely admirable. A physician serving the shogunate, Yoshida Ian, will prescribe medicine, and a surgeon, Kurisaki Dōyū, will tend his wounds. This should greatly facilitate his recovery. Lord Kira and his entourage are free to go as they please.

Disturbed by the verdict, Denpachirō requested a meeting with the junior councillors. During the meeting, he emphasized Lord Asano's high standing and his status as a tozama daimyō. *In particular, Denpachirō asked for further investigations of the cause of the attack, suggesting that Kira was more to blame than had been established. Apparently Denpachirō believed that the shogunate should resolve the conflict according to the legal principle of* kenka ryōseibai, *or punishment for both parties in any altercation.*

As I reported earlier, during the interrogation Lord Asano stated that he bore no personal grudge against the shogunate. However, he did admit that he harbored a deep grudge against Lord Kira, which caused him to forget the occasion and behave disrespectfully in the shogun's castle, wounding Lord Kira with his sword. He agrees that this was an outrageous act and regrets it. He admits that whatever the verdict, he will abide by it, without complaint against the shogunate.

Still, Lord Asano is the lord of a castle and the recipient of a stipend of fifty thousand *koku*. Moreover, the main branch of the Asano clan, to which he is related, is one of the most powerful daimyo families in the realm. Might we be proceeding without sufficient concern for the gravity of the situation in sentencing him to commit *seppuku* on this very day? My standing is low, but still as an inspector serving the shogunate, it would be disloyal for me not to speak up now.

True, Lord Kira behaved admirably. Nevertheless, it seems that even if Lord Asano, a daimyo with a stipend of fifty thousand *koku*, was deranged, if he bore

a grudge that prompted him to discard his family, forget his presence in the shogun's castle, and wound Lord Kira with his sword, then is it so difficult to conclude that Lord Kira must have pushed him over the limit?

To base the verdict on an investigation conducted by only two inspectors, and doing so hastily, might later prompt the main branch of the Asano family, who are *tozama daimyō*, to decide for some reason or another that the verdict was reached without concern for the gravity of the case. Therefore we suggest that the inspectors reinvestigate matters related to the verdict that Lord Asano commit *seppuku*. Then, after several days of investigation, whatever verdict is arrived at will be handed down. Until that time, Lord Kira should be advised to proceed cautiously. He, too, should be reinvestigated. If he proves to have behaved admirably and done nothing to provoke a grudge, and the attack is found to have resulted from the deranged mind of Lord Asano, then Lord Kira should be treated favorably. According him such treatment today, however, might make the verdict seem ill considered. This we humbly suggest.

The junior councillors to whom Denpachirō made his plea relayed it to the senior councillors, but they did not accept it. Instead, the junior councillors were informed that Lord Matsudaira had already decided the matter and refused to reconsider it. The following is Denpachirō's response.

If Lord Matsudaira arrived at the verdict by himself, then I humbly suggest that my recommendations be forwarded to the shogun. The verdict is much too one-sided. Any *tozama daimyō* would be shamed by it. Please make my suggestions known to the shogun immediately. If the shogun has deliberated the matter, then we will abide by the verdict. [But] if Lord Matsudaira alone decided it, I request that my suggestions be forwarded to the shogun.

Denpachirō's objection was taken to Lord Matsudaira, who responded by having him placed under house arrest. Shortly thereafter, he was pardoned and then appointed to serve as a witness during Lord Asano's seppuku, *which occurred around 6:00 P.M. the same day.*

[Okado Denpachirō, *Kinsei buke shisō*, in *NST*, vol. 27, pp. 167–74; trans. adapted from Satō, *Legends of the Samurai*, pp. 307–20; JAT]

RELIGIOUS NUANCES OF THE AKŌ CASE

HAYASHI RAZAN

After the revenge attack by the forty-seven Akō *rōnin* against Lord Kira, the debate centered on the question of whether the *rōnin* were "loyal retainers and righteous samurai" (*chūshin gishi*). In China, this term was understood in a

more civil context as "loyal ministers and dutiful officers" (Ch. *zhongchen yishi*) and was defined in *Neo-Confucian Terms Explained* (*Xingli ziyi*) by Chen Beixi (1159–1223), a disciple of Zhu Xi. Beixi suggested that "loyal ministers and dutiful officers" were men who had sacrificed themselves, or had met some violent death, in fidelity to a dynasty. Beixi added that "loyal ministers and dutiful officers" could be legitimately venerated at shrines built to honor their spirits. Hayashi Razan (1583–1657) wrote a colloquial version of Beixi's work, which became a text widely read in Tokugawa Japan. Indeed, many scholars participating in the debate were familiar with it. Whether the common Japanese understanding of *chūshin gishi* as "loyal retainers and righteous warriors" (*samurai*) included this nuance is open to question, but if it did, the shogunate might face the prospect that men it had sentenced to die as criminals could later be apotheosized at shrines dedicated to them.

Razan quoted the *History of the Tang Dynasty*, which says that Xu Yuan and Zhang Xun defended the city of Suiyang during the final year of the An Lushan (d. 757) rebellion. After they were killed by rebel troops, Xu and Zhang were enshrined as *zhongchen yishi* because of their heroic defense of the dynasty. Razan next presented an account from the *History of the Song Dynasty*, that Su Jian was enshrined after he burned himself to death following defeat by an invading barbarian force from areas south of China. Razan turned to the *History of the Tang Dynasty* and the *History of Fukien* for information about Chen Yuanguang, enshrined for his successful defense of the Tang dynasty against invaders from the north. None of these Chinese cases, however, involved revenge or a vendetta, and Razan's account of them was written well before the Akō incident. Japanese Confucians familiar with Razan's explications of Beixi's accounts interpreted the notion of *chūshin gishi* as signifying a loyalist martyr who could be legitimately venerated. In 1912 the Ōishi Shrine was built for Ōishi Kuranosuke and the other Akō *rōnin*. At the time of the Akō incident, the religious aspects of the case as it appears in the eighteenth-century version of the popular play *Chūshingura* were connected to a Buddhist temple celebrating the feudal values of revenge and honor redeemed.

In the following extract, because Razan is translating from Beixi's Chinese, the English rendering of the key terms first gives the Chinese meaning and then the way they might be understood in the Japanese samurai context.

"LOYAL RETAINERS AND RIGHTEOUS WARRIORS"

In later ages, loyal ministers [retainers (*chūshin*)] and dutiful officers [righteous warriors (*gishi*)] threw themselves against unsheathed blades to avert disaster. For example, both Zhang Xun (709–751) and Xu Yuan died in defending Suiyang. Twin temples were erected for them there. Su Jian (d. 1076) died in Yongzhou, and so a temple was founded for him there. The King of the Manifest

Spirit of Zhangzhou sacrificed his life to defend his people. Therefore the people of Zhangzhou built a temple so that they could offer sacrifices. These temples for loyal ministers (retainers) and dutiful officers (righteous warriors) were, in each case, legitimate ones. These temples must be closely supervised so that they open and close at certain times. Vandals must not be allowed to desecrate them. To show their respect for the loyal ministers (retainers) and dutiful officers (righteous warriors) enshrined at these temples, commoners should be allowed only to burn incense at them. . . .

[Hayashi Razan, *Seiri jigi genkai*, vol. 7, pp. 27a–29a; JAT]

HAYASHI HŌKŌ

In 1691, the shogun Tsunayoshi appointed Hayashi Hōkō (Nobuatsu, 1644–1732), the son of Gahō (1618–1680) and the grandson of Razan, to a newly created post, *daigaku no kami*, head of the Confucian academy. The same year, the academy, known as the Hall of Sages (Seidō), was moved from Shinobugaoka to the top of Shōhei Hill, named after Confucius's birthplace and located in the Yushima district of Edo. The new site served primarily as the venue of semiannual *sekiten* ceremonies held in the spring and autumn to honor Confucian masters and their teachings. "On Revenge" (Fukushū ron) reveals Hōkō's admiration of the "forty-six men," as well as his ultimate respect for the integrity of the law.

"ON REVENGE" (FUKUSHŪ RON)

Forty-six men, including Ōishi Yoshio's[2] samurai retainers of a certain Kansai daimyo, united their hearts in forming a league to avenge the death of their deceased lord. On the fourteenth day of the twelfth lunar month in the winter of Genroku 15 [1703], they took revenge on his enemy and were arrested. The shogunate commissioned a thorough and official investigation of the crime and

2. Although forty-seven *rōnin* took part in the revenge attack, one of the group, Terasaka Kichiemon, apparently was ordered to leave before the *rōnin* reached the Sengaku Temple and thus neither surrendered himself to the *bakufu* nor was forced to commit suicide with the others, living instead for another forty-five years to the ripe old age of seventy-eight. Essayists have thus variously referred to the participants as being either forty-six or forty-seven in number, with those seeking to justify the *bakufu* verdict citing the number of those sentenced to die, forty-six, and more sympathetic writers referring to forty-seven. Also, the participants in the vendetta were variously described as "men," "*rōnin*," or "samurai," depending on the extent to which praise or condemnation was intended.

then handed down its verdict: the members of the league were asked to commit suicide.

Someone asked the following question:

> The Three Bonds and the Five Constant Virtues[3] are the great substance of ritual propriety and the foundations of our moral transformation by means of education and learning. Throughout history and the entire world, there has never been any deviation from these. Based on them, the early kings of antiquity established laws and formulated detailed regulations, promulgating them throughout the realm and transmitting them to posterity. Now the relationships between a ruler and his ministers and between a father and his sons are most essential and basic to the Three Bonds and the Five Constant Virtues. Those relationships represent the pinnacle of heaven's principles and human ethics. Nowhere between heaven and earth can one escape them. Therefore the *Book of Rites* states, "One should never live under the same sky with the enemy of one's ruler or one's father."[4] This injunction issued from a natural and irresistible human feeling; in no respect is it the product of selfishness. Forbidding revenge contradicts the regulations established by the early kings and wounds the hearts and souls of loyal retainers and filial children (*chūshin kōshi*). Executing those who take revenge is an extreme example of destroying the ethical models of the early kings and violating the laws they formulated. Thus, how can forbidding revenge possibly help rectify human ethics or conform to the law?

I replied that the rightness [or duty (*gi*)] of revenge is evident in the *Record of Rites*, the *Institutes of the Zhou Dynasty*, and the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. Moreover, many Tang- and Song-dynasty Confucian scholars who discussed revenge came to the same conclusion. A Ming-dynasty scholar, Qiu Jun [1420–1495], also discussed revenge in considerable detail in his "Supplement" to the *Extended Meaning of the Great Learning* (J. *Daigaku engi*, Ch. *Daxue yanyi*).

I, too, would like to analyze the matter, noting relevant insights from the ancient Confucian classics and commentaries on them. First, I will view their vendetta from the perspective of the hearts of the forty-six men. It was imperative that they "not share the same sky with their master's enemy" and that they "sleep on reeds, using their sword as a pillow" [*Record of Rites*]. To hang onto

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3. The Three Bonds refer to the proper relations between ruler and minister, parent and child, and husband and wife. The Five Constant Virtues are humaneness, rightness, ritual decorum, wisdom, and trustworthiness.

4. The *Record of Rites* makes this remark only in reference to one's father. The *Rites of Zhou*, however, suggests that the same ethic can be legitimately applied to one's ruler.

life by enduring shame and humiliation is not the way of the samurai. We must also consider the vendetta from the perspective of the law. Anyone who sees the law as his enemy must be put to death. Although the forty-six men were carrying out the last wishes of their deceased lord, they could not do so without committing a capital crime in the process. Stubbornly rebellious, they blatantly defied the authorities. They were arrested and punished in order to clarify the laws of the nation for the realm and for posterity.

These two perspectives are hardly identical, but they might complement each other in operation, without contradiction. Above, there must be humane rulers and wise ministers who govern by clarifying law and promulgating decrees. Below, there must be loyal retainers and righteous samurai (*chūshin gishi*) who readily vent their anger in the determined pursuit of their cause. In doing so, if the forty-six men had to sacrifice their lives because they broke the law, what could they possibly regret? The vendetta let the world know that a lord can indeed trust his retainers and that retainers are loyal to their lord. . . .

[Hayashi Razan, *Kinsei buke shisō*, in *NST*, vol. 27, pp. 372–75; BS, JAT]

MURO KYŪSŌ

Muro Kyūsō (1658–1734) was born in Bitchū Province, the son of a *rōnin*. At fifteen, he entered the service of Maeda Tsunanori (1643–1724), daimyo of Kanazawa domain. Soon thereafter, Kyūsō was sent to study in Kyoto under the Neo-Confucian scholar Kinoshita Jun'an (1621–1698). In 1711, with the recommendation of Arai Hakuseki, Kyūsō became a scholar serving the eighth shogun, Yoshitsune. Kyūsō's *Records of the Righteous Men of Akō Domain* (*Akō gijin roku*), one of his longer works, was written in 1703, shortly after the suicide of the *rōnin*. It offers a detailed narrative of the incident from beginning to end and was one of the earliest writings to proclaim the righteousness (*gi*) of the *rōnin* vendetta. In the form of a dialogue with three of Kyūsō's students, the preface suggests that the vendetta of the Akō samurai was grounded in a Confucian tradition, dating back in ancient China to Bo Yi and Shu Qi, when ministers remonstrated against unwise policies adopted by their rulers.

PREFACE TO *RECORDS OF THE RIGHTEOUS MEN OF AKŌ DOMAIN* (*AKŌ GIJIN ROKU*)

Now that autumn is here, the rain has at last given way to clear skies. Outside my door I hear footsteps approaching. Looking out to welcome my visitors, I see that they are several of my students. I take out my *Records of Righteous Men* (*Gijin roku*), and we read it together. Once we stop reading, with tears we lament that loyalty and goodness are not rewarded and that no one seems to

understand the Way of Heaven. Alas! We sigh over these things because Mencius did not deceive us when he said that "ethical principles and righteousness (*rigi*) delight the human heart."[5]

One of my students, Ishi Shinmi, remarked, "The authorities have settled the matter involving the samurai of Akō domain according to the law. However, you, Master Muro, have written boldly on this subject, extolling their actions and praising them as righteous men. Your intentions in this are admirable, but does this not amount to offering a private opinion that contradicts a matter of public law?"

Another disciple, Tani Kyōzen, observed, "No, that is not the case! In ancient times Bo Yi and Shu Qi strongly opposed King Wu's plan to overthrow King Zhou and the Shang dynasty. Thus they stood in front of the horses of King Wu's army, hoping to prevent the overthrow with their own bodies. Now the samurai of Akō domain strongly opposed the pardon of Lord Kira Yoshinaka, and so they banded together to take revenge on him in Edo. Bo Yi and Shu Qi sought to fulfill their humanity and succeeded.[6] The Akō samurai chose to give up their lives for the sake of righteousness.[7] While these examples differ in scale, they are the same in that both were based on giving primary importance to the righteousness that binds lord and retainer. For that reason, King Wu's political adviser, Lü Shang, did not shrink from praising Bo Yi and Shu Qi as righteous men, and this did not reflect unfavorably on King Wu's wisdom. How will the fact that Master Muro today does not shrink from praising the samurai of Akō domain as righteous men undermine the prosperity of our state? Considering Bo Yi and Shu Qi as righteous did not imply condemnation of King Wu. Why, therefore, should praising the Akō samurai as righteous suggest that one is casting aspersions on the shogunate?"

The third disciple, Oku Shifuku, added, "While I agree with what you have said, King Wu's political adviser was able to bypass Bo Yi and Shu Qi with just one order to his troops, sending them to the right and left of the two protesters. [But] Master Muro's discussions are conducted in isolation from the shogunate, here in his school. It was impossible for him to spare the Akō samurai the verdict of the shogunate's legal representatives. Was that not a matter of accepting fate?"[8]

After a long sigh, my three students departed. I immediately recorded what they had said for the benefit of prospective readers of these *Records*.

[Muro Kyūsō, *Kinsei buke shisō*, in *NST*, vol. 27, pp. 272–73; BS, JAT]

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5. *Mencius* 6A:7.
6. *Analects* 7:15.
7. *Mencius* 6A:10.
8. That is, accepting the limiting circumstance in which one must act.

OGYŪ SORAI

Ogyū Sorai (1666–1728) was the second son of a physician serving Tsunayoshi, the Tokugawa heir who later became the fifth shogun. Sorai later entered the service of Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu, grand chamberlain to Tsunayoshi. Sorai's "Essay on the Forty-seven Samurai" (Shijūshichi shi ron) endorses the shogunate's verdict on the *rōnin* but extols a superior path for those intent on civil disobedience, that of peaceful remonstration. Another essay, "Giritsusho," allegedly written by Sorai, suggests that his thinking about the incident was similar to Hōkō's and far less critical of the *rōnin*. "Giritsusho" is often cited as Sorai's representative statement on the incident, but some scholars believe that it is a forgery. In any case, Sorai's essay on the Akō vendetta reflects his early thinking as a Neo-Confucian scholar rather than his later thought.

"ESSAY ON THE FORTY-SEVEN SAMURAI" (SHIJŪSHICHI SHI RON)

An unofficial historian related,

> On the fourteenth day of the third month of Genroku 14 [1701], imperial emissaries visited Edo. That day, the lord of Akō domain, Asano Naganori, because of a personal grudge, unsheathed his sword and attacked, inside the shogun's palace, the major general of the Right Division,[9] Kira Yoshinaka. Lord Kira was wounded in the attack but not killed. That very evening, Lord Asano was sentenced to death, and his domain was confiscated. Lord Kira was not punished. Then, in December of Genroku 15 [1703], a band of Lord Asano's retainers led by Ōishi Yoshio, totaling some forty-seven men, broke into Lord Kira's residence and beheaded him. Subsequently they were arrested and confined. In the second month of the following year, they were sentenced to death. Everyone concluded that the forty-seven men had decided to sacrifice their lives following their lord's death so that they could act loyally, without desire for reward. People thus praised them as righteous samurai (*gishi*).

In my view, however, their behavior was as senseless as that of the five hundred men who followed Tian Heng in death by committing suicide on a desolate island. After all, it was Lord Asano who wanted to kill Lord Kira. Lord Kira had no desire to kill Lord Asano! Therefore, we cannot say that the forty-

9. "Major general of the Right Division" (*ushōshō*) was an honorary imperial government title that had been conferred on Lord Kira, largely as a reflection of his high status.

seven men took revenge on their lord's enemy. Furthermore, it was because the lord of Akō had tried to kill Lord Kira that the Asano family lost their domain. Lord Kira did not destroy their domain. Therefore, again, the forty-seven men cannot be said to have exacted revenge for their lord's death.

Forgetting his ancestors and acting no more courageously than a common fellow, Lord Asano yielded to a moment of anger that morning and thus failed in his attempt to kill Lord Kira. Lord Asano's behavior must be deemed unrighteous (*fugi*). At best, the forty-seven men can be said to have deftly carried out their master's evil intentions. How can that be called right (*gi*)?

Lord Asano's samurai, unable to save their lord from his unrighteousness in life, chose to die in the process of completing his unrighteous intention. Circumstances led them to their fate. Even if we try to empathize with them, how can the whole matter not be deemed an enormous tragedy? Thus I judge the forty-seven men much as I do the five hundred followers of Tian Heng who killed themselves on an island in the sea.

Let us consider the loyal servant Ichibei,[10] who was by far superior to Lord Asano's retainers. Diligently and intelligently, Ichibei applied his strength to the way of loyally serving his master, persistently doing what he should have done. Ichibei's sincere intentions eventually persuaded the shogunate to restore his master's family to their former position among the good people of the realm. How could such behavior not be deemed superior to the deeds of Lord Asano's retainers? Alas! Although Ichibei's circumstances were not the same as those of the forty-seven men, his intentions must be praised as righteous (*gi*).

[Ogyū Sorai, *Kinsei buke shisō*, in *NST*, vol. 27, pp. 400–401; BS, JAT]

SATŌ NAOKATA

Unlike Hayashi Hōkō and Ogyū Sorai, who were born in Edo, Satō Naokata (1650–1719) came from the castle town of Fukuyama, in southwestern Japan, between Okayama and Hiroshima. After studying Zhu Xi Neo-Confucianism under Yamazaki Ansai, he served as a Neo-Confucian scholar to daimyo in Fukuyama, Maebashi, and Hikone domains. Unlike Ansai, who advocated a

10. In "On the Loyal Servant Ichibei," Sorai recounts that the peasant Ichibei, a native of the village of Anesaki in Kazusa, assumed responsibility for the family of his village headman, Jirōbei, after the latter was exiled to Ōshima because of his supposed complicity in a murder. Convinced of his master's innocence, Ichibei petitioned the shogunate for the return of his master's estate. In Hōei 2 (1705), Ichibei's petition was granted. Sorai notes that Ichibei abstained from sexual relations with his wife during the eleven years of petitioning for fear that her pregnancy might curtail his efforts on behalf of his lord. Noting that conjugal relations were among the few pleasures that Ichibei might otherwise have enjoyed, Sorai praises the loyalist for his sacrifice for his master.

blend of Neo-Confucianism and Shinto religiosity, Naokata strongly rejected mixing Shinto with Neo-Confucianism, instead defending the Zhu Xi orthodoxy against all other versions of the Confucian Way. Although Naokata and Asami Keisai were Ansai's most prominent disciples, they eventually formed opposite views of the vendetta. Naokata, one of their most severe critics, denounced the *rōnin* as utterly lacking righteousness.

NOTES ON THE FORTY-SIX MEN (SHIJŪROKU NIN NO HIKKI)

At two o'clock in the morning on the fifteenth day of the twelfth month of Genroku 15 [1703], the chief retainer of Lord Asano, Ōishi Kuranosuke, and his band of forty-six men entered the main residence of Lord Kira. The men wore helmets and armor and carried bows, arrows, and spears. They decapitated Lord Kira, wounded his son Sabei, and killed or wounded many of Lord Kira's retainers. Later that morning, the men retreated to Sengaku Temple in Shiba. Before the grave of their deceased lord, they offered up Lord Kira's severed head. There they remained.

On the way back from Lord Kira's residence, the men sent two members of their band, Yoshida Chūzaemon and Tomimori Suke'emon, to the residence of an inspector general, Sengoku Hisanao, the governor of Hōki Province. Chūzaemon and Suke'emon were supposed to report the incident to the inspector, deliver a letter to him, and await the shogunate's verdict regarding their fate. The shogunate decreed that the forty-six men be placed in the custody of four daimyo: (1) Hosokawa Tsunatoshi, governor of Etchū; (2) Matsudaira Sadanao, governor of Oki; (3) Mizuno Tadamoto of Yamagata (Dewa); and (4) Mōri Tsunamoto, governor of Kai. On the fourth day of the second month of Genroku 16 [1703], the shogunate handed down its death sentence, which was promptly carried out. The verdict read as follows:

> The shogunate asked Lord Asano to assist in entertaining imperial emissaries from Kyoto visiting Edo. Lord Asano, showing no regard for the occasion or the fact that he was inside the palace, acted in an outrageous (*futodoki*) manner, for which the appropriate punishment was ordered. Lord Kira committed no crime and so was not punished. Because of this, the forty-six men banded together to take revenge against their master's enemy; forced their way into Lord Kira's mansion armed with bows, arrows, and spears; and killed him. The shogunate deems this whole matter, from beginning to end, to be disrespectful to the authorities and most outrageous. Thus, it decrees that they commit *seppuku*.

The ethical principles of honorable behavior (*giri*) informing the shogunate's verdict are clear. The forty-six men were allowed to disembowel themselves

rather than be put to death by decapitation. The forty-six men should consider themselves fortunate that the shogunate decided to give them a compassionate sentence. Despite this, the common people chime in, praising the forty-six men as "loyal retainers and righteous samurai" (*chūshin gishi*).

It is understandable if uneducated people not familiar with the ethical principles of honorable behavior (*giri*) make mistakes like these. But even Master Hayashi Hōkō eulogized their passing, comparing them with Yu Rang and Tian Heng and praising them as "loyal and righteous retainers" (*chūgi no shin*). Hōkō further stated that the forty-six men "took revenge on their lord's enemy and thus promoted righteousness."[11] Many scholars have joined the refrain, similarly regretting the deaths of the forty-six men. Some, like Hōkō, even claim that the verdict was in accordance with ethical principles (*ri*) and that the intentions of the forty-six men were righteous (*gi*). But if the shogunate's verdict was in accordance with ethical principles, how could the forty-six men not have been unrighteous (*fugi*)? Such claims are groundless errors resulting from ignorance of righteous principles [of honorable behavior] (*giri*).

The common people regard as a teacher anyone who reads Confucian literature and then has something to say about ethical principles. But it is truly sad when mistakes are made and the minds of the people are misled. The forty-six men indeed made an egregious error when they deemed Lord Kira to be their deceased lord's enemy and invoked the *Record of Rites*' statement that "one should not coexist under the same sky with the murderer of one's lord or father." Lord Kira was not their enemy, although he might have been if he had actually attacked Lord Asano. Lord Asano was sentenced to death because he was a criminal who violated the great law of the land and defied the authorities.

Moreover, if we consider the matter in terms of the dedicated spirit (*kokorozashi*) appropriate to a samurai, then if Lord Asano's rancor against Lord Kira was irrepressible, he should have waited until his ceremonial duties were completed and then found a more appropriate place to attack Lord Kira. To attack Lord Kira during the great ceremony hosting the imperial emissaries was a reckless, unmanly, and cowardly way of acting. Lord Kira was standing and chatting with Kajikawa Yosobe when Asano approached him from behind, suddenly drew his short sword, and slashed him even as he attempted to flee. Lord Kira was not fatally wounded, and Kajikawa apprehended Lord Asano before he could finish his task. Lord Asano's lack of courage and skill were laughable in the extreme! That he was sentenced to death and his domain confiscated was indeed in accordance with the ethical principles proper to such matters.

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11. This remark is in the preface to another version of the poem that Hōkō composed to conclude his essay "On Revenge." Both the preface and the other version of the poem are in *Hōkō Hayashi gakushi shū*. See *NST*, vol. 27, p. 375.

Lord Kira never even drew his short sword. He collapsed in surprise, and his face turned pale, making him the laughingstock of samurai throughout the realm. He behaved so shamefully that even death would have been a better fate. What could the shogunate have done to punish him any further? Clearly Lord Kira was not the mortal enemy of [the forty-six men's] master, Lord Asano.

Rather than regretting their master's crime, the forty-six men defied the shogunate's verdict, armed themselves, and used passwords, secret signals, and military strategy to murder Lord Kira. Thus they too committed a capital crime. Nevertheless, obsessed with their master's anger toward Lord Kira, their muddled minds became totally intent on taking revenge. If later they had reflected on the nature of their crime, a violation of the shogun's law, and committed suicide at Sengaku Temple, their intentions would have merited sympathy despite the wrongness of their deed.

Instead they reported their deed to the inspector general and waited for a verdict from the shogunate. In both the letter they presented explaining their deed and in their first remarks to the inspector general, the men declared that they respected the authorities. But was not such behavior part of a scheme meant to win them praise, help them escape the death penalty, and perhaps even be given a stipend? Having committed a capital crime and blatantly disobeyed the authorities, there was no need for them to report anything, nor was there any need to wait for a verdict. These were not the acts of men who had readied themselves for death.

The Asano family had long revered Yamaga Sokō's teachings on military science. Ōishi had thus studied these teachings from the start. [The forty-six men's] plot arose out of their virulent reaction to the prospect of being reduced to the status of masterless samurai. Their attack was the product of calculation and conspiracy; it did not arise from any real sense of loyalty (*chūgi*) to their lord or from any feelings of commiseration with their lord in his misfortune. Someone who presumes to be a samurai should instead analyze things in detail and make clear distinctions so that he can resolve the confusion clouding the common people.

Examining the matter further, there is a reason why people join in praising the forty-six men as loyal and righteous retainers (*chūgi no shin*): Lord Kira was by nature a very greedy man. The world hated his arrogance, deceitfulness, and perverseness. Thus people overlooked Lord Asano's crime and felt sad over his death and disgust that Lord Kira still lived. Upon hearing that the forty-six men had taken revenge, killing Lord Kira, they were overjoyed, praising the forty-six as loyal and righteous retainers. Alas! Because of the perverseness of this one person, so many others ended up being killed, all of Edo was put in an uproar, and people's minds were thrown into confusion. Lord Kira is indeed the one whom we all should despise.

[Satō Naokata, *Kinsei buke shisō*, in *NST*, vol. 27, pp. 378–80; BS, JAT]

ASAMI KEISAI

Asami Keisai (1652–1711) was born near Kyoto, in the castle town of Takashima, in Ōmi Province. In 1677 he became a disciple of Yamazaki Ansai. Unlike Satō Naokata, Keisai avoided serving daimyo, preferring instead to remain a private teacher of Neo-Confucianism in Kyoto. Naokata and Keisai were two of Ansai's most brilliant students, but they strongly disagreed on a number of important issues. In this case, whereas Naokata judged the forty-six "men" to have been unrighteous (*fugi*), Keisai praised them as loyal servants and righteous samurai. Keisai's argument is couched in terms of the "supreme duty (or righteousness)" (*taigi*), for which he became well known. In "Essay on the Forty-six Samurai" (Shijūroku shi ron), written around 1706, Keisai refers indirectly to Naokata's views and attempts to refute them.

"ESSAY ON THE FORTY-SIX SAMURAI" (SHIJŪROKU SHI RON)

Everyone knows the story of the Akō vendetta carried out by men from Banshū [Harima Province]. While it is hardly open to question whether the forty-six men acted for the sake of their master, some who have misgivings about them claim that their behavior was unrighteousness (*fugi*) toward the government of the realm (*tenka*) because they took revenge on someone whom the government had deemed innocent.

Such reasoning has generated a great variety of rather tenuous arguments. Many people have written me from near and far asking about the truth or falsity, rightness or wrongness of such arguments. A cursory look at these arguments reveals that they all fail to make clear the fundamental issues involved. . . . Here I will try to clarify the main outlines of the matter to supplement what they have to say.

Kōzuke-no-suke (Lord Kira) was in charge of the shogun's representatives during the great ceremonies welcoming imperial emissaries from Kyoto. Because of his selfish desires, Lord Kira did not care whether Takumi-no-kami (Lord Asano) blundered through the great ceremony. Nor was Lord Kira concerned whether Lord Asano was disgraced and humiliated before the illustrious representatives of the imperial court. Such behavior greatly infuriated Lord Asano. In not devoting himself first and foremost to the ritual ceremonies of his lord, the shogun, and instead indulging his selfish desires, Lord Kira committed crimes of an extremely serious nature. Even if Lord Asano had not first attacked him, Lord Kira should not have escaped punishment for his offenses. Even if he had been spared the death penalty, he should at least have been forced to relinquish his titles and resign his office. At the very least, he should have been stripped of his rice stipend.

On Lord Asano's part, his inability to control his private anger on the occasion of a major court ceremony and his rash behavior in attacking Lord Kira at such a time also were very serious errors. Nevertheless, these acts were not in the slightest degree directed against the shogunate. More than that, [Lord Asano] did not even intend to act without deference to the occasion. Whether it was because of repeated disgrace or the insult he endured on that day, his heart so burned with indignation that without taking time to consider the consequences, he struck out at Lord Kira. Lord Kira fled, and a person on the scene subdued Lord Asano, so before he knew it, Asano found himself unable to finish his attack. If he had been able to attack and kill Lord Kira as he wanted to, he should then have committed suicide immediately. Or if he had been subdued before he managed to commit suicide, he should of course have been prepared to receive the death sentence.

In that case, if we ask what established legal principle would have been applicable here, it would have been the law stipulating that both parties in an altercation are to be punished equally (*kenka ryōseibai*). If we grant that Lord Asano's offense was the disturbance he created during the great ceremony, it was not unprovoked. Rather, it resulted entirely from Lord Kira's selfish intent. If Lord Asano was held responsible as one party in the altercation, then Lord Kira should have been held responsible as the other party. But Lord Asano alone was sentenced to die for disrupting a state ceremony, while the other party, Lord Kira, was not punished at all. Thus there is no question that in the last analysis, Lord Asano died on account of Lord Kira. Accordingly, had Lord Asano's retainers not killed Lord Kira, completing the work begun by their master's sword, their supreme duty (*taigi*) would never have been fulfilled. This was simply a matter of a lord's retainers killing his adversary in fulfillment of their lord's intention to kill him himself, and it is clear that the forty-six men showed not an iota of enmity toward, nor any thought of rebellion against, the shogunate. All they did was to carry out revenge against a person who had been pardoned by the shogunate. There is no concept of supreme duty (*taigi*) that justifies refraining from taking revenge against the murderer of one's lord or father simply because the government has pardoned the murderer. . . .

The adage "merit and demerit do not cancel out each other" means that a person's earlier good deeds are not undone by later mistakes that he might commit. From beginning to end, Ōishi's actions showed not the slightest intention of rebelling against the shogunate. On the contrary, one should say that the righteousness displayed by the forty-six in not committing suicide but instead holding their necks out and entrusting their fates to the shogunate was something that they had learned from their lord's lifelong loyal service to the shogunate.

Gradually the whole story of what had transpired came to light. Lord Kira's heir was later punished for his disloyalty in not defending his father to the death, while the heirs of the forty-six men were treated leniently and their relatives

were spared from punishment.[12] Moreover, the forty-six were allowed to choose their grave sites, next to their master's at Sengaku Temple. From these facts it appears that the loyalty and righteousness of the forty-six men have been recognized by the shogunate and that the shogunate's councillors have come to recognize them as well. But even if this were not the case, and the bones of the forty-six men's sons and grandsons had been crushed to dust, it would not have prompted hatred in their loyal and righteous hearts. It is just like the case of Fang Xiaoru.[13] There is nothing particularly ambiguous or open to doubt in such things: it is simply a matter of the principles of honorable behavior (*giri*) that are clear to everyone in the realm, whether educated or not. Some scholars who like to espouse exceptional and high-sounding views have offered all sorts of half-baked ideas, and it is not surprising that heterodox theories also emerge from their midst. Such views are not worth taking seriously.

A certain person has argued that if Ōishi and the others had immediately committed suicide at Sengaku Temple, their deed would have been comparable to those included in the "Exemplary Behavior" chapter of the *Elementary Learning*, but because they did not kill themselves right then and there, they were unrighteous. This is also a case of reasoning that confuses what came after with what came before. Even if we allow that their failure to commit suicide at Sengaku Temple contradicted the principles of honorable behavior (*giri*), in taking revenge on their lord's adversary, they were surely loyal and righteous (*chūgi*). . . . How much truer this is of the forty-six men who, instead of committing suicide, discarded their swords, reported their deed to the inspector general, and left their fate to the authorities, doing all this gallantly and with perfect composure. This act of self-surrender was admirably and skillfully performed, and it is not the sort of thing for which one seeks posthumous fame and honor. Even an ignorant person would have known that they could not expect to be pardoned simply because they did not commit suicide. If they were so attached to life, how could they have set their minds so firmly on the supreme duty, which by its very nature entails giving up one's life?

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12. Satō notes that East Asian law provided for the punishment of not only the criminal but family members as well. Collectively, the forty-six men had nineteen sons. Four of them, all fifteen years of age or older, were exiled but pardoned three years later. The remaining fifteen sons were to be exiled when they turned fifteen, but they all became Buddhist monks, which excused them from punishment. The rice income of Lord Kira's adopted son, Yoshichika (1686–1706), was confiscated because he had not fought to the death to protect his father. He also was placed under house arrest, in the custody of a daimyo, before his death four years later (*Legends of the Samurai*, p. 333).

13. Fang Xiaoru (1357–1402) was a Confucian tutor to the second Ming emperor. After the prince of Yan, the emperor's uncle, seized the throne, Fang was asked to compose the accession edict. For writing "The rebel Yan usurped the throne," he and his clan to ten degrees of relatedness were sentenced to death, resulting in the execution of several hundred relatives and disciples. Fang's case, however, in no way involved revenge or a vendetta.

A certain person has also argued that the forty-six men killed Lord Kira because their master, Lord Asano, had failed to do so, and not because Lord Kira attacked Lord Asano; therefore Lord Kira was not the enemy of their master. Such shallow reasoning is based on ignorance of the true meaning of the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. If we claim that a person cannot be another person's enemy unless he attacks that person directly, then we would have to conclude that Confucius erred in compiling the *Spring and Autumn Annals* when he stated that in condoning his nephew's assassination of his ruler, Zhao Dun in effect assassinated his ruler himself. If your master attacked someone, and for that reason your master was put to death, then who, other than the person he had attacked, would be called your enemy? There are many more examples of this sort of thing than I can possibly cite.

A certain person has argued, "Lord Asano was a poor swordsman. His failure to complete his attack was disgraceful. Clearly he would have been no use to the shogunate." This criticism is also laughable. Indeed, it would have been good if Lord Asano had been such an excellent swordsman that he killed Lord Kira immediately. However, Lord Asano was flustered by the suddenness of the incident, and Kira immediately fled, unfortunately foiling Lord Asano's attempt to slay him. But Lord Asano showed not the slightest sign of trying to flee the scene. If for this he should be condemned as being of no use, then what is the use of a coward like Lord Kira, who did flee? In the last analysis, it seems that those who make this sort of argument, bringing in all sorts of principles that do not really apply to the case, are only trying to avoid casting aspersions on the judgment of the shogun's councillors. . . .

Some foolish people are confused by the allegation that the vendetta was carried out in defiance of the shogun's pardon of Lord Kira. However, as I said before, there is no principle (*kotowari*) stating that a son should not take revenge on his father's murderer just because the murderer has been pardoned by the authorities. Such revenge does not amount to defying the authorities. Because the vengeance seeker thinks of nothing but the enemy of his father, it does seem in retrospect that he has acted in defiance of the authorities. But it is really the same as Mencius's statement that if Shun's blind father Gu Sou had killed a man, Shun would have fled the empire carrying his father on his back.[14] He would not have done this with any intention of defying the authorities. Nor would a son be defying his father if he refused to participate in a rebellion that he started, trying unto death to dissuade him. For rulers and parents, the same principles apply. It is here that we find the pinnacle of loyalty and filial piety.

Another theory that this person has offered is particularly despicable. According to this argument, the forty-six men, having nowhere to turn and no master to serve, staged the vendetta as a subterfuge to obtain a stipend from

14. *Mencius* 7A:35.

some admiring lord. This must be the most slanderous allegation of all. From beginning to end, the forty-six men, without exception and without regrets, chose to discard their lives, having already written their last testaments. This libelous speculation, the sort that might come from a scrap iron collector, seems intent on eradicating even the memory of the forty-six men. How much more apparent is its slanderous nature if one considers that the forty-six men could carry out their attack only by breaking secretly into the residence of a prominent and well-connected individual guarded by a large number of retainers. How could even one of them have hoped to return alive? To allege that they did this in the hope of obtaining a stipend makes no sense whatsoever. What is more, Ōishi and his band also possessed a considerable quantity of gold and silver. If they were unhappy that they had lost their source of income, they still would not have had to go to such lengths to seek employment at the risk of their lives. For samurai, such speculation amounts to gross slander.

A certain person asked, "How would it have been if Lord Asano's private grudge against Lord Kira had not reached the breaking point at this important ceremony, but in some other circumstances? Would that not have been more acceptable?" In the last analysis, I answer, it would still be the same thing. When one disregards one's public responsibilities because of a private grudge, one cannot escape punishment for the crime. But as long as the act is committed with no trace of disrespect toward the authorities, then it is the same, no matter what the occasion. Even the letters and last testaments of the forty-six men had no hint of ill will toward the shogunate. On the contrary, their attitude was moderate and reasonable in the extreme, demonstrating an acute awareness of the rules of ritual decorum. . . . Samurai in the service of a lord generally do not feel a deep sense of personal commitment to their master's feuds, because once the occasion has passed, the matter of revenge becomes a collective responsibility. After all, the house retainers are not usually related by blood to their lord, and the custom is for retainers to change masters quite readily. This is all because in the normal course of their lives, no one pays enough attention to the principle of righteousness between lord and retainer. Ever since the *Chronicle of Great Peace* (*Taiheiki*), in all quarters of our land, in times of disorder, there have been many heroic deeds and many courageous men. Yet if we examine how many of them truly merited the name "loyal retainer and righteous samurai" (*chūshin gishi*), we will find few indeed. . . .

Someone asked, "The forty-six men formed themselves into a vigilante band, armed to the hilt [and] using passwords, secret signals, and techniques of military strategy to carry out their deed. That itself is a capital offense. What do you think about this?" As you have described their actions, I answer it appears as if they were indeed an armed band acting in defiance of the shogunate. But they were only a small band formed with the intent of entering the mansion of an important person in order to take revenge on their lord's adversary in some way or other, without fail. Thus they had no choice but to make such preparations.

They never tried to defy the shogunate or to create a civil disturbance. Even in the case of a vendetta against the killer of one's father, depending on the nature of the adversary and the situation, sometimes a major civil disturbance is created, although this is certainly not intended. To think only of the need to avoid making such a disturbance in deference to the authorities and act in such a way that one's enemy escapes is to put one's lord or father in second place. What is more, the forty-six planned their vendetta in such a way that the neighboring residences were not disturbed in the slightest, and even inside Lord Kira's residence, they avoided killing those who remained out of the fray. After accomplishing their task, they even took care not to start any accidental fires as they left Kira's mansion.

In consideration of all this, to say that what they did amounts to surreptitiously raising an army [and] deceiving the authorities is to fail to recognize their fundamental objective. Generally speaking, when analyzing a major incident like this one, it is best to deemphasize the minor infractions while trying to comprehend sympathetically the basic intention underlying them, in order to avoid impugning the loyalty and righteousness of the parties involved. . . .

A certain person has contended, "The forty-six men revered the military strategies taught by Yamaga Sokō's school. Their conspiracy to take revenge thus arose not from sentiments of loyalty, righteousness, and compassion but, rather, from exasperation over becoming vagrant *rōnin*." This is a most laughable theory! The military strategies of Kusunoki Masashige, the Han-dynasty scholar Zhang Liang, and Zhu Geliang often involved stratagems and deception. Yet the deeds of these men shine brilliantly even today, and no one questions the fact that they possessed a Confucian nobility of character and were true exemplars of loyalty and righteousness. This is because their lives clearly manifested the original mind-and-heart and sense of supreme duty. Even apart from the original mind, if only the supreme duty is established, there inevitably will be loyal armies and righteous wars fought in its name. This fact is shown in the way Zhu Xi wrote the *Digest of the Comprehensive Mirror* (*Tongjian gangmu*), as well as, in our own country, in the accounts of the loyalists of the Southern Court recorded in the *Chronicle of Great Peace*. In the writings left behind by the forty-six men, their unswerving dedication to the memory of their lord is clear beyond a shadow of doubt, and no amount of effort to find fault with their motivation can stand up to scrutiny. This is what people in ancient times meant by the saying "If you are determined to accuse a person of a crime, you can always drum up a charge."[15]

A certain person has also remarked, "If one person says that the forty-six men were loyal and righteous, then all the other scholars will chime in" (*raidō*). The

15. *Zuo zhuan*, "Duke Xi, 10th Year," in Legge, trans., *The Ch'un ts'ew, with the Tso chuen*, p. 157.

expression "chime in" refers to a situation in which, regardless of the number of people, people fawn on and conform to the words and ideas of those in a position of authority or those with power and influence. In that case, if a person's words arise from a mind that is given to flattery, even one person can be said to "chime in." When it comes to things like praising the filial piety of Shun or revering the loyalty of King Wen, even if the whole realm has agreed on the same thing for ten thousand generations, it cannot be said to be "chiming in." It is necessary only to understand the true principles of honorable behavior; whether or not one speaks the same way as others do is not something about which one should be concerned.

Ultimately, my thesis is neither circuitous nor ambiguous: if one's ruler or father attacks someone but fails to kill him and, for that reason, loses his life while his adversary continues to live as if nothing had happened, what purpose would be served if his retainers or sons simply looked on from the side, just because of some blunder made by their lord or father? And what purpose would be served if such retainers or sons were regarded as loyal vassals and righteous samurai (*chūshin gishi*) and, on that basis, were given stipends and employment by the lords of the land? These are questions that do not arise in ordinary examinations of the master-retainer relationship. Other matters are relevant here as well, but it is not possible to mention them all. Actually, their essential outlines can be inferred from what I have already said.

[Asami Keisai, *Kinsei buke shisō*, in *NST*, vol. 27, pp. 390–96; BS, JAT]

DAZAI SHUNDAI

Dazai Shundai (1680–1747) was born in the castle town of Iida, in Shinano Province (modern Nagano Prefecture). After briefly serving as a samurai retainer to Matsudaira Tadanori, Shundai moved to Edo and began studying under Ogyū Sorai in 1711, two years after the death of the fifth shogun, Tsunayoshi. While Shundai's views are consistent with Sorai's insofar as they condemn the *rōnin*, they also resemble Satō Naokata's conclusions. Especially significant is that Shundai, like Naokata, blamed Yamaga Sokō's teachings for the vendetta. Shundai's bold "Essay on the Forty-six Samurai of Akō Domain" (Akō shijūroku shi ron, ca. 1731–1733), condemning the *rōnin* and their vendetta, sparked a second round of debate over the incident. A number of essays that ensued refuted Shundai's views, much as Asami Keisai and others had written to rebut Naokata's earlier claims. From the mid-eighteenth century, the debate over the Akō vendetta continued through the remainder of the Tokugawa period.

Given Shundai's Sinological orientation, it is significant that after citing Chinese precedents, he acknowledged a different Japanese Way: "For samurai of this Eastern country there is an indigenous Way: if a samurai sees his lord

murdered, he will immediately lose all self-control and become crazed for revenge. Without thought about what is right or wrong, he will leap into the fray believing that it is only through death that he can demonstrate his righteousness."

"ESSAY ON THE FORTY-SIX SAMURAI OF AKŌ DOMAIN" (AKŌ SHIJŪROKU SHI RON)

In the third month of Genroku 14 [1701], the emperor at Yamashiro dispatched a procession of emissaries to Edo. The shogun Tsunayoshi placed Asano Naganori, the lord of Akō domain, and Date Muneharu [1682–1737], the lord of the southern Yoshida domain, in charge of their reception and entertainment and named Lord Kira Yoshinaka the master of ceremonies. Among the retainers of the Eastern Court [i.e., the shogunate], few understood the proper etiquette for receiving and entertaining imperial emissaries. Only the master of ceremonies, Lord Kira, was well versed in such rituals. For this reason, all daimyo who were asked to receive and entertain the imperial emissaries had to humble themselves to the master of ceremonies in speech and shower him with gifts so that he might deign to instruct them in the fine points of ceremonial behavior.

The lord of Yoshida was young and inept at ceremonies; thus he repeatedly instructed his retainers to secretly take gifts of gold and silk to Lord Kira. While proceeding to the ceremonies, Lord Kira especially praised the lord of Yoshida, complimenting his excellence as a host. Lord Asano resented this. On the fifteenth day[16] of the third month, as the imperial emissaries were going to the ceremonies, Lord Asano unsheathed his sword and struck Lord Kira, wounding him on the forehead. People on the scene immediately stopped the attack, so Lord Kira was not killed.

The shogun, Tsunayoshi, was furious. He ordered that Lord Asano be confined at the residence of the lord of Ichi-no-seki and sentenced him to die that very day. Ultimately, he sent a contingent of officials to confiscate Akō Castle. However, the master of ceremonies, Lord Kira, was exempted from punishment and allowed to remain living with his family in Edo. The following year, on the fourteenth day of the twelfth month, the former chief retainer of Akō domain, Ōishi Yoshio, and a band totaling forty-six men carried out a night attack on Kira's residence, killed Lord Kira and decapitated him, and then departed. Finally they went to the grave of their deceased master, Lord Asano, at Sengaku Temple, where they offered up their victory to his spirit. Their vendetta completed, they personally reported their deed to the authorities and waited to be sentenced to death. After hearing of the incident, Tsunayoshi ordered his offi-

16. Actually, it was the fourteenth day.

cials to split up the forty-six men and confine them at the residences of four daimyo. Seventeen were interned at the mansion of the lord of Kumamoto in Higo Province; ten more were at the mansion of the lord of Matsuyama in Iyo; ten were at the lord of Chōfu's castle in Nagato; and nine were at the residence of the lord of Okazaki in Mikawa. The following year, Genroku 16 [1703], on the fourth day of the second month, the sentence of death was carried out, each committing *seppuku* at the residence where he had been held.

A visitor asked Master Dazai, "The whole world praises the righteousness of the forty-six men, but you alone condemn them. Can you explain your views?"

I replied, "I can indeed.

"From the time that Lord Asano attacked and wounded Lord Kira inside the shogun's castle to the time that the Akō samurai murdered Lord Kira and were sentenced to death, I was in Edo, and on the basis of what I saw and heard, I have been able to ascertain all the facts of the matter. When it occurred, I was in my twenties and had some understanding of the principles of honorable behavior (*giri*). At first, I simply followed public opinion, thinking that what Yoshio and the others had done was righteous and mourning their deaths. But soon I began to have second thoughts about the matter. There is a saying that in human life, 'it is not easy in the morning to plan for the evening.'[17] After all, who would have known that they could wait until the winter of the following year without Lord Kira's dying in the meantime? And if Lord Kira had died before that winter, how would the Akō samurai have been able to accomplish their mission? In such a situation, what could they have done? Taken the tonsure, shaved their heads, and become Buddhist monks? Fled to some remote island, as Tian Heng and his men did? Exhumed Lord Kira's corpse and flogged it as Wu Zixu in ancient China did to the man who killed his father? None of these would have been proper courses of action. Had the forty-six men chosen one of these alternatives, would they not have become the laughingstock of the world? As it turned out, Lord Kira did not die of illness before the vendetta, so he ended up dying at the hands of the men of Akō. Although this has been called 'the punishment of Heaven' (*tenchū*), it was really due to nothing more than the good fortune of the men of Akō. It is on account of this that I have doubts about the actions of Yoshio and his band.

"Moreover, for several years I have read and studied the Six Classics so that I have a rough understanding of what the supreme duty (*taigi*) is all about. Accordingly, I feel that I can make a retrospective judgment regarding the men of Akō on the basis of the laws of the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. The *Record of Rites* states, 'One should not remain alive under the same sky as the murderer of one's father.' Although there is no clear statement regarding the murderer of

17. *Zuo zhuan*, "Duke Shao, 1st Year," in Legge, trans., *The Tso chuen*, in *The Ch'un ts'ew, with the Tso chuen*, p. 578.

one's lord, the *Classic of Filial Piety* states that one's lord should be respected the same as one's father. Accordingly, the murderer of one's lord is analogous to the murderer of one's father. This is a principle that has remained unchanged since ancient times and that all people understand. It is only for this reason that praise has been heaped on Yoshio and his band.

"However, because Lord Asano's death did not result from Lord Kira's murdering him, Lord Kira cannot be deemed his enemy. Why, then, did Yoshio and his band kill him? They did so because they did not understand where their resentment should be directed. For this reason, I judge the actions of Yoshio and his band to have been wrong. Ultimately, I came to hold this view and have debated with many people about it. But my view has displeased many. Therefore, for years I kept my thoughts to myself, considering them idiosyncratic, personal views.

"When I began studying under Master Sorai, I asked him about his views, and it seemed that they tallied perfectly with my own conclusions. Master Sorai said, 'The Akō samurai did not understand righteousness. Their killing of Lord Kira represented nothing but their study of Yamaga Sokō's military strategies.' I have heard that according to the laws established by our divine founder, Ieyasu, anyone who commits murder in the shogun's palace must die. But Lord Asano only wounded Lord Kira. That is not a crime punishable by death. Nevertheless, the government (*kokka*) sentenced him to die. Thus, the punishment exceeded what was proper. The retainers of Lord Asano should have felt resentment about *that*. However, Yoshio and his band did not resent what they should have resented but instead resented Lord Kira. What an insignificant target for their resentment! When the shogunate treats the lord of a domain with respect, the retainers serving that lord should obey him and stand in awe of the shogunate. If the shogunate does not treat their lord with respect, however, his retainers should feel resentment against the shogunate. Retainers of the lords of the various domains are aware only of their particular lords. What do they know about the shogunate?

"Moreover, for samurai of this Eastern country there is an indigenous Way: if a samurai sees his lord murdered, he will immediately lose all self-control and become crazed for revenge. Without thought about what is right or wrong, he will leap into the fray believing that it is only through death that he can demonstrate his righteousness. Humane men inevitably see such self-sacrifice as a vain waste of life, but they also realize that the state depends on this Way, and thus they strive to preserve it. They also know that this Way is effective in maintaining morale among the samurai. Therefore, it cannot be abandoned. Now Yoshio and his band did not resent what they should have resented but instead resented Lord Kira. Because they stood in awe of the shogunate, they refused to act against it. Not only did they not realize the righteousness expected of retainers; they also abandoned what the samurai of this Eastern country consider as their Way. Is that not pathetic?"

The visitor then asked, "Well then, what should the Akō samurai have done for their lord?"

I replied, "Nothing would have been better than for them to have died at Akō Castle. I have heard that Akō is a wealthy domain and that for generations the people there have been happy with their lord. If Yoshio and his band had put their lord first on the basis of righteousness, who would have dared to oppose them? Would he have had only forty-six soldiers? With such support to rely on, Yoshio and his band could have stood before Akō Castle and put up a good fight against the shogun's troops. Then they could have climbed inside the castle, set it afire, and committed suicide one by one, letting their corpses go up in flames with the castle. Then the men of Akō would have done all that could be done. But Yoshio and his band did not know how to make such an honorable showing of themselves. Instead, they just folded their arms and turned over the castle to emissaries of the shogun. They surely lost their great opportunity!

"But even if they were unable to die at Akō Castle, they still could have gone right away to Edo and attacked Lord Kira. If they had succeeded in killing him, they should have immediately killed themselves. If they did not succeed, they should have died in the effort. Whatever the outcome of the attack, they would have had no choice but to die. With death, their duties to their lord would have been fulfilled completely.

"Yet Yoshio and his band were not capable of such behavior. They bided their time leisurely, waiting for the right moment, vainly plotting and conspiring how they might best murder Lord Kira. Their goal was to succeed in their plot and, by doing so, to achieve fame and profit (*myōri*). How despicable! The fact that Lord Kira did not die before they attacked him was due only to the good fortune of the Akō samurai. Once Yoshio and his band had killed Lord Kira and offered up their victory before their master's grave, they had completed their task and fulfilled their duty. For commoners it is a capital crime to murder a retainer of the shogun. Thus the forty-six samurai should have committed suicide. What need was there to wait for an official verdict from the shogunate?

"The fact that they were unable to bring themselves to commit suicide [and so] turned themselves over to the authorities could only be because they thought that having completed a task of the greatest difficulty, they would win the highest merit. If they were fortunate enough to avoid death, they thought, then to obtain a position would be as easy as bending down to pick up dust from the ground. If they were unfortunate and did die, then they would be dying according to the law, and they would not be criticized for not dying earlier. So why, they thought, should it be necessary to commit suicide?

"Is this not what I have called seeking fame and profit (*myōri*)? How ignominious! Are people like Yoshio who feign devotion to their supreme righteous duty (*taigi*) when in fact they are driven by a desire for profit in any way worthy of being deemed righteous? If the shogunate had mistakenly pardoned Yoshio

and his band and allowed them to be offered an official position, they would have ended up eating the shogun's grain. This was all because they did not know the proper object for their resentment. It all began with Master Yamaga Sokō serving the lord of Akō domain as an instructor in military strategy. Yoshio studied under Master Yamaga. He and his band used Yamaga's teachings on strategy in every detail of their plot to murder Lord Kira. For this reason they made no tactical errors and were able to accomplish their mission. But because they did not understand the proper object for their resentment, they fell short of fulfilling the supreme duty they owed their master. Master Yamaga's teachings are indeed like that.

"All retainers pray for the security of their lord's domain, but still crises arise. Can it be that there are no retainers who know what righteousness is? Or is it that what they consider as righteousness is actually a false righteousness? There are, after all, many examples of what Mencius referred to as 'righteousness that is not righteousness.' No one wishes for incidents like the Akō vendetta, but no one can guarantee that they will never happen. Why, then, do retainers not make sure of their supreme duty in times of peace and quiet? If they do not, they very likely will be at a loss when something does happen. Once one has lost control of the situation, then trying to put things right again is like trying to bite one's navel. Rulers should therefore strive to clarify righteousness and hold decisiveness in the highest regard. Alas! How many are there in the world who do not understand righteousness!"

[Dazai Shundai, *Kinsei buke shisō*, in *NST*, vol. 27, pp. 404–11; BS, JAT]

GOI RANSHŪ

A native of Osaka, Goi Ranshū (1695–1762) was educated from youth as a Neo-Confucian scholar and eventually became a lecturer at the Kaitokudō merchant academy in Osaka. Later he traveled to Edo and briefly served the daimyo of Tsugaru domain. In 1739 he returned to the Kaitokudō and remained an influential force there, especially in regard to the academy's philosophical curriculum, until his death in 1762. Ranshū is often credited with leading the Kaitokudō toward a more orthodox, Zhu Xi–based version of Neo-Confucian teachings than had been evident in its earlier eclecticism. His rebuttal (ca. 1731–1733) of Dazai Shundai's view of the Akō incident was among the more important and influential pieces to emerge in the "second round" of the debate. It is especially significant insofar as it represents one expression of *chōnin* (townsfolk) thought regarding an incident involving samurai, *rōnin*, and the shogunate. Ranshū concludes by opining that the samurai's death-defying commitment is "something that Confucian scholars and men of letters can never really understand," in other words, that a great gulf remains between the code of the Japanese samurai and that of the Confucian scholar.

REFUTATION OF DAZAI SHUNDAI'S "ESSAY ON THE FORTY-SIX SAMURAI OF AKŌ DOMAIN" (HAKU DAZAI JUN AKŌ SHIJŪROKU SHI RON)

Even from a cursory examination of vendettas launched by loyal retainers and men of high principle (*chūshin sesshi*) since antiquity, we see that success can never be hurried. Rather, those who carried out vendettas had to keep their blades hidden from view, patiently gauging their strength before moving, and waiting for the right moment before striking. The essential thing was always that their mission be accomplished. This was true in every case, not just the case of the Akō men. If they had acted rashly because they could not be sure how long their adversary would live, without regard for their chances of success or failure, they would have truly been acting like petty-minded, fretful men. Moreover, one can never be sure how long one's own life will last, let alone the life of one's adversary. It is just a matter of fate, not something that one can debate. How can we treat it lightly? All we can do is live out to the best of our ability our destined span of life. How can the matter of length of life be taken as the basis for judging the righteousness of Yoshio and his band? If, unfortunately, Lord Kira had died in his sleep, Yoshio and his band would have had to report that fact to the spirit of their late master and then commit suicide, bewailing their misfortune. In this way they would have cleared themselves of blame. Why would they consider becoming monks and abandoning the world or exhuming Lord Kira's corpse and flogging it? . . .

Lord Asano committed a crime legally punishable by death. Can the law be considered his enemy? Lord Kira, of course, did not kill Lord Asano; therefore he cannot be called his enemy, either. Yoshio and his band did not claim that they were avenging their lord's death; they simply said that they were fulfilling the last wishes of their lord. When their late master faced death, how would he have dared to hold a grudge against the shogunate? It was just that Lord Kira escaped from his sword, leaving Lord Asano unable to kill him. Nothing, they thought, could be a greater cause of regret for a samurai at the moment of death! Therefore his retainers killed him on behalf of their lord only in order to console their late master's anger in the underworld. This is not what we call revenge. But if we trace the crime to its origin, it is true that it all began with Lord Kira. For this reason, the fact that people regard it as a case of revenge can also not be said to be mistaken.

Yoshio led a band of former retainers of the confiscated domain of Akō in an armed attack in the shogun's capital and there killed a high-placed person as if he were an orphan swine. This was a major crime. If they were judged according to the laws of the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, Yoshio and his band would certainly be guilty of a capital crime, murder of a government official. This crime merited severe punishment, such as the public exposure of their severed heads or their banishment from society along with common criminals.

The shogunate did not place them in the custody of penal officials, however, but entrusted them to the care of daimyo. These daimyo did not begrudge the trouble; instead, they treated the men with utmost hospitality. After some time had passed, the shogunate granted them the honor of dying by their own hands and allowing them a proper burial.

Despite losing their domain and the possibility of continuing their lord's house, Yoshio and his band roused themselves to action without looking back and endured countless difficulties in order to fulfill their single-minded loyalty to their master. Accordingly, the shogunate must have considered their deed to have been righteous and empathized with their feelings, and so granted them lenient treatment. This is also the reason that scholars writing about the matter have taken their side. Then there also are scholars like Satō Naokata who like strange ideas and take pleasure in disagreeing with others and who have offered arguments condemning Yoshio and his band. Others agreed with them and stole their ideas. Now this Mr. Dazai has picked up their argument, declaring that if he does not write an essay on the matter, this principle of righteousness will never be clarified. This is laughable in the extreme.

Lord Asano intended to kill a man. By chance, the person he attacked did not die. The attack, moreover, occurred inside the shogun's castle during a major state ceremony, and Lord Asano was in the position of receiving instruction from Lord Kira. Suddenly, Lord Asano tried to slay Lord Kira on account of a personal grudge. This was extremely disrespectful, and the crime committed was serious. Even so, whether the punishment was right or wrong is not something that subjects like us should dare to judge! It is best to let it be without discussing it.

The death of Lord Asano was a result of his crime. How would he have dared to hold a grudge against the shogunate? If that was true of the lord, it was true of his retainers as well. If they held a grudge against the shogunate, that would have betrayed a selfish mind. "When one loses one's temper at home but vents this anger in the marketplace,"[18] one's crime will be punished by death. That is, it was because of Lord Kira's perverseness that Lord Asano viewed him as his enemy, and so it was proper for Yoshio and his band to bear a grudge against Lord Kira. What should they have done about that grudge? They would have no peace until they killed Lord Kira and offered up his head at their late master's grave. I have no idea why Yoshio and his band should have held a grudge against anything greater. Suggesting so is preposterous!

When enemy domains are at war, it is appropriate for each person to be devoted only to his own master. But when the realm is well governed, one

18. *Zuo zhuan*, "Duke Shao, 19th Year," in Legge, trans., *The Tso chuen*, in *The Ch'un ts'ew, with the Tso chuen*, p. 675.

deems unity to be the highest value. In such times, is there anyone who eats the produce of the land who is not also a subject of the realm?[19] Can anyone be ignorant of the shogunate's existence? If retainers who serve various domains were to band together in resentment against the shogunate whenever the shogunate happened to treat their lord with a little disrespect, great calamities would follow. Guan Gao and Zhao Wu, both ministers of the state of Zhao, thought that Han Gaozu, the first emperor of the Han dynasty, had treated their king, Zhang Ao, with disrespect. Incensed at Han Gaozu, Guan Gao and Zhao Wu secretly plotted rebellion. When the plot was discovered, Zhang Ao was disenfeoffed, and the two conspirators were executed. This should be taken as a warning. Moreover, anyone who abandons his lord and colludes with the ruler of the realm is also a rebel. That was how Jiang Chong brought disorder to the state of Zhao; according to the laws of a king, that crime is punishable by death. Mr. Dazai favored Gaozi's claim that righteousness is outside human nature.[20] Indeed, his righteousness is the righteousness of Guan Gao and Zhao Wu, not the righteousness of the sage!

Righteousness is the same thing anywhere in the world. If people's actions accord with righteousness, how can one claim they follow a way unique to our country alone? If people's deeds do not accord with righteousness, how are they worthy of being regarded as according with the Way? This all is the talk of military men and common officials and far from the words of a scholar of noble principle.

Regarding the shogun with respect is the basis of regarding one's lord with respect. If one does not regard the shogun with respect, calamities will befall one's lord. This is what is called not regarding one's lord with respect. In arguing that Yoshio and his band should have shown disrespect for their lord by practicing a righteousness that is not righteousness, Mr. Dazai is inciting people to evil. Is that not wrong?

If a lord commits a crime and his domain is confiscated and then his chief retainer rounds up all his lord's subjects to defend his castle to the death, refusing the orders of the authorities and murdering its officials, they are committing an extreme act of insurrection. Even if they all gave their bodies to the flames and perished with the castle, their grudge would not be dissolved, and they would only have added in vain to the mistake of their late master. In the

19. *Zuo zhuan*, "Duke Shao, 7th Year," in Legge, trans., *The Tso chuen*, in *The Ch'un ts'ew, with the Tso chuen*, p. 616.

20. In *Questions and Answers Concerning the Sages' Learning* (*Seigaku mondō*), Shundai states that Gaozi's view that righteousness is external to humanity is consistent with the ideas of the sage Confucius.

end, misfortune would visit their entire lineage. Is this not also an evil course? Certainly *this* is a righteousness that is not righteousness, yet it is what Mr. Dazai takes as righteousness!

Mr. Dazai states that the Akō samurai should not have held a grudge against Lord Kira, but he also says that they should have gone promptly to Edo and attacked Lord Kira. The first is because they should have held a grudge against the shogun, and the second is because they should have held a grudge against Lord Kira. But just why should there have been so many grudges? It appears that Mr. Dazai has no definite interpretation of the matter.

Yoshio was determined to kill Lord Kira, and he believed that his duty to his master would be fulfilled by doing so. He believed that he could not fulfill his duty by dying in vain. Therefore, in order to ensure victory, it was absolutely necessary for him to plan meticulously and consider every possible contingency. How could he afford to attack recklessly? Here Mr. Dazai's argument is completely out of touch with the actual circumstances of the incident. The statement regarding samurai who consider themselves righteous only if they die, not stopping to consider right and wrong, does not apply to Yoshio's actions at all. Alas! When Yoshio attacked Lord Kira's mansion, how could he have known that he would not be slain by enemy swords? How could he have known that he would even be able to find Lord Kira? If he had failed to find him, where would he have retreated after the attack? In that case, he and his band would have had no choice but to commit suicide together in Lord Kira's residence. This is something even a child can understand! In beheading Lord Kira and leaving the decapitated corpse with no final resting place, Yoshio and his band succeeded beyond their wildest expectations. They were indeed recipients of Heaven's good fortune.

When warriors go into battle, their hearts must be ready for death, free of any attachment to life. Otherwise, how could they charge into the unknown and submit their bodies to the blades of the enemy's swords? This is something that Confucian scholars and men of letters can never really understand. Throughout the attack, Yoshio's only concern was to take revenge against the enemy; he gave no thought to his possible death. How could he have had any room in his mind for thoughts of fame and profit? Allegations like these are what we call "a petty man using his belly to gauge a great man's mind."[21] Such allegations also exemplify how small-minded men love to argue but do not enjoy "helping others complete what is good in them."[22]

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21. *Zuo zhuan*, "Duke Shao, 29th Year," in Legge, trans., *The Ch'un ts'ew, with the Tso chuen*, p. 675.

22. *Analects* 12:16.

My late father also commented on the next argument of Shundai's essay, and I follow his views on the matter.[23] Although Yoshio's plan began in his own heart, it ultimately gained the support of all the other members of his band; thereafter it was executed. There has to have been a reason for this, so we cannot condemn him out of hand. It is probably that retainers should never dare to murder a high-ranking official. That notwithstanding, Yoshio's single-minded loyalty to his master was not compromised just because of his adversary's high status, and he carried out his mission. The only thing then was to turn himself over to the authorities to await the death sentence. Is this not an illustration of Mencius's saying that "when it is permissible both to die and not to die, it is an abuse of valor to die."[24] In the unlikely event that the shogunate had commended his resolve, bent the law, and pardoned him from death, he would have prostrated himself repeatedly in gratitude and respect and promptly committed suicide, entering the underworld with a smile on his face. He would not have tried to hang on to life at the cost of his honor. "It is easy to rend one's breast with emotion and then commit suicide, but it is difficult to retain calm and composure and follow righteousness."[25] Such was Ōishi Yoshio.

The final several hundred words of Mr. Dazai's essay are baseless and slanderous claims intent on bolstering his thesis that Yoshio sought fame and profit. They are not worth discussing.

[Goi Ranshū, *Kinsei buke shisō*, in *NST*, vol. 27, pp. 418–24; BS, JAT]

FUKUZAWA YUKICHI

Fukuzawa Yukichi (1830–1901) was born in Nakatsu domain in Kyushu, the second son of a lower-level samurai. A good student, Fukuzawa took up Dutch learning and later the study of English during the final decades of the Tokugawa period. Before the collapse of the shogunate, Fukuzawa was known as a promoter of Western learning. After the Meiji Restoration, he continued with that work even more energetically. One of his most popular writings, *An Encouragement of Learning* (*Gakumon no susume*), addressed the Akō *rōnin* incident in an effort to explain the sociopolitical ideas found in Francis Wayland's *Elements of Moral Science*. Wayland emphasized the importance of following national laws, as opposed to engaging in vigilante justice. To make the same point, Fukuzawa cited the example of the Akō *rōnin*, using it to promote a new concept of citizenship in a nation-state.

Fukuzawa's critique of the *rōnin*, much like Satō Naokata's and Dazai Shundai's earlier ones, elicited a barrage of criticism directed at Fukuzawa's

23. Ranshū's father, Goi Jiken (1641–1721), was one of the early Kaitokudō scholars.

24. *Mencius* 4B:23; Lau, trans., *Mencius*, p. 132.

25. *Jinsu lu*, chap. 10, "Zhengshi"; Chan, *Reflections on Things at Hand*, p. 251.

writings as well as his person. It is noteworthy that Fukuzawa's attack occurred during an age when the Akō *rōnin* were becoming increasingly popular heroes of a new emperor-centered nationalism. One indication of this trend is the fact that after moving his capital to Tokyo (formerly Edo) in 1868, the new Meiji emperor early on paid homage to the grave of Ōishi Yoshio and the other Akō *rōnin*, praising the example they had set for other samurai.

AN ENCOURAGEMENT OF LEARNING (*GAKUMON NO SUSUME*)

Private vengeance is evil. . . . In no instance can even the son of the murdered parent take it upon himself to kill this criminal in place of the government. This would be to mistake his duty as a subject of the nation and to violate his contract with the government. If the government disposes of the case with undue favoritism to the accused, the son should complain of this injustice to the government. Whatever one's reasons, one is not entitled on any account to initiate the process of punishment. Even if the murderer of one's parents is lingering before one's own eyes, one has no right to retaliate privately.

In the Tokugawa period, the retainers of the Asano family killed the major general Lord Kira Yoshinaka to avenge the death of their master, Lord Asano Naganori. Society called them righteous samurai (*gishi*). But was this not a great mistake? The Tokugawa shogunate constituted the government of Japan at that time. Lord Asano, Lord Kira, and the retainers of the Asano family all were citizens of Japan. They had contracted to obey the government and its laws, and in return they received the protection of the government provided under the rule of law.

Because of a mistake made one morning, Lord Kira was rude to Lord Asano. Lord Asano did not realize that he should have reported the offense to the government. Instead, he succumbed to his anger and personally tried to cut down Lord Kira. This was considered a vengeful attack. It was resolved legally when the chief of the Imperial Bureau of Carpentry [Asano] was sentenced to death by *seppuku*, while Lord Kira was not punished at all. This verdict should be deemed unjust.

If the samurai retainers of the Asano family thought that the verdict was unjust, why did they not petition the government? If each of the forty-seven samurai had planned to petition against the verdict, according to the law they might have obtained a more just verdict. A tyrannical government would not have accepted the appeal at first and might even have executed the person making the appeal. But if the remainder of the samurai were not frightened by that execution and instead proceeded, one by one, to petition the government for a just verdict, meeting each execution with another petition, then no matter how despotic the regime was, it would have eventually submitted to rational principles and provided for a more just verdict by punishing Lord Kira.

Using such a strategy, [the samurai] would have truly proved themselves to be righteous. But they did not understand the ethical principle behind such a strategy. While they were citizens of the state, they chose to ignore the importance of the laws of the land. Instead, they madly murdered Lord Kira. In doing so, they misunderstood their responsibilities as citizens, violated the rights of the government, and privately tried to pass judgment on people's crimes. Fortunately, the Tokugawa government sentenced these rebellious men to death, thus settling the matter. If the government had forgiven the Akō samurai, however, then the retainers of the Kira family would have taken revenge. One vendetta would have followed another until all family and friends on both sides had been annihilated. Such a process would have reduced society to a state of lawless anarchy. Such is the harm of private vigilante justice to the state. Such lack of respect must not be allowed.

[*Fukuzawa Yukichi zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 65–66; trans. adapted from Dilworth and Hirano, trans., *Fukuzawa Yukichi*, pp. 37–38]

THE AKŌ VENDETTA DRAMATIZED

In the background of the debate about the Akō vendetta is what might be called a strong popular undertow of sympathy for the *rōnin*, as dramatized in the theater: the legend of *The Treasury of Loyal Retainers* (*Chūshingura*), the title of which evokes the feudal traditions of medieval samurai rather than the ethics of a Zhu Xi or even the popular Japanese Neo-Confucianism observed in chapters 25 and 26. At issue in the more formal debate is the question of legitimate authority, in which feudal traditions of individual honor and duty are at odds with the civil values and public order upheld by Neo-Confucianism.

Although the "loyal" samurai who appear in the following excerpts are commonly referred to as exemplars of Confucian values, the concepts of honor, duty, revenge, vendetta, and ritual suicide (*seppuku*) derive from medieval Japanese traditions, with Buddhism as their religious accompaniment, whereas references to proper decorum are merely a bow to the Tokugawa's fictive claim to ritual legitimacy or a mere cosmetic conformity to Confucian "propriety."

In this puppet play, attributed to Takeda Izumo (1691–1756) as the principal author, Lord Kira is identified as Kō no Moronao; Lord Asano is represented as Enya Hangan; and the senior retainer Ōishi Kuranosuke is thinly disguised as Ōboshi Yuranosuke. Enya Hangan's climactic ritual suicide is introduced here by reading the sentence from the shogunate.

THE TREASURY OF LOYAL RETAINERS (*CHŪSHINGURA*)

LORD ISHIDŌ, REPRESENTING THE SHOGUNATE (*reads*): Whereas Lord Hangan Takasada, for reasons of long-standing private quarrel,

did attack and wound the chief councillor Kō no Moronao and disturb the peace in the palace, his lands are confiscated and he is ordered to commit *seppuku*. . . .

HANGAN: I submit myself in all particulars to His Excellency's command. But now please relax and take a cup of wine, to refresh yourselves after your arduous duties.

YAKUSHIJI: Hold your tongue, Hangan. You should by all rights be strangled and then beheaded for the crime you've committed. You should be grateful that, thanks to His Excellency's clemency, you'll be allowed to commit *seppuku*. I should think you'd start making preparations at once, particularly since there are fixed precedents to be observed when committing *seppuku*. What do you mean by dressing yourself up in a long *haori*,[26] the latest in fashion? Are you drunk? Or are you out of your mind? This is a breach of courtesy toward Lord Ishidō and myself, who've come here by order of the shogun. . . .

HANGAN: I deeply appreciate your kindness. Ever since I wounded him, I have been prepared for this. My only regret is that Kakogawa Honzō held me back and kept me from killing Moronao. It rankles in my bones, and I can never forget it. Like Kusunoki Masashige,[27] who declared at Minatogawa that he would prolong his life by the strength of his resolve in his final hours, I vow that I shall be born and die, again and again, until at last I am avenged.

NARRATOR: His voice vibrates with wrath. . . . Rikiya, acting on his master's orders, takes the dagger which has been readied for this purpose and places it before him. Hangan calmly slips his hempen jacket from his shoulders and sits more at ease.

HANGAN: The official witnesses are to observe that the sentence has been carried out. . . .

NARRATOR: He takes up the dagger with the point toward him. Plunging it into his left side, he starts to pull it across his abdomen. His wife, too horrified to look, murmurs the invocation to the Buddha, tears in her eyes. . . . With both hands on the dagger, he pulls it across, piercing deep. He gasps with pain.

HANGAN: Yuranosuke, I leave you this dagger as a memento of me. Avenge me!

NARRATOR: He thrusts the point into his windpipe; then, throwing down the bloodstained weapon, he falls forward and breathes his last. His

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26. The *haori* is a kind of cloak worn with a kimono. The length of the *haori* was subject to shifts in fashion.

27. The great hero of the forces loyal to Emperor Go-Daigo, Kusunoki Masashige died in 1336. The passage in *Taiheiki* alluded to here is in the chapter "The Deaths of Masashige and His Brother."

wife and the assembled retainers stand for a moment, transfixed, their eyes shut, their breaths bated, their teeth clenched; but Yuranosuke crawls up to his lord and, taking up the dagger, lifts it reverently to his forehead. . . . At this moment there takes root within Ōboshi that noble purpose which will give him a name for loyalty and rectitude to resound through all the ages. . . . [pp. 68–72]

After long preparation by Yuranosuke, he carries out the revenge vendetta at the mansion of Kō no Moronao.

YURANOSUKE: When I blow the signal whistle, it will mean the time has come to scale the walls. Remember, we need take only one head.

NARRATOR: In response to these commands from Yuranosuke, as one man they direct looks of fierce hatred at the distant mansion, then separate into parties bound for the front and back gates. . . .

(Though few in number, these are courageous men, deadly determined to succeed this night and employing every secret tactic.)

YURANOSUKE: Kill Moronao! Pay no attention to anyone else. . . . I am Ōboshi Yuranosuke, and this is Hara Gōemon. We have no quarrel with Takauji or his brother. Nor do we bear any grudge against either Lord Nikki or Lord Ishidō, so we promise to do nothing irresponsible. I have ordered our men to take the strictest precautions against fire, so you need have no worries on that account. We ask only that you peaceably refrain from interfering. . . .

NARRATOR: The samurai next door, hearing this bold proclamation, shout back.

SAMURAI: What superb courage! Every man who serves a master should behave as you are doing. Call if you have any need of us. . . .

NARRATOR: All at once the neighborhood becomes still. During the fighting, which has lasted about two hours, barely two or three of the attackers have been slightly wounded, but the enemy casualties are beyond numbering. Nevertheless, the enemy general Moronao eludes detection. The foot soldier Teraoka Heiemon runs around the mansion, searching the rooms . . . but no one can tell where Moronao has gone. . . . He rushes outside, afraid Moronao has somehow escaped the house, when a voice calls.

JŪTARŌ: Heiemon, wait!

NARRATOR: Yazama Jūtarō Shigeyuki drags out Moronao, all but carrying him in his arms.

JŪTARŌ: Hear me everyone. I found him hiding in the woodshed and took him alive.

NARRATOR: The others all rush up, bolstered in spirits like a flower touched with dew.

YURANOSUKE: Nobly done, a tremendous feat. But we mustn't kill him hastily. After all, he served for a time as a high officer of the government. The proper decorum must be observed even when killing him.

NARRATOR: Taking him from Jūtarō, he makes Moronao sit in the place of honor.

YURANOSUKE: We, who are merely retainers of a retainer, have broken into your mansion and performed acts of violence because we wished to avenge our master's death. I beg you to forgive this gross discourtesy and to give us your head without offering resistance.

NARRATOR: Moronao, master of deceit that he is, betrays no fear.

MORONAO: I understand. I have long been expecting this. Take my head.

NARRATOR: He puts Yuranosuke off guard with these words, only suddenly to draw his sword and strike at him. Yuranosuke wards off the blow and twists Moronao's arm.

YURANOSUKE: Ha—what a touching display of resistance! All of you, now is the moment to satisfy our long-accumulated hatred!

NARRATOR: Yuranosuke strikes the first blow, and the forty and more men raise shouts of joy and celebrate. . . . They jump and leap in exuberance, and using the dagger their lord left behind as a remembrance of him, they cut off Moronao's head. In their high spirits they even dance. . . . Yuranosuke takes from his breast the memorial tablet of his late master and places it on a table in the alcove. He cleanses Moronao's head of the bloodstains and offers it before the tablet, then burns the incense he has carried inside his helmet. He steps back respectfully and bows three times, then nine times, before the table.

YURANOSUKE: I humbly report to the sacred spirit of my late master, Renshōin Kenri Daikoji.[28] I have, using the dagger you bestowed on me after you committed *seppuku* and obeying your command to appease your spirit, cut off Moronao's head and offered it before your memorial tablet. Please accept it from your resting place under the sod.

NARRATOR: In tears he offers his prayers. . . . [pp. 173–78]

[*Chūshingura*, trans. Keene, pp. 68–72, 173–78]

HAGAKURE AND THE WAY OF THE SAMURAI

Hagakure (*In the Shadow of Leaves*), also known as *Hagakure kikigaki*, the *Hagakure Analects*, and the *Analects of Nabeshima*, became one of the most famous works of *bushidō* thought in the 1930s, although in the Tokugawa period

28. Enya Hangan's posthumous Buddhist name.

it did not circulate beyond the remote southern province in northwestern Kyushu where it was written. The core parts of the narratives and reflections that compose the work were dictated by a retired samurai of Saga domain in Hizen Province, Yamamoto Tsunetomo (1659–1719), to a fellow samurai, Tashiro Matazaemon Tsuramoto (1678–1748), between 1709 and 1716. Tsunetomo, the scion of a family that had long served the Nabeshima house, had, from the age of nine, been a close attendant and confidant of his lord, Nabeshima Mitsushige, serving him in the capacity of secretary and document writer. When his master died, Tsunetomo wanted to follow him in death to fulfill his loyalty, but this custom of *junshi* had been forbidden by Mitsushige in 1661, four years after he became daimyo. Consequently, Tsunetomo chose to shave his head and take up the secluded life of a Buddhist teacher (thus he is referred to in contemporary documents as Zen master Yamamoto Tsunetomo). *Hagakure* was a testament of spirit to the samurai of his domain that grew out of his "determined mindset of *seppuku*," a cry of protest against the bureaucratization of Saga samurai life that was proceeding rapidly under the leadership of Mitsushige and his successor. Yamamoto's critique of the Akō vendetta for its delayed response, instead of taking immediate, direct action, echoed the thought of Dazai Shundai.

The teachings of the *Hagakure* have long been epitomized by the following passage: "I have found that the Way of the samurai is death. This means that when you have to choose between life and death, you must quickly choose death." In fact, this passage was used as a slogan in the militarist period during the twentieth century in order to encourage soldiers to throw themselves fearlessly and resolutely into battle, and the book as a whole was understandably revered by right-wing ultranationalists. Nonetheless, the original "logic" of always being prepared to die in a fight with another should be understood in the context of the samurai code of honor. Tokugawa law decreed that both parties to a fight would be punished equally (*kenka ryōseibai*), usually with death, without any investigation of either party's claims of who was right and who was wrong.

Becoming one with death in one's thoughts even in life, moreover, was regarded as the highest demonstration of a person's subjective purity and singleness of heart (*makoto*, *magokoro*). In one's readiness to die honorably for one's lord, "loyalty and filial piety are naturally present in their fullness," requiring no reflection on abstract moral principles. In Tsunetomo's view, seeking excuses to stay alive when one is faced with death arises from the mind of discrimination (*funbetsu*) and discretion or caution (*shiryo*), which leads to hesitation and second thoughts and only obstructs the enactment of true loyalty. The Way of the *bushi* is to throw oneself into loyal action without reserve, oblivious of personal danger, like a person fought into a corner by his enemy who, with no way out but death, fights with total self-abandonment (*shinigurui*). The connections with Zen teachings here are quite clear: both "discrimination" and "discretion" are Zen terms for the irresolute, attached state of mind that is to be overcome by Zen practice, a practice that needs to be fueled by contem-

plation of the reality of death and the transitoriness of life. For death is an absolute reality, whereas concepts of right and wrong, as objects of discriminating consciousness, are only relative.

Such a focus on death may seem morbid or negative to those used to the modern conception of death as the fearsome enemy of life, as indeed it did to Tokugawa-period spokesmen for Confucian ethical norms like Yamaga Sokō. However, Tsunetomo does not mean that men are to throw themselves away carelessly to a meaningless death just for the glory of dying. For one thing, the glorification of the resolution is rooted in the knowledge that a person who has resolved to die and has lost all fear of death is very difficult to defeat in battle. In all the martial arts, the highest level of mastery demands a complete abandonment of attachment to life and the desire to be a winner, not to mention a leap beyond the principles of logic and the dichotomy between means and ends. Thus the resolution to die may give rise to a higher state of life, a life infused with beauty and grace that is beyond the reach of the man concerned with self-preservation. For this reason, Mishima Yukio (1925–1970) held great reverence for this book, finding it an inexhaustible inspiration for the creative life. It is also this conception of the Way of the samurai that gave rise to Tsunetomo's views on the crucial matter of revenge.

In addition, Tsunetomo taught that the fundamental concern of the dedicated samurai is to strengthen the spiritual foundations of the realm—that is, of his domain—for which reason he must diligently study the history of the daimyo house that he serves. His fierce, almost fanatical (*kurui*) dedication to excellence in the pursuit of this goal merely reflects the fact that one cannot accomplish feats of greatness in an unaroused state of mind. Such a philosophy of action is naturally impatient with the conventional, rational norms of conduct by which a man restrains his impulses to act. Tsunetomo would agree with Laozi that the highest form of art seems like artlessness, the highest form of virtue knows nothing of goodness, and the highest form of wisdom resembles foolishness.

IN THE SHADOW OF LEAVES (*HAGAKURE*)

Prologue: "Carefree Talks in the Shadows of the Night"

I suppose it does not become me now that I have shaved my head and taken up a reclusive life, but I have never thought of attaining enlightenment or achieving buddhahood and all that stuff. The resolution to devote myself to this domain has penetrated so deeply into my viscera that even if I were to die and be reborn seven times, I still would want nothing other than to be born as a samurai of Nabeshima and to be of service in the government of my domain (*kuni*). This does not require some special sort of strength or talent. To put it

simply, it is just a matter of becoming resolved to take upon one's shoulders the entire destiny of one's domain. I have been born as a human being just like anyone else. Why should I be inferior to anyone? If I do not practice with the attitude that there is no one better than myself, then all my practice will come to naught. Yet while the kettle of determination can get very hot, it also tends to cool down very quickly. There is a way to keep it from cooling down. Let me tell you my own version of the Four Vows:

1. Do not fall behind in *bushidō*!
2. Be of use to my lord!
3. Be filial toward my parents!
4. Arouse great compassion, and be of use to other people!

If you recite these four vows every morning to the buddhas and the gods, you will obtain the strength of two people, and you will not backslide. Like an inchworm, you will move forward bit by bit. Even the buddhas and the gods became what they are through the power of vows. [part 1, pp. 218–19]

I have found that the Way of the samurai is death. This means that when you are compelled to choose between life and death, you must quickly choose death. There is nothing more to it than that. You just make up your mind and go forward. The idea that to die without accomplishing your purpose is undignified and meaningless, just dying like a dog, is the pretentious *bushidō* of the city slickers of Kyoto and Osaka. In a situation when you have to choose between life and death, there is no way to make sure that your purpose will be accomplished. All of us prefer life over death, and you can always find more reasons for choosing what you like over what you dislike. If you fail and you survive, you are a coward. This is a perilous situation to be in. If you fail and you die, people may say your death was meaningless or that you were crazy, but there will be no shame. Such is the power of the martial way. When every morning and every evening you die anew, constantly making yourself one with death, you will obtain freedom in the martial way, and you will be able to fulfill your calling throughout your life without falling into error.

A man of service (*hōkōnin*) is a person who thinks fervently and intently of his lord from the bottom of his heart and regards his lord as more important than anything else. This is to be a retainer of the highest type. You should be grateful to be born in a clan that has established a glorious name for many generations and for the boundless favor received from the ancestors of the clan, [and you should] just throw away your body and mind in a single-minded devotion to the service of your lord. On top of this, if you also have wisdom, arts, and skills and make yourself useful in such ways as these permit, that is even better. However, even if a humble bloke who cannot make himself useful at all, who is clumsy and unskilled at everything, is determined to cherish his lord fervently and exclusively, he can be a reliable retainer. The retainer who

tries to make himself useful only in accordance with his wisdom and skills is of a lower order. [part 1, nos. 2–3]

A certain man was regarded as shameful because he did not take revenge after being involved in a fight (*kenka*). In taking revenge, you should just jump in and charge full speed ahead until you are cut down. If you do so, you will not incur any shame. . . . The reason we listen to people's stories and read books is to be constantly prepared. Especially in the case of *bushidō*, remember that one never knows what might happen even today, so it is imperative to consider things carefully and systematically day and night. Victory or defeat is decided by the momentum of events and is different from the actions by which we avoid incurring shame. It is enough just to resolve to die. If one is not successful on the spot, then one quickly takes revenge. In this there is no need for some special wisdom or technique. The real master never considers victory or defeat but just charges forward intently unto death (*shinigurui suru bakari*) without a second thought. [part 1, no. 55]

Until fifty or sixty years ago, samurai would take a bath every morning, put scent onto the shaven part of their head and into their hair, cut their nails, file them with a pumice stone and polish them with oxalis, and pay very careful attention to their personal appearance. They would be especially careful to see that all their weapons and armor were free of rust, wiping away all dust and dirt and polishing them so they always were ready for use. To take great pains with their appearance may seem to be merely decoration, but it is not just some kind of affectation of elegance. It was because they were always in a state of preparedness, thinking, "Today I might die in battle. If I were to be killed in battle with a sloppy appearance, my lack of preparedness in ordinary times would be revealed, and I would be regarded contemptuously by the enemy as a slovenly fellow." Thus, whether a samurai was young or old, he would always give careful attention to his physical appearance. Certainly it is troublesome and takes time, but this is what the work of the samurai is. Other than this, there is nothing that one needs to be particularly busy about or that needs to take a lot of time. If one's mind is always totally prepared to die in battle, already having become one with death, and one devotes oneself to one's work of service and to the martial arts, then a situation in which one incurs shame is not likely. Yet today people give not the slightest thought to this sort of thing, passing their days pursuing self-gratification, so that when the time arrives, they bring shame on themselves without even realizing that it is shame. They think only that if they themselves are feeling good, nothing else matters, so they end up performing all sorts of audacious and improper things. What an incredible shame! . . . [part 1, no. 63]

It is difficult to dislike unrighteousness (*fugi*) and hold steadily to what is right (*gi*). However, if you believe that holding to rightness is the highest thing and try to hold just to that exclusively, you will only end up making a lot of mistakes. There is a Way that is higher than rightness. It is very difficult to find,

but he who does so possesses an unsurpassed wisdom. From its vantage point, rightness itself is something small and narrow. You can know it only when you have become aware of it in yourself. But even if you cannot find it on your own, there is still a way to reach it: "The onlooker gets the best view of the game." People also say, "Remain aware of your wrongs at every moment," and the best way of doing so is by talking with people. The reason that we remember the old stories we hear and what we read in books is so that we may discard our own personal discriminations and align ourselves with the discriminations of the ancients. [part 1, no. 44]

Bushidō is nothing but charging forward, without hesitation, unto death (*shinigurui*). A *bushi* in this state of mind is difficult to kill even if he is attacked by twenty or thirty people. This is what Lord Naoshige[29] used to say, too. In a normal state of mind, you cannot accomplish a great task. You must become like a person crazed (*kichigai*) and throw yourself into it as if there were no turning back (*shinigurui*). Moreover, in the Way of the martial arts, as soon as discriminating thoughts (*funbetsu*) arise, you will already have fallen behind. There is no need to think of loyalty and filial piety. In *bushidō* there is nothing but *shinigurui*. Loyalty and filial piety are already fully present on their own accord in the state of *shinigurui*. [part 1, no. 113]

When Ōki Tetsuzan[30] was in his old age, he had the following to say: "I used to think that *jūjutsu* was different from *sumō* in that in a match, even if you found yourself on the bottom, it would not be a problem as long as you won in the end. But in recent years it has occurred to me that if someone came along to arbitrate while you were on the bottom, you would be judged to have lost. To win in the beginning is to win all the way through." [part 1, no. 84]

There is really nothing other than the thought that is right before you at this very moment. Life is just a concatenation of one thought-moment after another. If one truly realizes this, then there is nothing else to be in a hurry about, nothing else that one must seek. Living is just a matter of holding on to this thought-moment right here and now and getting on with it. But everyone seems to forget this, seeking and grasping for this and that as if there were something somewhere else but missing what is right there in front of their eyes. Actually, it takes many years of practice and experience before one becomes able to stay with this present moment without drifting away. However, if you attain that state of mind just once, even if you cannot hold onto it for very long, you will find that you have a different attitude toward life. For once you really understand that everything comes down to this one thought-moment right here and now,

29. Nabeshima Naoshige (1538–1618), Mitsushige's grandfather, was a famous general and the founder of the daimyo house of Saga domain. He won great merit in Hideyoshi's Korean campaigns in the 1590s and was enfeoffed by Ieyasu with the domain of Saga in 1601.

30. Ōki Tetsuzan (d. 1665) was a *bushi* who distinguished himself in the Shimabara revolt of 1637/1638.

you will know that there are not many things you need to be concerned about. All that we know of as loyalty and integrity are present completely in this one thought-moment. [part 2, no. 17]

There is nothing that is impossible. If one thought is aroused, Heaven and earth will move in response. It is not that something is impossible but that people are too timid to make up their minds to do it. "To move Heaven and earth without expending any energy" is also just a matter of the One Mind.[31] [part 1, no. 143]

Yamazaki Kurando's admonition that "it is not a good thing for a man of service to be too discriminating" is truly a wise saying. It is awful if a samurai's mind gets stuck on judgments of right and wrong (*rihi jasei*), whether something is "loyal" or "disloyal," "righteous" or "unrighteous," "proper" or "improper," and so on. If one just devotes oneself totally and single-mindedly to the service of one's lord, forgetting all other considerations, and cherishes one's lord without second or third thoughts, that is enough. This is what it is to be a good retainer. If you devote yourself totally to your service and worry only about your lord, even though you may sometimes make mistakes, that is all part of fulfilling your original aspiration. It is said that in all things it is not good to go to excess but that only in the way of service is it actually better if you make mistakes owing to an excess of devotion. A person who is always looking for reasons and principles often just gets hung up on the small things and spends his whole life in vain. What a shame! Truly, you have just this one short life. There is nothing better than to just give yourself to only one thing, without any seconds and thirds. It is no good to split yourself into two. Drop all other things and just throw yourself into the *samadhi* of service—there is nothing higher. All those pretentious arguments about "loyalty" and "righteousness" and so on are really nauseating. [part 1, no. 195]

The highest form of self-absorption in love is secret love (*shinobukoi*). There is a song that says it well: "Only in the smoke that lingers after love-death can one really know that's what it was, that agony of longing that was never revealed to anyone." If one confesses one's love while one is alive, that is not deep love. A love that pines and burns within the heart until one dies with longing—only that is the supreme form of love. Even if you are asked by the object of your affections, "Are you not by chance in love with me?" you answer, "I never dreamed of such a thing." For there is nothing higher than going to one's grave with one's love still held inside as a secret. Love has to take the long way around; it is not something that you just come out and say. Some time back, when I spoke about this, a few [people] agreed with me, and I called them "my comrades of the smoke." I guess this is something that only people who have gone

31. The quotation, which in its original context refers metaphorically to the power of poetry to move the heart, is from the *kana* preface to the *Kokin wakashū* (ca. 913 C.E.).

through quite a lot of things in this world come to understand. In things like the lord–vassal relationship as well, one should serve with this attitude of mind. By the same token, to keep watch over yourself when no one is watching you is the same as doing so in a public place. If you do not try to avoid unseemly actions when you are all alone and keep unseemly thoughts out of your mind even when no one is watching you, then you will not be able to present a pretty sight in public. As they say, a sudden attempt to fix yourself up will not get rid of the dirt. [part 2, no. 34]

[*Hagakure*, in *NST*, vol. 26, part 1, pp. 218–19, nos. 2, 3, 44, 55, 63, 84, 113, 143, 195; part 2, nos. 17, 34; BS]

Chapter 32

THE NATIONAL LEARNING SCHOOLS

The earliest extant writings in Japan are about Japan, so it is no exaggeration to say that the Japanese interest in Japan—its mythology, heritage, culture, and traditions—is as old as Japanese history itself. During the seventeenth century, however, there was an eruption of interest in things Japanese to a degree not previously witnessed in that country, and during the eighteenth century this interest developed into a preoccupation with concepts of identity and character.

We have already seen how the domestication of the Neo-Confucian interest in history resulted in an unprecedented outburst of historical writing throughout Japan, especially in the Mito domain, and how leading seventeenth-century scholars like Hayashi Razan and Yamazaki Ansai sought to reconcile the "truths" of Confucian teaching with the traditional native belief in *kami*, or Shinto deities. In literary studies, too, there was a newly invigorated interest in the composition of verse and the study of Japan's prose and poetic classics as the spread of printing liberated them from the limitations of traditional modes of dissemination and opened them up to an enthusiastic audience of "townspeople" (*chōnin*) in Japan's burgeoning metropolises.

In this scholarly and intellectual activity in the seventeenth century, as in that in most earlier periods in Japanese history, the study of things Japanese went hand in hand with the study of things Chinese. Indeed, the two seemed to be seamless components of a singular "learning" whose fundamental purpose was enriching the human person through the pursuit of knowledge. In the

eighteenth century, however, this changed with the rise of the nativist movement of "National Learning" (Kokugaku).

There are several reasons for this change. It was at least in part related to the comparative cultural isolation of the Japanese after their contact with Europeans (other than the Dutch) was curtailed after the 1630s and when Christianity was proscribed and driven underground, thereby heightening Japan's consciousness that its culture was distinct from that of Asia's other countries. Another factor may have been the growth of the popular academy as one part of a burgeoning popular culture that redefined the relationship between the producers and the consumers of culture. In this process, some scholars in Japan awakened to the fact that offering instruction in the Japanese heritage was one way to make a potentially lucrative livelihood, just as samurai understood the possibility for their own career development through Japanese studies and as merchants and other townspeople sought instruction in fields and traditional arts that had earlier been accessible to only a privileged few. Also a factor was the increasingly commodified nature of cultural and other transactions in the society.

Whatever the reasons, the initial fissure between Chinese and Japanese studies is apparent in the writings of Keichū (1640–1701), who since the eighteenth century had been regarded as a forerunner or pioneer of National Learning. Keichū was a Shingon Buddhist priest who, building on the work of such figures as Shimokōbe Chōryū (1624–1686), wrote an important commentary on Japan's oldest extant poetry anthology, the eighth-century *Anthology of Ten Thousand Leaves* (*Man'yōshū*), commissioned by Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628–1701), the daimyo of Mito. In it, Keichū wrote:

> Japan is the land of the *kami*. Therefore in both our historical writing and our public matters, we have given priority to the *kami* and always place humans second. In early antiquity, our rulers governed this land exclusively by means of Shinto. Since it was not only a naive and simple age but an unlettered age as well, there were only the oral traditions called "Shinto," and there were no teachings like those in Confucian classics and Buddhist writings.[1]

Besides its resonant restatement of the opening words of Kitabatake Chikafusa's (1293–1353) *Record of the Direct Succession of Divine Sovereigns* (*Jinnō shōtōki*), identifying Japan as the land of the *kami*, the significance of Keichū's statement is that in the context of a commentary on the *Man'yōshū*, he wrote about the ancient past in terms that described the native tradition as sufficient, without Buddhism or Confucianism, for the task of ordering society and affairs of state.

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1. *Keichū zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 292.

It was for this reason that other eighteenth-century "National Learning scholars" (Kokugakusha) saw in Keichū's writings a kind of genesis for their own endeavors.

A more publicly prominent authority on Japanese studies and the first major figure of this eighteenth-century movement was the Shinto priest Kada no Azumamaro (1669–1736), whose forebears had served for centuries as hereditary wardens of the Fushimi Inari Shrine in the suburbs of Kyoto. Azumamaro shared an interest in the ancient classics with his Confucian contemporary Ogyū Sorai, but whereas Sorai had argued that the ancient Way was to be found through the philological analysis of Chinese classics in historical context, Azumamaro believed that Japan likewise possessed a Way that could be found by studying the classics of Japan's own past. Apparently seeking to establish Japanese studies as an academic field equal to Chinese studies, Azumamaro petitioned the incumbent shogun to found "a school for studies of the imperial land," at which the "old learning might be taught." Although there does not appear to have been an official response to Azumamaro's petition, it did express the adversarial relationship between Chinese studies and Japanese studies that characterizes most of the leading nativist scholarship of the eighteenth century.

Among Azumamaro's identifiable students was Kamo no Mabuchi (1697–1769), who emerged as the foremost authority on the *Man'yōshū*. Born and raised in Hamamatsu, Mabuchi was taught to read by Azumamaro's niece. In 1728 he registered in Azumamaro's school and in 1733 moved for full-time study to Fushimi, where he quickly established himself as one of Azumamaro's most promising students. After Azumamaro's death in 1736, Mabuchi went east to Edo, a move representative of a broader cultural shift at this time. In Edo, Mabuchi again quickly established a reputation as an authority on the ancient Japanese classics, but it was his affiliation with the second son of Tokugawa Yoshimune, Tayasu Munetake, whom Mabuchi served from 1746 to 1760 as tutor in Japanese studies (*wagaku goyō*), that gave him the opportunity to concentrate on his nativist scholarship while gaining a window on affairs at the very heart of the *bakufu*. Toward the end of his life and after his retirement from service to Tayasu Munetake, Mabuchi adopted the sobriquet "old man of the fields" (*agata no nushi*), an ironic self-appellation for someone on the fringes of Edo, at that time the world's most populous city.

Almost all of Mabuchi's thought can be traced to his conviction that verse was superior to prose for communicating heartfelt sentiment. Suspecting that later poetry had a disproportionate concern with artistry rather than emotive truth, Mabuchi believed that of all Japanese poetry, the verses of the *Man'yōshū* were the most deserving of esteem. The value of these poems, he argued, was twofold. First, Mabuchi believed that when imitating ancient modes, the very act of versification—the composition of poetry—produced a socially beneficial transformation of one's spirit. Just as those in ancient times were able to ventilate powerful emotions and thereby become better citizens, people are comparably

enabled in the here-and-now. Second, he believed that the value of the *Man'yō* verses came from their having been composed before the introduction of Buddhism and Confucianism, which rendered them useful for gleaning the virtues and sentiments of the "true heart" (*magokoro*) of the Japanese, a heart unsullied by exposure to Chinese morality and rationalism. By composing poetry in imitation of ancient modes, one might be able, Mabuchi argued, to disengage from the fallen present and reenter an idealized and beatific ancient past. As he wrote in *Inquiry into the Idea of Poetry* (*Kai kō*, 1764), by studying *Man'yō* verses and composing in imitation of the ancient styles, one could be transported away from the present, "an age that has descended like a river down from the mountains," and into the past, thereby resurrecting all those virtues—principally directness, manliness, and sincerity—that contributed to the beatific innocence of the ancient age.

Mabuchi was unrestrained in his criticism of China, which he viewed as addicted to rationalism and dependent on moral and ethical teachings needed to offset a Chinese propensity for unruliness. Evidence for Japan's superiority, he argued, lay in the fact that in ancient times Japan found such moral instruction unnecessary, since the people naturally and instinctively leaned toward behaviors that contributed to the harmonious operation of society. By turning to such sources as the *Man'yōshū* and reanimating their dormant "true hearts," the Japanese might reclaim the same ancient natural Way of Heaven-and-earth that was their birthright.

The mantle of Mabuchi's nativist scholarship was assumed by Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801), regarded as not just the greatest of the eighteenth-century National Learning scholars but also, as Donald Keene described him, "certainly one of the greatest Japanese scholars, perhaps the greatest."[2] Except for the years from 1752 to 1757, when he was a student in Kyoto, Norinaga lived his entire life in Matsusaka, near the celebrated Ise Shrines, where he founded his school, the Suzunoya, or House of Bells, in which more than five hundred students had registered by the time of his death. Although Norinaga inherited much of Mabuchi's perspectives on the past and on Japan's privileged position, there also were some differences. For example, whereas Mabuchi's thought emphasized a return to the natural Way and spontaneous spirit of the past, Norinaga regarded the Way as having been fashioned by the native *kami* of Japan and bequeathed by them to their terrestrial delegates, the succession of divine emperors who had continued to rule in an unbroken chain since time immemorial. Whereas Mabuchi had sought his ancient Way of Heaven-and-earth in the verses of the *Man'yōshū*, Norinaga turned to the slightly more ancient *Record of Ancient Matters* (*Kojiki*, 712), Japan's most ancient extant mythohistory, which he raised to the status of scripture. And whereas Mabuchi had asserted the

2. Keene, *World Within Walls*, p. 320.

superiority of Japan and Japanese culture vis-à-vis other countries of Asia, Norinaga argued for Japan's unique superiority on global terms, owing to the world's having been created by—and hence owing a debt of gratitude to—Japanese *kami*, especially the solar deity Amaterasu, whose radiant sunshine continued to succor and sustain the world.

Furthermore, Norinaga was the preeminent literary critic of his age, and in this regard he is best known for his theory of *mono no aware* (the pathos of things). Norinaga contended that in the classics of Japanese prose and poetry—above all, Murasaki Shikibu's *Tale of Genji* (*Genji monogatari*)—the discerning reader would find the depiction of emotional truth and, in this way, would acquire an empathetic understanding of the melancholic pathos—the touching sadness—of human experience. *The Tale of Genji*, Norinaga wrote, is

> simply a tale of human life that leaves aside and does not profess to take up at all the question of good and bad and that dwells only on the goodness of those who are aware of the sorrow of human existence (*mono no aware*). . . . [The] illicit love affairs described in the tale [are] there not for the purpose of being admired but for the purpose of nurturing the flower of the awareness of the sorrow of human existence (*mono no aware*).[3]

Earlier interpretations of *The Tale of Genji* and other classics were based on a combination of Buddhist and Confucian understandings of morality, according to which promiscuity and adultery bring their own punishment—if not in this lifetime, then surely in the next. Indeed, even Kada no Azumamaro and Kamo no Mabuchi found the engagement of literature and verse to be fundamentally edifying. In contrast, by emphasizing the validity of the affective spheres of human experience, Norinaga's literary theory was closely attuned to the emotional vitality and exuberance of much mid-Tokugawa culture, and his literary criticism also represented an important break with the earlier didacticism. Indeed, Norinaga's interpretations proved to be so influential that they have continued to dominate literary criticism of Japan's classics, and even his sense of which works were deserving of critical attention has shaped the modern understanding of Japan's literary and poetic canon.

KADA NO AZUMAMARO

Kada no Azumamaro's petition—or memorial—submitted to the shogun, Yoshimune, in 1728, without contesting the position of the dominant Neo-

3. See Tsunoda et al., eds., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, 1st ed., vol. 2, pp. 27–28.

Confucian school, appeals for the creation of a school that would rescue traditional Japanese literature from oblivion. The unquestioned heritage of Chinese learning at this time is apparent in the very form of the memorial itself: it is in an extremely ornate style of classical Chinese, full of obscure allusions to the Chinese classics, the furthest thing from the native language and literature that Azumamaro wished to revive. Even more significant is his adaptation of Neo-Confucian principles to his own purpose. Thus he uses the slogan of the Confucian revival in the Song dynasty, "Restore the Ancient Order (or Way)" (J. *fukko*, Ch. *fugu*), to justify a kind of Japanese neoclassicism. In Azumamaro's mind, however, it is clear that these classical studies must be literary and philological in nature, for the Ancient Way can be rediscovered only through textual research.

It is important to note, incidentally, how this text reflects the prevailing view that loyalty to the shogun and to the emperor go hand in hand. There is no suggestion of a conflict of interests or authority such as arose in the nineteenth century.

PETITION FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SCHOOL OF NATIONAL LEARNING

Respectfully submitted, craving your bountiful favor in promoting the creation of a school of National Learning. I bow my head in awe and trepidation; vile and base as I am, I abjectly offer my words.

Tokugawa Ieyasu rose in Mikawa Province and soon succeeded in assuming command of the various daimyo to bring peace to the nation. All were as grass before the wind; who could surpass him? Changes brought about by his renewal of the country first led to the establishment of the Kōbunkan,[4] which has grown and prospered. What could be added to it?

Enlightened rulers have successively ascended to power, and literary pursuits have grown increasingly splendid; their refulgence shines ever more. The military arts are more perfected than ever; how noble and accomplished they are! Could the respect of the Muromachi family for literature be mentioned on the same day? In keeping with this age of great peace, Heaven has sent us a generous and benevolent ruler.[5] The country has witnessed the mild rule vouchsafed by his innate gifts. No talented men are without employ; the court is thronged with upright men. Above, he respects the emperor and devotes himself to effecting a government without deceit. Below, he cherishes the daimyo, who offer him tribute. Because his policies are perfected and he has leisure for other

4. The Kōbunkan was the official Hayashi school of Neo-Confucianism, founded in 1630 by a grant of land in Edo from the shogun Iemitsu.

5. The shogun Tokugawa Yoshimune (1684–1751).

pursuits, he has turned his mind to ancient studies; when the teachings in them are not complete, he spends much time in studying the rule of the men of old. He buys rare books for a thousand pieces of gold. Following his example, the celebrated scholars of the nation search for rare and forgotten books. Visitors of unusual talent from all over the world flock to his court. . . .

Everywhere now, Confucian studies are followed, and every day the Buddhist teachings flourish more. "Humaneness" and "rightness" have become household words; even common soldiers and menials know what is meant by the *Classic of Odes*. In every family they read the sutras; porters and scullery maids can discuss Emptiness (*shunyata*). The people's manner of living has benefited by great advances, but our National Learning is gradually falling into desuetude. Cultivated fields are continuously being abandoned, and possessions are being exhausted by contributions to Buddhism. Most lamentably, however, the teachings of our divine emperors are steadily melting away, each year more conspicuously than the last. Japanese learning is falling into ruin and is a bare tenth of what it once was. The books of law are disappearing: who is there to ask about studies of the old learning? The way of the *waka* [poetry] is falling into oblivion; what can revive the great refinement of the old styles?

Those who now treat Shinto all follow the theories of yin-yang and the Five Phases.[6] Those who consider the *waka* tend to adopt the explanations of Tendai doctrines or of the Four Disciplines of Chinese poetry. If these scholars are not the dregs of Tang and Song Confucians, they are exudations from the Womb and Diamond Mandalas. If their writings are not fabrications composed of vain theories and idle hairsplittings, they are eccentricities without foundation or thought. They speak of "secrets" and "traditions," but of the true traditions of the wise men of old, what knowledge do they have? They speak of "depths" and "recondite meanings," but how many are the forgeries of recent men!

From the time when I was young, I went without sleep or food in order to combat such heterodox ideas. When I grew to maturity, I tried ceaselessly, with learning and with thought, to revive the Ancient Way. If now I do not rouse myself and try to explain the rights and wrongs, people later will certainly confuse the true and the false, for their ears will be stopped and their hearts shut. If I try to keep aloof, the old writings will become vague and obscure. If I try to pursue the matter, I will find how old and weary I am. In this state of doubt, I cannot make a decision. Uncertain, I fail to do what I should.

Prostrate, I here make my humble request: that I be given a quiet tract of land in Kyoto where I can open a school for studies of the imperial land. I have collected since my youth many secret and obscure writings and, since growing old, have corrected numerous old records and accounts. I propose to store them at this school to provide for researches of future days. There must be persons

6. For example, the school of Yamazaki Ansai.

living in remote villages who experience great difficulty in getting hold of such books. There must also be many scholars in forsaken hamlets who cannot realize their ambitions to study the Japanese classics. We should lend the necessary texts throughout the country and enable scholars to read them. A familiarity with only a single volume would permit a scholar to find out about the downfall of many kings; a careful study of antiquity could save the people from countless suffering. If by great good fortune some extraordinary man of talent arises, the way of Prince Toneri will not perish.[7] If there are men who polish the gems of poetry, the teachings of Kakinomoto Hitomaro[8] will again flourish. If the National Histories are clear, it will be no small aid to the officials in improving the people. If the laws of the three reigns[9] are given new life, this will also prove of great benefit to the prestige and permanence of the nation. The *Man'yōshū* is [the *Shijing* of the East and][10] the pure essence of our national temperament. He who studies it will not be slandered as an ignoramus. He who is unfamiliar with it will be admonished as being unfit to converse with.

The first school established in our country was at the Ōmi[11] court. The first teaching of the Way of letters originated at the time of the Emperor Saga. The Sugawara and Ōe families[12] had academies of learning. The Minamoto, Fujiwara, Tachibana, and Wake families followed them. At the Dazaifu in Kyushu, there was a school; in Ashikaga and Kanazawa, education was advanced. However, they taught Chinese history and the Chinese classics in these schools, even in those for the imperial family. Offerings were made to the spirit of Confucius. Alas, how ignorant the Confucian scholars were of the past, not knowing a single thing about the imperial Japanese learning. How painful, the stupidity of later scholars—who cannot bewail the destruction of the ancient learning? This is why foreign teachings have prevailed, and we encounter them in street conversations and corner gossip. This is why, too, our teachings have so deteriorated. False doctrines are rampant, taking advantage of our weakness. . . .

I am an exceedingly ignorant man. What can I claim to know? If, indeed, there is one thing I dare claim for myself some familiarity, it is the explanation of words. There are many misconceptions about our national writings. The fact

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7. Prince Toneri (d. 735) was the compiler of the *Chronicles of Japan* (*Nihon shoki*).

8. Kakinomoto Hitomaro was the greatest of the *Man'yōshū* poets.

9. The codes of the Kōnin, Jōgan, and Engi eras. They are used here, however, to balance the "National Histories" in the preceding sentence and mean, more generally, the laws of Heian times.

10. The phrase in brackets is found in the rough draft of this petition, but it was deleted by Kada in the final version. It is restored here because of its interest.

11. Ōmi was the site of the court, near the modern city of Ōtsu, during the reign of Emperor Tenchi.

12. All the following are important families with literary traditions.

that some people seem to be aware of them today is probably because the books survive. There are few explanations for the old Japanese words. The fact that one does not hear of anyone who is thoroughly conversant in them must be because the documents and men are insufficient. It has indeed been several hundred years since the old learning was taught. Only three or four books explain the words, and these books vie with one another in claiming to be the authority, advancing new and outlandish theories to support their claims. Such books are exceedingly superficial; how can they hope to attain the true meanings? If the old words are not understood, the old meanings will not be clear. If the old meanings are not clear, the old learning will not be revived. The way of the former kings is disappearing; the ideas of the wise men of antiquity have almost been abandoned. The loss will not be small if we fail now to teach philology. We must devote ourselves to this project. I have given my life's energies to studying the old words. I humbly believe that the rise or fall of Japanese learning depends on whether or not my plan is accepted. I pray Your Excellency will grant it your attention and consider it favorably.

Your servant Kada submits the above in awe and trepidation.

[Kada no Azumamaro, *Kada zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 1–6; RT]

KAMO NO MABUCHI

Kamo no Mabuchi regarded poetry as the medium best suited for expressing heartfelt emotion. He thus concluded that Japan's most ancient verses might offer insight into, and even evidence of, an archaic, purely Japanese "heart" (*kokoro*) untainted by exposure to continental moral and ethical teachings. He also believed that history—especially Japan's unbroken chain of imperial rule—demonstrated the inherent superiority of the Japanese polity.

INQUIRY INTO THE IDEA OF POETRY

Indeed, in early antiquity [before the Nara period (710–794)], people's hearts (*kokoro*) were straightforward and correct. Since their hearts were straightforward, there was little scheming, and since affairs were few, words were likewise unadorned. Accordingly, when matters arose in the heart, persons voiced these matters in song. These "songs" were called *uta* [which also means "poetry"]. Thus, since their verses were straightforward and heartfelt and since their words were correct using unadorned language, their composition was spontaneous and naturally poetic. Accordingly, as these verses were utterly heartfelt expressions, in ancient times there was no distinction between poets and nonpoets.

In the limitless fifteen-hundred-reign rule of far-off, majestic divine emperors, Chinese and Indian words and concepts (*kokoro*) entered our country and

mixed with our native words and concepts, creating confusion. As a result, there are countless examples of how our people's correct hearts have been overwhelmed by these disorienting gusts and how even the spoken language has been corrupted by the [imported] garbage. Thus, in the most recent times, poetic words and spirit (*kokoro*) have come to differ from everyday words and spirit, and what we call poems have come to depend on classical models that distort the instinctively good heart and are overly concerned with verbal artifice.

Just as a dusty mirror can reflect only a clouded image and just as clean blossoms will inevitably become soiled when mixed with trash, these fallen [poetic] modes were perpetuated by the selection [of verses for anthologies] by later individuals whose hearts were completely defiled. However, it is not as if no one appears to lament this. . . . Truly, if, among things that remain unchanged from ancient times, one considers that birds, beasts, trees, and vegetation are all totally unchanged from ancient times, are we to believe that human beings alone have somehow changed from ancient times until now? Human beings naturally (*onozukara*) learn wickedness as they contend with one another's schemes, and society moves along similarly. How can we imagine that a person who has once turned to wrongdoing will somehow long to turn toward goodness? Rather, when the impulse to return to the past arises, it is from the wish to have one's prose and poetry more closely resemble the words and verses of the ancient past.

Since people today remain fundamentally the same as the people of the past, as one learns the [verses of the past], one's heart again becomes like the divine mirror, and one's words become as fresh as crossing a plain or [seeing] a mountain wildflower. If even the Chinese who change their masters in all things long for a return to the past, then should we, born into this country ruled by the heavenly succession, not long for a return to the lofty ages pacified prosperously by the imperial ancestor, and shall we cling to the present, an age that has descended like a river down from the mountains? . . .

Such decline notwithstanding, there is a legacy of that divine distant rule, and there are more than a few people who long for the past. When one looks at the writings of that vast and lofty age, the wise ways of those peaks seem to have ceased; one scarcely knows where to look to plumb the wisdom of the plains, and it all seems as ephemeral as a leaf blowing in the autumn wind. People in later ages were misled by the mists and lost their way—some have been duped by foreign ways of doing things and have forgotten their cultural roots. Just as the sun and moon remain unchanged, so too do the spirit (*kokoro*) and words of the ancient poems composed more than a thousand years ago by our forebears, and like the colors of spring and autumn, they remain the same from ancient times until now.

If you just give over your heart (*kokoro*) to the illustrious ancient courts at Fujiwara and Nara, if you put out of your mind thoughts of the colorless later ages, and if for months and even years you dedicate yourself to your versifica-

tion, your heart will naturally (*onozukara*) return to the correct fold. Give over your thoughts to that time in particular, when people's hearts were correct and words were elegant and when there was not a trace of foulness or staleness in the practices of their lofty and manly hearts.

In this way, when you look on the manifold writings of the past, like a traveler who finally arrives home after having crossed the mountain depths or like a ship that reaches its destination after having crossed distant seas, you will, in this very world, attain the heart that is undisturbed by things and affairs and understands what is fruitless, a heart that, without help, with neither design nor force, and without [moral] teachings of any kind, conforms to Heaven-and-earth. It is the poems of the ancients that make it possible to know clearly the divine ages of the great Way of early antiquity that pacified the realm in ancient times. Study those ancient verses and make them your own.

[*Karonshū*, pp. 569–73; PN]

INQUIRY INTO THE IDEA OF THE NATION (KOKUI KŌ)

Unlike Kada no Azumamaro, who presented in ornamental Chinese his petition for the establishment of a school of National Learning, Kamo no Mabuchi wrote *Inquiry into the Idea of the Nation* (*Kokui kō*) in almost pure Japanese. It was composed in 1765. Although it attacks Chinese, particularly Confucian, thought, it is conceived largely in Daoist terms, with numerous direct or indirect references to Laozi. The anti-intellectual, intuitive teachings of Daoism proved congenial to later Shinto scholars as well, and in many instances we find in this work of Kamo no Mabuchi the arguments that Hirata Atsutane and other men presented less temperately.

Someone remarked to me, "I pay no heed to such petty trifles as Japanese poetry; what interests me is the Chinese Way of governing the nation."

I smiled at this and did not answer. Later, when I met the same man he asked, "You seem to have an opinion on every subject—why did you merely keep smiling when I spoke to you?"

I answered, "You mean when you were talking about the Chinese Confucian teachings or whatever you call them? They are no more than a human invention that reduces the heart of Heaven-and-earth to something trivial."

At these words he became enraged. "How dare you call our Great Way trivial?"

I answered, "I would be interested in hearing whether or not the Chinese Confucian learning has actually helped govern a country successfully." He immediately cited the instances of Yao, Shun, Xia, Yin, Zhou, and so on. I asked if there were no later examples, but he informed me that there were not.

I pursued the matter, asking this time how far back Chinese traditions went. He answered that thousands of years had passed from Yao's day to the present.

I then asked, "Why then did the Way of Yao continue only until the Zhou and afterward cease? I am sure that it is because you restrict yourself to citing events that took place thousands of years ago that the Way seems so good. But those are merely ancient legends. It takes more than such specious ideas to run a country!"

When I said this, he grew all the more furious and ranted on about ancient matters. I said,

> You are utterly prejudiced. You say that Yao yielded the throne to that rascal Shun? That sounds as if it must have been a good thing for the country, but that is the sort of thing we avoid in Japan as being "too good."[13] In China there also were ruffians who, far from yielding the throne, sprang up from nowhere to kill their sovereigns and seize control of the country. That is what we find "too bad" and equally avoid. An excess of good can thus lead to excess of evil.

Mabuchi goes on to cite many other similar instances in Chinese history.

"Things in China grew more and more chaotic, although in the time of Emperor Wen of the Han dynasty, there seems to have been an interval of good government because the emperor took to heart what Laozi had said. As you can see, whenever some baseborn individual appeared to slay his lord and proclaim himself emperor, everyone bowed his head and served this upstart obediently. That is not the worst of it. Although the Chinese despise all foreign countries as 'barbarian,' when someone from one of the 'barbarian' countries became emperor, they all prostrated themselves before him. Wouldn't you say, then, that to despise others as 'barbarian' was irresponsible? It is not a word to be applied indiscriminately.

"Thus, even though their country has been torn for centuries by disturbances and has never really been well administered, they think that they can explain with their Way of Confucius the principles governing the whole world. Indeed, when one has heard them through, there is nothing to be said: anyone can quickly grasp their doctrines because they consist of mere quibbling. What they value the most and insist on is the establishment and maintenance of good government. Everybody in China would seem to agree on this point, but belief in it did not in fact lie very deep. It is obvious that many gave superficial assent in their hearts. Yet when these principles were introduced to this country, it was stated that China had obtained good government by adopting them. This was a complete fabrication. I wish it were possible to send to China anyone

13. That is, something that, although good in itself, can lead to unfortunate consequences.

who clung to such a belief! He would discover, as did Urashima Tarō[14] when he returned to his home, what an illusion he had been suffering from!

"In ancient days Japan was governed in accordance with the natural laws of Heaven-and-earth. There was never any indulgence in such petty rationalizing as marked China, but when suddenly these teachings were transmitted here from abroad, they quickly spread, for in their simplicity the men of old took them for the truth. In Japan, generation after generation, extending back to the remote past, had known prosperity, but no sooner were these Confucian teachings propagated here than in the time of Tenmu[15] a great rebellion occurred. Later, at Nara, the palace, dress, and ceremonies were Chinesified, and everything acquired a superficial elegance; under the surface, however, contentiousness and dishonesty became more prevalent.

"Confucianism made men more crafty and led them to worship the ruler to such an excessive degree that the whole country acquired a servant's mentality. Later it even happened that an emperor was sacriligeously driven to an island exile. This occurred because the country had become infected with Chinese ideas. Some people speak ill of Buddhism, but since it is a teaching that makes men stupid, it does not represent a grave evil; after all, rulers do not prosper unless the people are stupid.[16]

"Just as roads are naturally created when people live in uncultivated woodlands or fields, so the Way of the Age of the Gods spontaneously took hold in Japan. Because it was a Way indigenous to the country, it caused our emperors to become increasingly prosperous. However, not only had the Confucian teachings thrown China into disorder, but they now also had the same effect on Japan. Yet those not knowing these facts revere Confucianism and think that it is the Way to govern the country! This is a deplorable attitude.

"Japanese poetry has as its subject the human heart. It may seem to be of no practical use and just as well left uncomposed, but when one knows poetry well, one understands also without explanation the reasons governing order and disorder in the world. They say that Confucius himself did not reject poetry but placed the *Classic of Odes* at the head of the classics. Things that are explained in terms of theories are as though dead. Those that spontaneously operate together with Heaven-and-earth are alive and active. I do not mean to say that it is a bad idea to have a general knowledge of all things, but it is a

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14. Urashima Tarō is the hero of a Japanese fairy tale who returns to his village after extraordinary adventures in a dragon's palace to discover, like Rip Van Winkle, that many years have elapsed and he is an old man.

15. Emperor Tenmu (631–686) ascended the throne only after a struggle with Prince Ōtomo, the appointed successor to Tenchi.

16. On the ground that knowledge leads to greed and ambition, craftiness and contentiousness.

common human failing to tend to lean excessively in that direction. It is advisable not to cling too tenaciously to things once one has learned them. Even though some Japanese poems have evil desires as their themes, the poems do not corrupt the reader's heart but instead make it more gentle and more understanding of all things.

"When ruling the country, a knowledge of Chinese things is of no help in the face of an emergency. In such a situation some man will spontaneously come forth to propose things that are wise and true. In the same way, doctors often study and master Chinese texts, but very seldom do they cure any sickness. In contrast, medicines that have been transmitted naturally in this country, with no reasons or theoretical knowledge behind them, infallibly cure all maladies. It is good when a man spontaneously devotes himself to these things. It is unwise to become obsessed with them. I would like to show people even once what is good in our Way. The fact that the Confucian scholars know very little about government is obvious from the frequent disorders that arise in China whenever the government is left to them. . . .

"It is another bad habit of the Chinese to distinguish men from beasts, by way of self-praise for being man and dispraise for the rest. It is like their custom of despising all other countries as 'barbarian,' a meaningless expression. Are not all creatures that live between Heaven-and-earth so many insects? Why should only man be considered precious? What is so exceptional about man? In China they venerate man as 'the soul of all things' or some such, but I wonder whether man would not rather be called 'the most evil of all things.' By this I mean that just as the sun and moon have not changed, birds, beasts, fish, and plants all are exactly as they were in ancient days, but ever since man impetuously decided that knowledge would be of use to him, evil motives of every kind have sprung up among people and have finally thrown the world into turmoil. Even when they enjoy peaceful rule, men deceive one another. It might be desirable if just one or two men in the world had knowledge, but when everyone possesses it, a dreadful chaos ensues, and in the end knowledge is useless. If one looked through the eyes of a bird or a beast, one would say, 'Man is evil. His ways should not be followed.'" . . .

People also tell me, "We had no writing in this country and therefore had to use Chinese characters." From this one fact you know everything about the relative importance of our countries. I answer, "I need not recite again how troublesome, evil, [and] turbulent a country China is. To mention just one instance—there is the matter of their picture writing. There are about 38,000 characters in common use,[17] as someone has determined. . . . The name of every place and plant has a separate character for it that has no other use but

17. This is an extraordinary exaggeration, since even in Mabuchi's day, not more than 2,500 characters could have been in common use.

to designate that particular place or plant. Can any man, even one who devotes himself to the task earnestly, learn all these many characters? Sometimes people miswrite characters, [and] sometimes the characters themselves change from one generation to the next. What a nuisance, a waste of effort, and a bother! In India, in contrast, fifty letters suffice for the more than five thousand volumes of the Buddhist scriptures. The knowledge of a mere fifty letters permits one to know and transmit innumerable words of past and present alike. This is not simply a matter of writing: the fifty sounds are the sounds of Heaven-and-earth, and words conceived from them are naturally different from the Chinese characters. Whatever kind of writing we may originally have had, ever since Chinese writing was introduced we have mistakenly been enmeshed in it. Now only the old words, but not their writing, are preserved. These words are not identical with the fifty Indian sounds . . . but the fifty sounds suffice to express all words without the nuisance of characters. In Holland, I understand, they use twenty-five letters. In this country there should be fifty. The appearance of letters used in all countries is generally the same, except in China where they invented their bothersome system. . . . The opinion that the characters are precious is not worth discussing further.". . .

What do we know about China in the most ancient days? Because the Chinese of later generations invented things, does it follow that here in Japan we too must have invented history? There are bound to be many mistakes in what human minds invent. When we look at things recorded in China by the learned men, we see that the country never profited by any Way unless it was in accord with Heaven-and-earth. Therefore the sayings of Laozi derived from the will of Heaven-and-earth were in consonance with the proper Way of the country. In ancient days China was also a decent country. . . . In ancient times words and things were few. When things are few, the heart is sincere; there is no need for difficult teachings. All will go satisfactorily even without teachings because men are honest. It is true that since men's hearts have many facets, there is always some evil in them, but evil itself cannot remain hidden in an honest heart. If it is not hidden, it will not develop into anything serious but will remain no more than a moment's aberration. Thus, in ancient days although the land was not absolutely devoid of the teachings of good men, a few easy ones sufficed. But since China is a country of wicked heartedness, no amount of profound instruction could keep the innate evil from overwhelming the country, despite the surface appearance. Japan has always been a country whose people are honest. As long as a few teachings were carefully observed and we worked in accordance with the will of Heaven-and-earth, the country could be well off without any special instruction. Nevertheless, Chinese doctrines were introduced and corrupted men's hearts. Even though these teachings resembled those of China itself, they were of the kind that, heard in the morning, are forgotten by evening. Our country in ancient times was not like that. It obeyed the laws of Heaven-and-earth. The emperor was the sun and moon, and the

subjects, the stars. If the subjects as stars protect the sun and moon, they will not hide it, as is now the case. Just as the sun, moon, and stars have always been in Heaven, so our imperial sun and moon—and the stars his vassals—have existed without change from ancient days and have ruled the world fairly. However, some knaves appeared, and as a result the emperor is diminished in power, and his subjects, too, have fallen off. The Age of the Gods is where we may gain a knowledge of this. To discover it, we should carefully examine the words and thoughts in the ancient poetry and thereby see clearly into the oldest writings.

[*Sekai daishisō zenshū*, vol. 54, pp. 2–10; Dumoulin, "Kamo Mabuchi"]

MOTOORI NORINAGA

PRECIOUS COMB-BOX (TAMAKUSHIGE)

The following excerpt is from Motoori Norinaga's *Precious Comb-box* of 1786, whose contents are meant to "comb" out the snarls of intellectual confusion. In it, Norinaga upholds the traditional account of the divine creation in all its unembellished simplicity while rejecting the rationalistic cosmogony of the Chinese. The Sun Goddess Amaterasu is represented as a universal as well as a national deity, one who has shown special favor to the Japanese and is guiding them to a special destiny.

The True Way is one and the same, in every country and throughout Heaven-and-earth. This way, however, has been correctly transmitted only in our imperial land. Its transmission in all foreign countries was lost long ago in early antiquity, and many and varied Ways have been expounded, each country representing its own way as the Right Way. But the Ways of foreign countries are no more the original Right Way than the end branches of a tree are the same as its root. They may have resemblances here and there to the Right Way, but because the original truth has been corrupted with the passage of time, they can scarcely be likened to the original Right Way. Let me state briefly what that original Way is. One must understand, first of all, the universal principle of the world. The principle is that Heaven-and-earth, all the gods and all phenomena, were brought into existence by the creative spirits of two deities—Takami-musubi and Kami-musubi. The birth of all humankind in all ages and the existence of all things and all matter have been the result of that creative spirit. It was the original creativity of these two august deities that caused the deities Izanagi and Izanami to create the land, all kinds of phenomena, and numerous gods and goddesses at the beginning of the Divine Age. This spirit of creativity [*musubi*, literally "union"] is a miraculously divine act, the reason for which is beyond the comprehension of the human intellect.

But in the foreign countries to which the Right Way has not been transmitted, this act of divine creativity is not known. Men there have tried to explain the principle of Heaven-and-earth and all phenomena by such theories as the yin and yang, the hexagrams of the *Classic of Changes*, and the Five Phases. But all of these fallacious theories stem from assumptions of the human intellect, and they in no wise represent the true principle.

In deep sorrow at the passing of his goddess, Izanagi journeyed after her to the land of death. Upon his return to the upper world, he bathed himself at Awagihara in Tachibana Bay in Tsukushi in order to purify himself of the pollution of the land of death, and while thus washing himself, he gave birth to the Heaven-Shining Goddess who, by the explicit command of her father-god, came to rule the Heavenly Plain for all time to come. This Heaven-Shining Goddess is none other than the sun in heaven that today casts its gracious light over the world. Then, an imperial prince of the Heaven-Shining Goddess was sent down from heaven to the middle kingdom of Ashihara. The goddess's mandate to the prince at that time stated that his dynasty should be coeval with Heaven-and-earth. It is this mandate that is the very origin and basis of the Way. Thus, all the principles and the Way of humankind are represented in the different stages of the Divine Age. Those who seek to know the Right Way must therefore pay careful attention to the stages of the Divine Age and learn the truths of existence. These aspects of the various stages are embodied in the ancient traditions of the Divine Age. No one knows with whom these ancient traditions began, but they were handed down orally from the very earliest times, and they refer to the accounts that have since been recorded in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki*. The accounts recorded in these two scriptures are clear and explicit and present no cause for doubt. Those who have interpreted these scriptures in a later age have contrived oracular formulas and have expounded theories that have no real basis. Some have become addicts of foreign doctrines and have no faith in the wonders of the Divine Age. Unable to understand that the truths of the world are contained in the evolution of the Divine Age, they fail to ascertain the true meaning of our ancient tradition. Because they base their judgment on the strength of foreign beliefs, they always interpret at their own discretion and twist to their own liking anything they encounter that may not be in accord with their alien teachings. Thus, they say that the High Heavenly Plain refers to the imperial capital and not to Heaven and that the Sun Goddess herself was not a goddess or the sun shining in the heavens but an earthly person and the forebear of the nation. These are arbitrary interpretations purposely contrived to flatter foreign ideologies. In this way, the ancient tradition is made to appear narrow and petty by depriving it of its comprehensive and primal character. This is counter to the meaning of the scriptures.

Heaven and earth are one; there is no barrier between them. The High Heavenly Plain is the high heavenly plain that covers all the countries of the world, and the Sun Goddess is the goddess who reigns in that heaven. Thus,

she is without a peer in the whole universe, casting her light to the very ends of Heaven-and-earth and for all time. There is not a single country in the whole world that does not receive her beneficent illuminations, and no country can exist for even a day or an hour without her grace. This goddess is the splendor of all splendors. Foreign countries, however, having lost the ancient tradition of the Divine Age, do not know the meaning of revering this goddess. Only through the speculations of the human intelligence have they come to call the sun and the moon the spirit of yang and yin. In China and other countries, the "Heavenly Emperor" is worshiped as the supreme divinity. Other countries have objects of reverence, each according to its own way, but some of their teachings are based on the logic of inference and some on arbitrary personal opinions. At any rate, they are merely manmade designations, and the "Heavenly Ruler" or the "Heavenly Way" has no real existence at all. That foreign countries revere such nonexistent beings and remain unaware of the grace of the Sun Goddess is a matter of profound regret. But because of the special dispensation of our imperial land, the ancient tradition of the Divine Age has been correctly and clearly transmitted in our country, telling us about the genesis of the great goddess and the reason for her adoration. The "special dispensation of our imperial land" means that ours is the native land of the Heaven-Shining Goddess who casts her light over all countries in the four seas. Thus our country is the source and fountainhead of all other countries, and in all matters it excels all the others. It would be impossible to list all the products in which our country excels, but foremost among them is rice, which sustains the life of man, to whom there is no product more important. Our country's rice has no peer in foreign countries, which is why our other products are also superior. Those who were born in this country have long been accustomed to our rice and take it for granted, unaware of its excellence. They can enjoy such excellent rice morning and night to their heart's content because they have been fortunate enough to be born in this country.

Our country's imperial line, which casts its light over this world, represents the descendants of the Heaven-Shining Goddess. And in accordance with that goddess's mandate of reigning "forever and ever, coeval with Heaven-and-earth," the imperial line is destined to rule the nation for eons until the end of time and as long as the universe exists. That is the very basis of our Way. That our history has not deviated from the instructions of the divine mandate testifies to the infallibility of our ancient tradition. It also is why foreign countries cannot match ours and what is meant by the special dispensation of our country. Foreign countries expound their own Ways, each as if its Way alone were true. But their dynastic lines, basic to their existence, do not continue; they change frequently and are quite corrupt. Thus one can surmise that in everything they say there are falsehoods and that there is no basis in fact for them.

[*Motoori Norinaga zenshū*, vol. 6, pp. 3–6; PN]

"FIRST STEPS INTO THE MOUNTAINS" (UIYAMABUMI)

"First Steps into the Mountains," an essay written in 1798, represents the fullest statement of Norinaga's taxonomy of learning. Ever the precisian, he distinguishes among different academic traditions and expounds the advantages of Japanese studies. His disclaimer that "any methodology is acceptable" notwithstanding, Norinaga explains how one might resurrect the true Way of the Gods (*kami*).

In life, there are many routes to pursue learning, not just one. Among these routes is, first, the diligent study of the Way, based on the book on the Age of the Gods in the *Nihon shoki*. This is called the Learning of the Gods, and a student of this is called a scholar of the Way of the Gods. Then there is learning whose object of study is government offices, ceremonies, and legal codes. Yet another area of learning deals with ancient customs, costumes, and accoutrements. These last two are called the Study of Classical Procedures.

There is also an approach that is not based on any particular set path; it studies the records starting with the Six National Histories and other ancient writings, including the later records. There are further divisions in this approach.

Another is the study of poetry, which has two methods. Some people compose only poems, while others study the ancient poetry collections and tales.

These are the kinds of learning, and each student learns according to his preferred way. The method of learning also varies according to the intentions of the teacher and his students.

A person who is determined to learn and begins to study has a preferred route from the beginning. Some choose the methodology by themselves, while others have no preconceived way of learning or understanding in this matter. They approach a learned teacher and ask, "Which Way should I take?" or "Which book should a novice read first?" This is common and understandable.

You should begin studying your discipline in an orthodox manner, adopting a correct attitude; in this way you will not later deviate into erratic and improper directions. In addition, your learning will bear fruit sooner if the most effective methods are clearly outlined from the beginning. This is the most desirable way to approach scholarship.

Even when the energy expended is constant, there are advantages and disadvantages depending on the path and the methodology followed. But as for the choice of learning, a teacher should not force something onto a student; the choice should be left to the student's interests. No matter how much a novice he may be, a person who is determined to pursue scholarship is not entirely like an infant in regard to his intellect. There is invariably a route in which he is interested and which accords with his ability. He likes some direc-

tions and is uninterested in others. Furthermore, people are gifted by birth in some things and not in others. Success is seldom achieved in something that you do not like or are not gifted in, no matter how much effort you may put into it.

In any kind of study, it is easy enough to teach a method based on a set of superficial reasons, with the teacher instructing the pupil to follow this path or that. There is no way of knowing, however, whether the adopted method is indeed good or whether against all expectations it may turn out to be unhelpful. So the method should not be forced onto a student; the choice should be left entirely to his preference. In essence, the most important and fundamental requirement is that learning be pursued for many years, sparing no effort, without ever becoming boring or fatiguing.

In this respect, any methodology is acceptable, and it should not be a matter of great concern. Yet, however excellent your method of study, you will not be successful if you are lazy and make no effort. . . .

There are many types of foreign studies, starting with Confucianism, Buddhism, and so on, but since they are foreign to us, they need not be discussed here. I prefer to expend my efforts on studies of my country, rather than waste it on matters pertaining to foreign countries. Leaving aside for the moment the question of which is superior, is it not regrettable that some people study foreign things and remain ignorant of the matters of their own country?

What is the main principle of study that one should rely on? It is the study of the Way. This Way is the Way of the Sun Goddess. It is the Way in which the emperor governs his realm. It is the true Way that permeates all nations within the four seas and is transmitted exclusively in our imperial land.

The True Way of the Gods is totally different, dissociated from the teachings of Confucianism, Buddhism, or any other doctrine, having nothing whatsoever in common with them.

Since in recent years all the scholars studying the Way of the Gods are as I have described, they resemble the scholars of the Song school of Chinese studies. Displaying not the least discernment, they seek the Way with single-minded commitment. But fettered by their exclusive reliance on Chinese-style logic, they do not realize that they search for the spirit of ancient times. Their viewpoint is completely Confucian, so the more they progress in their studies, the further they depart from the meaning of the Way.

As a rule, the ceremonies of the Way of the Gods as performed by those who advocate relying on Buddhism are imitations of Buddhist ritual; the ceremonies are just inventions and are by no means the genuine ancient practices of our imperial land.

Confucian scholars of the Way of the Gods in recent years perform ceremonies such as funerals, memorial services, festivities, and other unorthodox rites. They claim that these, different from ordinary secular ceremonies, are the

ceremonies of the Way of the Gods. In truth, they are not the ancient ceremonies, for they are mixed with Confucian ideas, and many features have been invented.

In all matters, Chinese ways were preferred in the past, and changes were made according to Chinese systems. As a result, the ceremonies of remote antiquity disappeared and were not transmitted to the present age. Lamentably, it has become impossible to know their details exactly. Perhaps in rural areas there still remain vestiges of the ceremonies of antiquity, but even these may well be tainted with Buddhist customs, for they are seldom transmitted in their original form.

The Way is enacted by the ruler. It is bestowed on subjects from above, so subjects should not privately interpret and carry it out. In the present age when the scholars of the Way of the Gods perform unorthodox ceremonies, claiming them to be in accordance with the Way, such ceremonies are mere private acts, even though they seem to conform with customs of remote antiquity.

This is the just and public Way with which the emperor governs the world. It is therefore repulsive and sad when people turn it into their private, individual possession, changing it into something narrow and small. Performing unsound rituals like shamans, they call this the Way of the Gods. As far as subjects were concerned, the purpose of the ancient Way was for them to obey and behave in accordance with the laws of the government of the time, regardless of whether the laws were good or bad.

[Adapted from Nishimura, "First Steps into the Mountains," pp. 449–55]

LOVE AND POETRY

PERSONAL VIEWS OF POETRY (ISONOKAMI SASAMEGOTO)

In this piece, *Personal Views of Poetry* of 1763, Norinaga acclaims Japanese poetry for its spontaneous expression of the deepest human emotions and justifies its defiance of Confucian canons of emotional restraint. Characteristically, Norinaga recognizes the worth of all Japanese poetry in this regard, whereas his teacher Kamo no Mabuchi singled out the *Man'yōshū*.

QUESTION: Why are there so many love poems in the world?

ANSWER: The oldest love poems are found in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki*, but the dynastic anthologies are particularly conspicuous for the great number of love poems that they contain. The *Man'yōshū* has sections . . . devoted entirely to love poems. . . . Even in the Chinese *Classic of Odes*, love songs are prominent. Why is this so? It is because

love, more than any other emotion, stirs the human heart deeply and demands an outlet in poetry. It is to love poems that we must look for lines that profoundly express human emotions.

QUESTION: Generally speaking, man seems to be constantly concerned not so much with love but, rather, with personal success and the acquisition of wealth, in which he appears to be completely and unreasonably absorbed. Why is it that there are no poems expressing these sentiments?

ANSWER: There is a distinction between emotion and passion. All the varied feelings of the human heart are emotions, but those among them seeking something in one way or another are passions. These two are inseparable, for passions are generally a kind of emotion. Only such feelings as sympathy for others, sadness, sorrow, and regret are specifically called emotions. But poetry comes only from emotion. This is because emotion is more sensitive to things and more deeply compassionate. Passion is absorbed only in the acquisition of things; it does not move someone deeply or intimately. Thus, it has no capacity for tears at the sight of flowers or the song of birds. The desire to acquire wealth is an example of passion. It is so alien to the awareness of the sorrow of existence that there can be no outpouring of poetry from it. Although love has its origin in passion, it is a deep emotion that no living thing can avoid. And because man is most highly capable of understanding the meaning of the sorrow of existence, it is he who is most deeply moved—sometimes unbearably—by the sentiment of love. Outside love in which there is awareness of the sorrow of existence, there is poetry. And whereas it became the practice in later times to suppress emotion—for emotion was regarded as less profound than passion, a sign of a faint heart, and therefore a shameful thing—poetry alone retained the spirit of antiquity and continued to express truthfully and without adornment the real sentiments of the human heart. Nor has poetry felt constrained to apologize for femininity or faintheartedness. In later times, in order to enhance the charm of poetry, poets have emphasized awareness of the sorrow of existence and have turned against themes of passion. Passion is not a fit subject for poetry. Thus, poems like those in praise of wine found in the third volume of the *Man'yōshū* and so common in Chinese poetry are unappealing, if not odious. They evoke no affection and hold no attraction, because passion is regarded as tainted and not conducive to fine sentiment. Why is it that in other countries [meaning China] the feeling of emotion is regarded as something shameful, and base passion is regarded as something admirable?

QUESTION: The Chinese work, the *Record of Rites*, states that love is the cardinal passion of man. Conjugal sentiment is deep, for it is the

feeling of husband for wife and wife for husband, and this is as it should be. But love in poetry is not always confined to love between man and wife. A man in the privacy of his own room yearns for the woman who is not acceptable to his parents; another, in the intimacy of the bedchamber, gives his love to a woman betrothed to another. Such conduct is licentious and wicked; yet it is regarded as an exquisite example of love.

ANSWER: It was stated above that the human is susceptible to love—no one can avoid it. Once involved in and disturbed by it, the wise and foolish alike frequently behave illogically in spite of themselves, and they end by losing control of the country[18] and ruining their bodies and their reputations. That has been the case in countless instances in the past, and it is so in the present. And this happens even though everyone fully realizes that such behavior is evil and that one must guard against becoming wildly infatuated. But not all men are sages. Not only in love but also in their daily thought and conduct, the good does not always prevail; in fact, the bad often does. Of all the things in life, love is most difficult to suppress, despite every effort to control it. And even realizing that conduct contrary to the dictates of his own mind is evil, man is helpless to control it; of this there are numerous instances. Inside the heart, unnoticed by others, there may be a fancy for someone else, even though outwardly one appears quite sober and admonishes others to beware of love. If one searches the bottom of one's heart, it is impossible not to find love there, especially the type of love forbidden by man. And try as one might to suppress it, there will be only melancholy and bewilderment in one's heart. Because love is thus unreasonable, the love poems issued on such occasions are especially touching. It is also natural that many love poems suggest impropriety and licentiousness. Be that as it may, poetry follows the principle of the sorrow of existence and attempts to express without adornment the bad as well as the good. Its aim is not to select and arrange for the heart what is good or bad. To advise against and check evil is the duty of those who govern the country and teach the people. While unruly love should be strongly cautioned against, it is not the responsibility of poetry to teach such discipline. The aim of poetry is different: it aims to express an awareness of the poignancy of human life and should not be judged on any other basis. This is not to say that poetry applauds evil conduct or implies that it is good. It means only that poems, as a medium for expressing emotion, are admirable.

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18. It is characteristic of Confucian teaching, which is addressed initially to the ruling class, that it is most concerned with the political consequences of moral failings.

All forms of literature, including the novel, should be seen and appreciated in this light and an attempt made to grasp the spirit of their purpose. For further reference I have dwelled on this point separately and at greater length in my study of *The Tale of Genji*, which includes quotations from every chapter and explanatory notes. From this tale one can understand the spirit of poetry.

QUESTION: Chinese poetry and other forms of Chinese literature are rarely devoted to accounts of love, but our literature abounds in them, including many instances of licentious behavior involving high and low alike. Yet no one condemns this as evil. Is it because there is a taste for the frivolous and the voluptuous in our national character?

ANSWER: Man's predilection for love is the same now as it has been in the past, and it is the same here as it is elsewhere. An examination of Chinese historical accounts indicates that country has had more than its share of licentiousness affairs. The Chinese, however, customarily subject all things to long, tedious moralistic judgments. In particular, love affairs have been judged by would-be scholars as contemptible and despicable. Chinese poetry, likewise, has been subjected to this same national tendency; it has a taste for only the heroic, manly spirit and speaks not of the effeminate sentiments and sinful aspects of love, which it regards as shameful. This aspect of Chinese poetry is only its edited, ornamented, and outward appearance and not the true revelation of the human heart. But in a later age the readers of such poetry have accepted it without serious study as expressive of the true situation. It is ridiculous to believe on this basis that the people of that country are less susceptible to the temptations of love than are the people of other countries.

In general our countrymen are generous and not particularly discerning or critical. They have not engaged in painstaking and persistent disputations on the good or the bad in men. Instead they have transmitted in speech and in writing things as they were without adornment. This is particularly true of our poetry and our novels, which have as their aim the expression of a sensitivity to human existence; they are calm, straightforward revelations of the varied feelings of men in love.

Again, our national histories written according to Chinese models show no special distinction from their Chinese prototypes. It is a mistake to ignore these national histories and to fail to discern what is so clearly written in them, just as in their Chinese prototypes or to judge the Japanese solely on the basis of their poetry and novels as being especially susceptible to the temptations. Even the *History of the Wei* (*Wei zhi*), a Chinese history that may not be wholly reliable on all matters, says that the Japanese are not sexually licentious. Not only in

love but in all other things as well, there have been many scoundrels in China. The Chinese persistently warn against evil; yet there are many evil men there because the country is bad. In our country, conversely, man's conduct has neither been excessively praised nor excessively decried; it has been dealt with calmly and straightforwardly. Thus, we do not make much of evil men in our country. And this is because our country is the land of the gods.

[*Motoori Norinaga zenshū*, vol. 6, pp. 524–29; PN]

POETRY AND MONO NO AWARE

A LITTLE BOAT BREAKING A PATH THROUGH THE REEDS (ASHIWAKE OBUNE)

Motoori's first published work, *A Little Boat Breaking a Path Through the Reeds*, is an honest attempt to confront the problems of composing poetry and not, like so many similar books, a mere restatement of platitudes. An encounter with Keichū's writings inspired Motoori to search for the truth about poetry and to make himself into "a little boat breaking a path through the reeds"—that is, resolved to brush aside the encumbrances hindering his boat and sail directly to the heart of poetry.

A Little Boat is written in a question-and-answer form and covers a wide range of topics. Most of its basic ideas remained characteristic of Motoori's later writings on literature. It opens with a statement and question.

The *uta* is a Way for assisting the government of the country. It must not be thought of as a plaything to be toyed with idly. That is why one finds statements to this effect in the preface to the *Anthology of Old and New Japanese Poems* (*Kokinshū*). What do you think of this opinion?

This question reveals a Confucian attitude toward literature and brings to mind the controversy over the eight essays and the statement that uta *(*waka *poems) are of no help in promoting good government. Although Motoori's answer to the question reveals his familiarity with Arimaro's arguments, he also introduces a distinctive note.*

ANSWER: This is incorrect. The basic function of the *uta* is not to assist in government, nor is it intended to improve the person. It is the outward expression of thoughts in the mind and nothing else. Undoubtedly some poems do help in government, and others serve as a lesson to the people. Some poems also are harmful to the country and do damage to the person. These effects surely depend on the particular poem produced by the mind of a particular person. A poem can be

> used for evil or for good; it can be used to express excitement, depression, grief, joy, or any other mood. . . . And moreover, if you wonder why there are so few poems with a didactic message and so many about love, it is because that is the area in which the true nature of poetry is naturally expressed. No emotion is as powerful as love, and it is precisely because every single person wants to be successful in love that there are so many poems on the subject. Few sages in the world are so given to improving themselves and obtaining the good that they think exclusively about didactic matters; that is why there are so few didactic poems.

The key expression in Motoori's aesthetic judgments is mono no aware. *The word* aware *was found in the* Man'yōshū *as an expression of wonder or awe. Motoori defined the word in terms of its original meaning.*

When we speak of knowing *mono no aware*, we refer to the cry of wonder that comes to our lips when our mind is moved by the realization that something we have seen, heard, or touched is *aware*. Even in our common speech today, people say *aa* or *hare*. When they have been impressed by the sight of the moon or the cherry blossoms, they say, "*Aa*, what splendid blossoms!" or "*Hare*, what a lovely moon." *Aware* is the combination of the two cries of *aa* and *hare*.

One is moved because one has recognized *mono no aware*. This means, for example, if something joyous makes us feel happy, it is because we have recognized the joyful nature of the thing. . . .

The true feelings of people are awkward and untidy. Suppose a beloved child dies—surely there would be no difference in the depth of grief of the father and mother. But the father would pretend this was not so, even as the mother, overcome by lamentations, is blinded by her tears. Why should this be the case? The mother, unable to conceal her true feelings, expresses them exactly as they are. The father unavoidably must worry about how he appears in others' eyes, and he will control or suppress his emotions for fear that people will think him softhearted. He will not shed a single tear, nor will he reveal on his face the terrible grief he feels in his heart but will present a picture of noble resignation. The mother's appearance will be unseemly, distraught, and disheveled. But this is what is meant by showing feelings as they actually are. The father's appearance is indeed masculine and severe, and it is admirable that he manages somehow not to appear distraught, but these are not his true feelings. . . . One may see, then, that the real appearance of human emotions is frail, untidy, and foolish. And since poetry is something that describes feelings, it is fitting that it should accord with one's feelings and also be untidy, clumsy, and frail. . . .

When a man who knows *mono no aware* encounters something that is *aware*, he may try not to think about it, but he cannot prevent himself from feeling the *aware*. It is like a man with good hearing who, though he tries not to hear

the thunder, hears it and is afraid. . . . The words that naturally burst forth when the poet is unable to resist *aware* inevitably multiply and become decorated and eventually form themselves into a poem. . . .

A poem is not merely something composed to describe one's feelings when one can no longer bear the *mono no aware*. When one's feelings are extremely deep, one's heart still feels dissatisfied and unresigned, even after having composed a poem. In order to feel comfort, one must read the poem to someone else. If the other person hearing the poem finds it has *aware*, this will greatly comfort the poet. . . . Even though reading one's poem to someone else brings no material advantage to either the listener or the poet, it is quite natural that the poet feels compelled to read it aloud to another person. And since this is the intent of poetry, it is a basic principle and not an accident that poems must be heard by others. Someone who does not understand this might say that a true poem describes one's emotions exactly as they are, whether bad or good, and it has nothing to do with whether or not people hear it. Such an argument sounds plausible, but it betrays ignorance of the true meaning of poetry.

[Adapted from Keene, *Dawn to the West*, pp. 322–26]

GOOD AND EVIL IN THE TALE OF GENJI

THE EXQUISITE COMB (TAMA NO OGUSHI)

Before Norinaga became involved in the National Learning movement, he devoted himself to studying Japanese literature, and his interpretation provided the basis for much of his later thought. The following selections from *The Exquisite Comb*, a study of Lady Murasaki's *Tale of Genji*, reveal his view of the novel as a record of human experience as we find it, not necessarily as we wish it to be. It is just such a realistic appreciation of the emotional life of man that confirms *The Tale of Genji* as one of the greatest expressions of the Japanese spirit and provides a key to all that is true and best in the Japanese national life.

There have been many interpretations over the years of the purpose of this tale. But all these interpretations have been based not on a consideration of the nature of the novel itself but, rather, on the novel as seen from the point of view of Confucian and Buddhist works, and thus they do not represent the author's true purpose. To seize on an occasional similarity in sentiment or a chance correspondence in ideas with Confucian and Buddhist works, and to generalize about the nature of the tale as a whole, is unwarranted. The general appeal of this tale is very different from that of such didactic works. [p. 472]

Good and evil as found in this tale do not correspond to good and evil as found in Confucian and Buddhist writings. . . . Good and evil extend to all realms. Even for human beings, good and evil are not necessarily limited to

their thinking and conduct. Rank and position imply good and evil; thus, the noble person is regarded as good, the lowly as bad. In *The Tale of Genji*, persons of high rank are spoken of as good, while in common parlance there are such expressions as "of good family" and "of good or bad standing." Likewise, we speak of good or bad features of one's face. Again, longevity, wealth, and prosperity all are good things, and short life, poverty, failure, loss of material things, illness, and disaster all are bad things. In addition to these strictly human aspects of good and evil, there is good and evil in such things as dress, furniture, housing, and, in fact, all things. Thus, it is not only in the psychological and ethical realms of life that we find good and evil. Again, good and evil are not constant—they change according to time and circumstance. For example, an arrow is good if it penetrates its object, while armor is good if it is impenetrable. In the heat of a summer day, coolness is good, while in the cold of winter, heat is good. For the man walking on the road at night, darkness is bad, but for the one trying to conceal himself, moonlight is bad. In such a way all things may be good or bad. Thus too the good and bad in man's mind and in his acts may not be as opposed to each other as they seem: they differ according to the doctrines that one follows. What Confucianism deems good, Buddhism may not; and what Buddhism considers good, Confucianism may regard as evil. Likewise, references to good and evil in *The Tale of Genji* may not correspond to Confucian or Buddhist concepts of good and evil. Then, what is good or evil in the realm of human psychology and ethics according to *The Tale of Genji*? Generally speaking, those who know the meaning of the sorrow of human existence, that is, those who are in sympathy and harmony with human sentiments, are regarded as good; and those who are not aware of the poignancy of human existence, that is, those who are not in sympathy and harmony with human sentiments, are regarded as bad. Regarded in this light, good and evil in *The Tale of Genji* may not appear to be especially different from that in Confucianism or Buddhism. However, if you examine it closely, you will see that there are many points of difference, as, for example, in the statement about being or not being in harmony with human sentiment. *The Tale of Genji* presents even good and evil in gentle and calm terms, unlike the intense, compelling, dialectical manner of Confucian writings.

Since the object of novels is teaching the meaning of the nature of human existence, their plots contain many points contrary to Confucian and Buddhist teaching. This is because among the varied feelings of man's reaction to things—whether good, bad, right, or wrong—are feelings contrary to reason, however improper they may be. Man's feelings do not always follow the dictates of his mind. They arise in man in spite of himself and are difficult to control. In the instance of Prince Genji, his interest in and a rendezvous with Utsusemi, Oborozukiyo, and the consort Fujitsubo are acts of extraordinary iniquity and immorality according to the Confucian and Buddhist points of view. It would be difficult to call Prince Genji a good man, however numerous his other good

qualities. But *The Tale of Genji* does not dwell on his iniquitous and immoral acts but, rather, recites over and over again his profound awareness of the sorrow of existence and represents him as a good man who combines in himself all good things in man. . . .

For all that, *The Tale of Genji* does not regard Genji's misdeeds as good. The evil nature of his acts is obvious and need not be restated here. Besides, there is a type of writing whose purpose is the consideration of such evils—in fact, there are quite a few such writings—and an objective story therefore need not be used for such a purpose. The novel is neither like the Buddhist Way, which teaches man how to achieve enlightenment without deviating from the right way, nor like the Confucian Way, which teaches man how to govern the country or to regulate his home or his conduct. It is simply a tale of human life that leaves aside and does not profess to take up at all the questions of good and bad and that dwells only on the goodness of those who are aware of the sorrow of human existence. The purpose of *The Tale of Genji* may be likened to the man who, loving the lotus flower, must collect and store muddy and foul water in order to plant and cultivate it. The impure mud of illicit love affairs described in *The Tale of Genji* is there not for the purpose of being admired but for the purpose of nurturing the flower of the awareness of the sorrow of human existence. Prince Genji's conduct is like the lotus flower, which is happy and fragrant but which has its roots in muddy water. But *The Tale of Genji* does not dwell on the impurity of the water; it dwells only on those who are sympathetically kind and who are aware of the sorrow of human existence, and it holds these feelings to be the basis of the good man. [pp. 486–88]

[*Motoori Norinaga zenshū*, vol. 7, pp. 472–88; RT]

HIRATA ATSUTANE

If we credit Motoori Norinaga with having made National Learning a subject worthy of a great scholar's attention and thereby having given the reconstituted Shinto "tradition" the authority of a sacred canon, it remained for Hirata Atsutane (1776–1843) to popularize Shinto nativism by asserting the singular supremacy of Japan, its culture, Way, and people.

Little is known of Atsutane's early years. He ran away from his home in the north of Japan at the age of nineteen and made his way to Edo, where for several years he apparently eked out a hand-to-mouth existence with menial jobs. In 1801 he became interested in National Learning, although too late to have met Norinaga, who died a few months earlier that year. This, however, did not deter Atsutane from claiming Norinaga's posthumous benediction, which Atsutane insisted the late master had conferred on him in a dream.

Atsutane's focus on Shinto can also be regarded as an extension of trends evident in eighteenth-century Shinto theology. The emphasis in National

Learning on the value of an ancient Way in Japan and the dangers of the Chinese sage and his Ways accorded with the theological formulations of such Shinto priests as Yoshimi Yukikazu (1673–1761) and Matsuoka Yūen (1701–1783). The eighteenth century had its own Shinto purist and popularizer in Masuho Zankō (1655–1742), who tried to disentangle the teachings regarding the *kami* from non-Japanese accretions. Indeed, much of what has been understood in modern times as "Shinto" can be traced to Norinaga's imaginative reconstruction of ancient Shinto, which he claimed to have found in the *Kojiki*, and Hirata Atsutane's popularization of this creed. Atsutane was willing to look anywhere for support of his doctrines, which made him more open to foreign ideas than was either Kamo no Mabuchi or Motoori Norinaga. For example, although Atsutane was at pains to revile the nations of the West as, like all nations, inferior to Japan, he also expressed admiration for Western science. He was fascinated by what he knew of Western astronomy, at least partially because of its heliocentric congruence with Shinto cosmogony. No less remarkable was Atsutane's liberal use of Christian theology. Christian writings had been banned in Japan for nearly two centuries, but Atsutane obtained copies of at least three Chinese works written by Catholic missionaries in Beijing. In one early essay, he adapted arguments advanced by the Jesuit priest Matteo Ricci in support of Christianity against Confucianism in such a way that they became arguments for the supremacy of Shinto. Elsewhere, Atsutane also turned to Confucianism, Daoism, and even Buddhism (which he detested), for ammunition in his battle on behalf of Shinto.

At times, xenophobia and hucksterism can be detected in Atsutane's arguments. For example, he interrogated individuals who claimed to have visited the moon when traveling to the stars or to have lived among mountain elves, noting with satisfaction any instance he could construe as supporting Shinto teachings. He declared that the Japanese had had writing before its introduction from China and produced as evidence a script that later proved to be the fifteenth-century Korean alphabet. The fact that ancient Japanese chronicles made no mention of the Flood, mentioned so prominently in both the Bible and early Chinese writings, led Atsutane to assert that its absence was proof of Japan's having been created first (and thereby highest), unlike the inundated countries.

ON JAPANESE LEARNING

People commonly speak of "learning" as if all learning were one and the same; in fact, however, there are many different kinds of learning, each of which is centered on one particular discipline. Japanese learning itself may be divided into some seven or eight categories, the most important of which is Shinto, the Way of the Gods. We may also mention the study of poetry; the study of the

legal code; the study of *The Tales of Ise* or *The Tale of Genji*, to which some scholars devote their chief attention; and the study of history, which deals with the events of the successive reigns of emperors. These various disciplines may in turn be divided into smaller groupings. Chinese studies, to which the Confucian scholars devote themselves, has its schools, and Buddhism is divided into sects. In the study of astronomy and geography known as *rangaku*, which is the learning of Holland, and in medicine there also are schools, both traditional and Dutch. We can see how many types of learning are to be found.

If we asked which of them were the greatest, we must answer, though it may seem slightly presumptuous, that no learning can equal that of Japan. It is easy to see why this is true. The Confucians learn the Four Books and the Five Classics or the Thirteen Classics and similar books. Having once perfunctorily run their eyes over the pages of these works and learned how to compose a bit of poetry and prose in Chinese, they qualify as Confucian scholars. It is really not very difficult to read so limited a number of books and to acquire the rudimentary knowledge of Chinese composition that they possess. And yet this is the general level of those who pass for Confucian scholars.

Compared with these Confucian scholars, the Buddhist monks have a much broader learning, for they are required to read the more than five thousand volumes of the canon, enough books to make at least seven pack loads for a strong horse. Even assuming that they do not read the entire collection but only a tenth of it, this still amounts to at least twice what the Confucian scholars are supposed to read. Moreover, since it is not considered a defect in a Confucian scholar if he neglects to read Buddhist books, he naturally never does, with some very rare exceptions. The Buddhists, however, must study Confucian books from their childhood days in order to learn Chinese characters, and they write Chinese prose and poetry just as Confucian scholars do.

Buddhist learning is thus broader in scope than Confucian, but Japanese learning is even more embracing. All the various types of learning, including Confucianism and Buddhism, are joined in Japanese learning, just as the many rivers flow into the sea where their waters are joined. Because of the diversity and number of the different parts of Japanese learning, people are often bewildered and at a loss to evaluate it. Therefore, unless we can distinguish accurately the elements making up this vast amalgam of learning, the excellence of the true Way will remain obscure. . . . We must be aware of such matters in order to appreciate the pure and righteous Way of Japan. Japanese should study all the different kinds of learning—even if they are foreign—so that they can choose the good features of each and place them at the service of the nation. We may properly speak not only of Chinese but even of Indian and Dutch learning as Japanese learning: this fact should be understood by all Japanese who delve into foreign studies.

[*Hirata Atsutane zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 5–7; RT]

THE LAND OF THE GODS

People all over the world refer to Japan as the Land of the Gods and call us the descendants of the gods. Indeed, it is exactly as they say: as a special mark of favor from the heavenly gods, they gave birth to our country, and thus there is so immense a difference between Japan and all the other countries of the world as to defy comparison. Ours is a splendid and blessed country, the Land of the Gods beyond any doubt, and we, down to the most humble man and woman, are the descendants of the gods. Nevertheless, unhappily many people do not understand why Japan is the Land of the Gods and we their descendants. . . . Is this not a lamentable state of affairs? Japanese differ completely from and are superior to the peoples of China, India, Russia, Holland, Siam, Cambodia, and all other countries of the world, and for us to have called our country the Land of the Gods was not mere vanity. It was the gods who formed all the lands of the world at the Creation, and these gods were, without exception, born in Japan. Japan is thus the homeland of the gods, and that is why we call it the Land of the Gods. This is a matter of universal belief and is quite beyond dispute. Even in countries to which our ancient traditions have not been transmitted, the peoples recognize Japan as a divine land because of the majestic influence that emanates from our country. In the olden days when Korea was divided into three kingdoms, we heard reports of how splendid, miraculous, and blessed a land Japan was, and because Japan lies to the east of Korea, they said in awe and reverence, "To the East is a divine land, called the Land of the Rising Sun." Word of this eventually spread all over the world, and now people everywhere refer to Japan as the Land of the Gods, whether or not they know why this is true.

[*Kōdō taii*, in *Hirata Atsutane zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 22–23; RT]

THE CREATOR GOD

The men of the countries of Europe sail at will around the globe in ships that recognize no frontiers. In Holland, one of the countries of Europe (though a small one), they consider astronomy and geography to be the most important subjects of study because unless a ship's captain is well versed in these sciences, it is impossible for him to sail as he chooses to all parts of the world. Moreover, the Dutch have the excellent national characteristic of investigating matters with great patience until they can get to the very bottom. To help them in such research, they have devised surveying instruments as well as telescopes and helioscopes with which to examine the sun, moon, and stars. They have devised other instruments to ascertain the size and proximity of the heavenly bodies. It may take five or ten years or even a whole lifetime for such research to be completed; when problems cannot be solved in one lifetime, scholars write

down their own findings and leave the solution for their children, grandchildren, and disciples to discover, though it may require generations.

With their scientific instruments the Dutch attempt to determine the properties of things. Unlike China, Holland is a splendid country where they do not rely on superficial conjectures. When the Dutch come across matters that they cannot understand, no matter how much they may ponder over them, they say that these are things beyond the knowing of human beings and belong to *Gotto* [God] and that only with divine powers can such matters be comprehended. The Dutch thus never resort to wild conjectures. Their findings, which are the result of the efforts of hundreds of people studying scientific problems for a thousand, even two thousand years, have been incorporated in books that have been presented to Japan. I have seen them, and that is how I happen to be able to write about them.

[*Kōdō taii*, in *Hirata Atsutane zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 53; RT]

ANCIENT JAPANESE ETHICS

Let me present a few of the arguments offered by scholars of Chinese learning. First of all, we may cite Dazai Jun [Shundai], who wrote in *Book on Instruction* (*Bendōsho*),

> In Japan there was originally no such thing as a Way. Proof of this is the fact that no native Japanese words exist for the concepts of humaneness, rightness, decorum, music, filial piety, and fraternal affection. There certainly must have been a Japanese word for everything that originally existed in Japan, and the absence of such terms proves that the concepts were lacking.

This opinion, shocking though it is, is not confined to this particular Confucian scholar. Far from it—the majority of the Confucian pedants and other scholars partial to things Chinese are overjoyed and infatuated with the idea that China possesses the teachings of a Way, and [they] proclaim that in ancient Japan there were no teachings like those of China. But however much they may heap indignation on Japan, all that they assert is utterly in error. Humaneness, rightness, filial piety, and the rest all are principles governing the proper conduct of man. If they are always automatically observed and never violated, it is unnecessary to teach them. If they are the invariable standard of behavior, what need is there for a "Way?". . .

The ancient Japanese all correctly and consciously practiced what the Chinese called humaneness, rightness, the Five Cardinal Virtues, and the rest, without having any need to name them or teach them. There was thus no necessity for anything to be especially constituted as a Way. This is the essen-

tially Japanese quality of Japan, and one in which we may see a magnificent example of Japan's superiority to all other countries of the world. In China, as I already have frequently mentioned, there were evil customs from the very outset, and human behavior, far from being proper, was extremely licentious. That is why so many sages appeared in ancient times to guide and instruct the Chinese. . . . From this we may see that the very fact that in ancient Japan there was no Way is the most praiseworthy feature of the nation and that it is the shame of a country if it had to invent a Way to guide the people.

[*Hirata Atsutane zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 96–97; RT]

THE ART OF MEDICINE

The art of medicine, though introduced to Japan from abroad, appears originally to have been taught to foreign countries by our own great gods. Later, because of the special needs it meets, this art came to be widely practiced in Japan, and although it may be said to have once been of foreign origin, we are not obliged to dislike it for that reason. Nevertheless it is true that the art of medicine developed to such a high degree in China by way of a quite natural reaction to the rampant and pernicious maladies that resulted from the evil character of the country itself. Since middle antiquity, the spread in Japan of Confucianism and Buddhism, both exceedingly troublesome doctrines, has worsened and confused men's minds, and as a result of the attendant increase in the number of things to worry about, various maladies that were unknown in ancient times have become prevalent. The Chinese methods of treatment were perfectly suited to deal with such maladies and are therefore now in general employ. Just as in countries where there are numerous bandits the government enacts strict laws to punish them, when pernicious maladies are first detected, people knowledgeable about medicine appear to combat them. In countries where there are many doctors, there also are many deadly sicknesses, and as the doctors gradually grow more proficient, the sicknesses become proportionately more difficult to cure.

[*Hirata Atsutane zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 22; RT]

ŌKUNI TAKAMASA

Ōkuni Takamasa (1792–1871) shared much with Hirata Atsutane regarding Shinto and a nativist disdain for the foreign, and yet by not turning to the past for his model, Takamasa was able to argue for certain forms of accommodation and to anticipate the language of Emperor Meiji's Charter Oath of April 1868. One can discern in Takamasa's writings an effort to engage the West intellectually and spiritually on terms favorable to Japan. For example, in his *New True International Law* (*Shinshin kōhōron*) of 1867, Takamasa describes the concept

of international law as a seventeenth-century invention of the West to counter cultural and diplomatic Sinocentrism. Just as he intended knowledge of the West to help defend against the West, he argued for opening Japan now in order for it to respond to the West later on Japan's own terms.

THE NEW TRUE INTERNATIONAL LAW (SHINSHIN KŌHŌRON)

In Holland there was a man by the name of Hugo [Grotius (1583–1645)], who founded a system of learning called international law. It appears that the discipline was developed in various nations of the Western world; there certainly are many there who now teach it. It is my view that it owes its origins to Westerners' dislike for the Chinese practice of dividing the world into "flowering center" and "barbaric periphery," with all its implications for the Chinese revering China alone and despising all other nations. International law was the foreigner's reaction to this practice.

From an early period, there were in China, I hear, Christian scholars who dismissed as "national theorizing" the Chinese practice of calling their ruler the "Son of Heaven." I made a similar point at the end of my essay "Discussion on Shintō" (Shintō yōron). I explained there that in the Fourth Age of the Gods, when the two deities Onamuchi and Sukunahikona were traveling hither and yon, our theories [of nation building] reached China. It was under this [Japanese] influence, I argued, that the Chinese came to call their own kings "Sons of Heaven." Many Japanese today follow Chinese Confucianism. They typically confuse center with periphery, and they are wrong to do so. Some even believe that the Japanese practice of calling the Japanese emperor "Son of Heaven" or "descendant of heaven" is derived from the Chinese. This is not the case, however. It is an ancient tradition in Japan to call our emperor the child of Heaven or a descendant of Heaven. The Chinese practice is derivative and distorted. We know that there is but one true emperor on this earth, and that it is our emperor.

The new Western discipline of international law is not *true* international law, either. We should think of Western international law as a precursor of *true* international law, which will arise in this great nation of Japan and eventually extend to all nations.

In recent years, foreign scholars have been coming to Japan. This is an opportunity for us to toughen our moral fiber; it is surely incumbent on us to bear witness to the [great] ancient words and deeds of our nation. At the same time, however, we must learn about Western nations and engage in discourse with foreigners themselves. In Japanese learning of recent years, scholars have been vying with one another to praise things foreign, but they are at a loss as to what to say when faced with a foreigner. Among those now living in Japan,

there are bound to be experts in international law. It is imperative that we prepare to face them. I should thus like to comment now on those aspects of Japan's learning that we should expose in our discourse with foreigners.

Foreigners are bound to say this: "All nations must conform to international law simply because there exists no single ruler over all the nations of the world. I hear that in Japan you have Shinto, but that this is a 'national' teaching confined to Japan. It is not worth listening to. You must have a change of heart and follow the international law."

The Japanese should reply along these lines:

> There is none yet in Japan who can expound the truths of Japanese Shinto. We have no response, therefore, to your challenge that it is merely a "national" theory. However, the deity we know as Ame-no-minaka-nushi no kami is precisely the deity you in the West call the Lord of Heaven. The deities we know as Takami-musu-bi no kami and Kamu-musu-bi no kami are what the Chinese refer to as their creator deities. The Lord of Heaven and the Creator instructed Izanagi no mikoto and Izanami no mikoto to give birth to all the nations on earth. Izanagi no mikoto is the spirit of the sun, who temporarily adopted the form of a man and from heaven bestowed the seeds of creation. Izanami no mikoto is the spirit of the earth, who, temporarily adopting the form of a woman, actually gave birth to all the nations and all living things on this earth. She created the other nations first and Japan last. The countries created first were the result of "the woman having spoken first"; they are thus topsy-turvy.[19] Japan, created later once order was restored, was a country of superior birth, however. That is why, while other countries lacked a settled royal lineage, the lineage of Japan has never wavered from the Age of the Gods to the present day. Thus it is that we hold Japan to be the center and noble and other nations, the periphery and base. This is our ancient tradition. The proofs emerge yearly, monthly, and daily.

To assert this is by no means like the Chinese boasting of their country as the center and despising all others. Our ancient tradition is the true international law; we cannot accept as true the international law that has arisen in the West.

I find it unacceptable to say that because there is no overall ruler in the world, all nations should abide by international law. There are good and bad

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19. This is a reference to the creation passage in the *Nihon shoki*, in which, just before the union of Izanami, the female creator deity, and Izanagi, the male creator deity, the former had spoken first (de Bary et al., eds., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, pp. 13–15). The product of this first union, according to the *Nihon shoki*, was a leech. Izanami was reprimanded by the deities in heaven for having destroyed the correct order of things, and the two deities "reunited." Ōkuni offers here a thorough reinterpretation of this passage.

people; everybody respects the good, and everybody despises the bad. There are good and bad, noble and base countries, too. This explains, of course, why Westerners have adapted the practice of granting "titles" to nations: "imperial" nations, "royal" nations, "noble" nations, and so forth. The nations of the world should, therefore, select the best among those of "imperial" rank, style it a "greater imperial nation," and revere its ruler as the greatest ruler of all the world. Among the nations bearing the title "imperial," it is Japan alone whose emperor's rule extends from the Age of the Gods. What could be more natural, then, than to elevate the Japanese emperor to a position of "greater emperor" and have all nations revere him? It remains, however, that knowledge of the Japanese imperial line has yet to reach other nations, and they are bound to reject all this as "national theorizing." We have no choice but to wait for the day when all nations acknowledge this truth.

We should not, in any case, countenance attempts by foreigners with whom we have signed treaties to have the emperor communicate directly and on equal terms with the sovereigns of other countries, thus relegating the shogun to a position of imperial vassal. The emperor must be kept apart as the object of veneration. It would be appropriate for [foreign diplomats] to deal on equal terms with the shogun. All this will come to pass, and when it does, it will be due to the subtle workings of the Ruler of Heaven and the Creator. The Japanese must adhere strictly to this idea and brook no compromise. The nobility of our emperor is greater by far; he should not be placed on equal footing with foreign royalty. The fact that people throughout Japan believe this to be true is, by itself, something made possible by the laws of Heaven-and-earth, the "good laws" of Japan. I refer specifically to the Nakatomi Ritual (Nakatomi no harae), which has this to say: "The deities that reside in Takamagahara, with whom the sovereign is 'intimate,' Kamurogi no mikoto and Kamuromi no mikoto. . . ."[20]

This is not merely Japan's "good law;" it is, rather, the true law that will spread to all nations on the earth.

In foreign nations, theories about Heaven are little advanced; in Japan they have been handed down in the most detailed form. Ame-no-minaka-nushi no kami is the supreme object of veneration and so must be left out of consideration. We on this earth should venerate Amaterasu as the "Ruler of Heaven." What is important to realize is that the Ruler of Heaven and the Creator put their minds together, sent Ninigi no mikoto down to Japan, and made him lord of the land. Their plan was that after the people's hearts had been pacified, he and his descendants would be revered as supreme rulers of the world. The people of the distant lands, those lands that we call Western or "barbarian"

20. The Nakatomi no harae, a prayer used on the occasion of such major imperial rituals as the Daijōsai, is in volume 8 of the *Engishiki*, a fifty-volume compilation of the laws relating to court ritual dating from the early Heian period (794–1185).

lands, do not yet know the ancient truths. This, too, is part of the secret heavenly plan of the Ruler of Heaven and the Creator, whose firm intention it is to eventually elevate Japan to the rank of greater imperial nation. Japanese must not lose sight of this truth and must ensure that we do not regard kings of foreign countries as equal to our emperor.

A certain warrior questioned my true international law. He had this to say: Chinese sages are truly deserving of reverence, and barbarians should be attacked. We are falling into the clutches of the barbarians, and we should be weeping and wailing. Instead, you are telling me we should be rejoicing. How can this be? To copy everything from China and to say that a country like ours is superior to China, that it is the supreme nation on earth, has no basis in fact. Rather than flattering Japan, we should have a change of heart and recommend to the powers-that-be a policy of forcefully expelling the barbarians. Each person should sacrifice himself and display unflinching loyalty to the nation.

My reply was this: My friend, you do not know the facts about ancient Japan; nor do you know the facts about the West. You have read into the books of the Chinese sages; you have inherited the corrupt views of Confucians prevalent in recent years, and you believe that there is nothing in the world to compare with them. You should not speak up until you have learned about the words and the deeds of the ancients of Japan, or until you are more familiar with works from all over the world, including China. You must better acquaint yourself with the profound learning of the deities and the theories of the sages; you must read exhaustively in history, too. When it comes to the present issue of expelling barbarians, even great leaders must not act on their instincts. It is crucial to realize just how difficult the barbarian expulsion of the lesser variety would be. In the world there are things that are meant to be and those that are not. It is, of course, noble of a warrior to devote himself with total passion to a cause he knows is doomed. Kusunoki father and son are a case in point.[21] But the issues of today are not like those of that age; nor are they comparable to the age of Yue Fei in Song China.[22] You must know that the court, and Heaven too, permitted trade as the first phase in barbarian expulsion of the greater variety. It would have been useless for someone of my lowly status to have addressed my superiors on this matter. It would have been pointless, too, for me to have sacrificed myself for this. The leader must first be enlightened and distance himself from the Confucians, for whom all foreign nations are inferior; he must thwart Western international law; he must take heed from the ancient

21. Both Kusunoki Masashige (1294–1336) and his son, Masatsura (1326–1348), dedicated themselves to the lost cause of Emperor Go-Daigo (r. 1318–1339).

22. Yue Fei (1103–1141) was the great Song general who, when serving Emperor Gaozong (1127–1162), won notable successes against the Jurchen occupying North China. Even so, he was executed as a result of political intrigue at court.

tradition of this great nation of Japan and lend his support to the great task of elevating our nation to a position above all others on earth.

You are a bold warrior, and you should understand it is important for you to become a shield for the emperor and his vassals. Be cautious always, look after yourself well, and prepare for self-sacrifice in the event that foreign nations do launch an attack.

All people born in Japan, be they Confucian, Buddhist, or Western scholars, should know that the emperor, being the descendant of the Ruler of Heaven, rules the world for eternity. They must look forward to the time when the whole world is under his sway, and they should rejoice. When that time comes, there will be many surprised to discover belatedly that the words of me, Takamasa, were not incorrect.

[Adapted from Breen, trans., "New True International Law," pp. 233–45]

Chapter 33

BUDDHISM IN THE TOKUGAWA PERIOD

No student of Japanese culture and religion can fail to be impressed by the consensus that has prevailed regarding the character of Buddhism in the Tokugawa period (1600–1868). For generations, both Japanese and Western scholars have depicted the religion in these centuries as having entered an era of sharp decline. Although the first expressions of this view can be traced back to the Tokugawa period itself, modern Japanese scholars have generally agreed that while limited activity could be seen in such areas as sectarian scholarship, clerical discipline, and apologetics, Tokugawa Buddhism generally was a formalized, lifeless religion led by a degenerate clergy.

Even though this chapter somewhat contradicts this characterization of Tokugawa Buddhism, it must be acknowledged that the established view is not without some basis in fact. In the Tokugawa period, Buddhism did indeed lose the dominant position it had maintained in Japanese religious and intellectual history shortly after its introduction into the country in the sixth century C.E. Neo-Confucianism now attracted many of the best minds of the age, its political and social theories appealing especially, though by no means exclusively, to the leadership of the ruling samurai, or warrior, class. By the late seventeenth century, Neo-Confucianism, which from the start was opposed to Buddhism, had become the dominant ideology. The revival of interest in Shinto, championed by the National Learning scholars, was hardly less critical of Buddhism. To be sure, most Japanese continued, as they had done for centuries, to embrace a

Buddhist-based syncretism that included elements of Shinto and Confucianism, but never before in Japanese history had Buddhism been placed so broadly on the intellectual defensive.

In addition, Buddhism faced internal problems that eroded its religious integrity, problems of a marked decline in discipline within the clergy and of an entrenched and divisive sectarianism. Neither of these issues was entirely new to Japanese Buddhism. Moral laxity within the clergy had been a problem to one degree or another in every age, and sectarianism—though having no intrinsic relationship to the phenomenon of religious decline—had a history that stretched as far back as the Heian period (794–1185), with the rise of the Shingon and Tendai sects.

Both the laxity in discipline and the sectarianism were accentuated by circumstances unique to the Tokugawa period and, in particular, by policies adopted by the Tokugawa military government (*bakufu*). Having come to power after more than a century of civil war, in which not only great feudal lords but even certain Buddhist institutions had played a prominent role, the Tokugawa shoguns tried to assert their unquestioned authority over every segment of the reunified feudal society they inherited. To prevent interference from without, they expelled the Christian missionaries who had been arriving since the mid-sixteenth century and, in 1641, sealed off the country, leaving only the port of Nagasaki open to a few Chinese and Dutch traders. At the same time, the shoguns adopted a variety of domestic policies that reflect this same desire for tighter control.

Among the measures that contributed to the decline in clerical discipline was the *terauke*, or "temple registration" system. Instituted by the *bakufu* as part of its program to stamp out Christianity, as well as to aid generally in the monitoring of population movements, the *terauke* system eventually required every Japanese family to register at a Buddhist temple as proof that its members had no Christian affiliation. This system dramatically increased the number of Buddhist parishioners—especially in the Pure Land, True Pure Land, Nichiren, and Zen sects—and was the commencement of an era of financial stability and even wealth for numerous Buddhist temples. Despite enjoying both political backing and relative economic security, a significant number of the clergy appear to have lost sight of their religious calling, the worst (as the popular novelist Ihara Saikaku [1642–1693] delighted in pointing out) giving themselves over to the satisfaction of their material and prurient desires.

Government policy also accentuated the already highly sectarian character of Japanese Buddhism. Stimulating this development was the *bakufu*'s decree that each sect organize its temples along strict hierarchical lines. In this arrangement, known as the main temple/branch temple (*honmatsu*) system, each sect had a relatively few main temples (*honji*), under which other temples associated with the sect were ranked as branch temples (*matsuji*). The government recognized the special authority of the main temples in managing the

affairs of its branches, and by keeping a close watch over the main temples, it was able to control the entire temple system.

Still further reinforcing Buddhist sectarianism was the government's policy of encouraging the scholarly pursuits of the clergy while forbidding it from advocating heretical doctrines or criticizing the doctrines of rival sects. The intent of these directives was, on the one hand, to put the clergy on notice that scholarship—not politics—was its proper sphere of activity and, on the other, to suppress doctrinal disputes, which had been a major cause of instability in the Buddhist community both before and during the Tokugawa era. These policies did lead to a profusion of Buddhist scholarship during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but on the whole it was a conservative brand of scholarship dominated by narrow sectarian concerns.

Recent scholarship has brought out more positive aspects of Tokugawa-period Buddhism. New interest has been shown in Buddhism's role in the formation of early Tokugawa ideology, in its place in the social history of the period, and in its continuing influence in literature and the arts. Researchers in both Japan and the West have also brought to light leading practitioners of Buddhism who spoke to the new situation in which the religion found itself. In this chapter we give five such examples. We cannot say that they represent a concerted or consistent movement, but together they demonstrate that Buddhism had the resources to regenerate itself, maintain certain vital continuities, and, through self-critical reexamination and reform, renew its own religious life.

SUZUKI SHŌSAN

The teaching and writings of Suzuki Shōsan (1579–1655) constitute an original Buddhist response to the era of peace initiated by the triumph of Tokugawa Ieyasu. Although not an influential thinker, Shōsan represents an age that seemed to offer new opportunities to everyone. He is particularly noted for having recognized merchants' contribution to society.

Shōsan was born into a samurai family in Mikawa, also Ieyasu's home province. His father was a minor vassal of the Tokugawa house, and Shōsan himself fought at the battle of Sekigahara (1600) and the siege of Osaka (1615). In 1621 he became a Zen monk. He seems to have remained fiercely independent of both the Rinzai and the Sōtō school of Zen, although he sympathized with Sōtō.

In a world in which Confucianism, with its emphasis on society and statecraft, was beginning to overshadow Buddhism, Shōsan argued that only Buddhism could give Japan the lasting benefits of peace. The Buddhism that he meant was his own teaching, and his single-mindedness on the issue resembled that of Nichiren. Shōsan's great mission, as he saw it, was to have the shogun

proclaim Buddhism (Shōsan's Buddhism) as the faith and, above all, the practice of Japan.

Although Shōsan's teaching had an individual dimension centered on overcoming death, he insisted that practice to this end be carried out in society in accordance with one's inherited station in life, for the good of all. For this reason, he would not ordain anyone (even though he himself was ordained), and he strove to address his message to all social classes as they were then defined. He even described Buddhist monks as "officers" who properly served, in their own way, the interests of society as a whole. It was in this spirit that he addressed samurai, farmers, artisans, and merchants in his best-known work, *Right Action for All* (*Banmin tokuyō*).

RIGHT ACTION FOR ALL (*BANMIN TOKUYŌ*)

In *Right Action for All*, Buddhism converges with attitudes more commonly associated with general Confucianism, particularly its insistence on the selfless performance of one's duty to society. For samurai, Suzuki Shōsan recommended his own, strenuously energetic practice, and for the other classes he urged the easier and more accessible practice of the *nenbutsu* (calling the name of Amida Buddha). In Japan, the *nenbutsu* does not properly belong to Zen practice, but Shōsan had no interest in making that sort of distinction.

Prayers Regarding Practice

The Buddha-treasure, the Dharma-treasure, and the Sangha-treasure: he is not a monk who accepts these Three Treasures and still practices without the goal of giving generously to the people and making himself a treasure for the whole land. It is my prayer that you should preserve in your practice the aim of the Three Treasures.

The Buddha's teaching is the teaching of the attainment of Buddhahood. However, there [is] a right way and a wrong way to understand "attainment of Buddhahood.". . .

The practice of Buddha's teaching is the way of emancipation from the three worlds. Therefore a monk is said to have "left his home." He has not left his home who does not aim to emancipate himself from the three worlds. . . .

The Buddha's words teach that once one fully enters the world, he cannot leave it because there is nowhere left to go. This statement signifies that it is by the world's teaching that one attains Buddhahood. Thus the world's teaching is the Buddha's teaching. The Avatamsaka Sutra makes the following declaration: "The Buddha's teaching does not differ from the world's teaching.". . . If we do not proceed according to the principle that one achieves Buddhahood

by following the world's teaching, we are totally ignorant of the Buddha's intention. . . .

Now, the Buddha's teaching is one that destroys the evilness of men. Shall disciples of the Buddha not take that road? At present, however, practice capable of matching the Buddha's intention is rare. People dwell upon fame and fortune and take wrong paths. This is my prayer, and none other: that the Buddha's disciples should enter the true Way and lead sentient beings out of their bewilderment.

The Benefits of the Three Treasures in Action (Sanbō tokuyō)

The treasures of Buddha and Dharma:

1. to be employed in the exercise of martial courage. . . .
2. to be employed in regard to the laws of the land. . . .
3. to be employed in correctly following the way of the five relationships. . . .
4. to be employed in all the arts. . . .
5. to be employed in one's own profession. . . .
6. to be employed without hindrance from good or evil. . . .
7. to be employed in setting mind and body at ease. . . .
8. to be employed for the greatest good in all things. . . .
9. to cure the sicknesses of the mind. . . .
10. to dwell in the Pure Land of Supreme Bliss. . . .

Buddhist practice is to observe the precepts strictly, never opposing the teaching of the Buddha and of the patriarchs; to banish the mind warped and twisted, and to become of good mind; to clearly distinguish right from wrong, then to let right go; to practice only a morality without morality; and to lead all people, uprightly and with compassion, to enlightenment. This mind is the treasure to use in connection with the law.

Practice of Buddhism is to abandon self-preoccupation; to set the six harmonies in action, making no distinction between self and other; and to achieve integrity of mind, thus requiting, above, the four generosities, and saving, below, sentient beings in the three worlds. This mind is the treasure to use in the correct pursuit of the way of the five relationships.

Practice of Buddhism is to let go the mind of cleverness and discrimination, and thus to leave behind thoughts that cling to form; to reach the mind of selflessness; and to entrust yourself to things without any personal partiality whatever. This mind is the treasure to use in all the arts.

Practice of Buddhism is to erase the mind of evil desire. Here, there is no

more arrogance, flattery, covetousness, or seeking after fame and profit. This mind is the treasure to use in the trades and the professions. . . .

The Four Classes

FOR THE WARRIOR'S DAILY GUIDANCE

A warrior said, "You claim that the Buddha's teaching and the world's teaching are like the two wheels of a carriage. Even without the Buddha's teaching, though, the world would still lack nothing. Why then do you use the simile of the two wheels of a carriage?"

"The Buddha's teaching and the world's teaching are not two separate things," I replied. "The Buddha has said that if you fully enter the world, you cannot leave it because there is nowhere left to go. The Buddha's teaching and the world's teaching both establish the right and true, practice morality, and take the way of uprightness; that is all. As far as uprightness is concerned, there are the shallow level and the deep. Worldly uprightness, in my view, is to preserve morality without bending principle, to follow correctly the way of the five relationships, and not to be at odds with things but to have no personal bias at all. This is the road down which to proceed from shallow to deep. From the Buddhist standpoint, true uprightness is to realize that all conditioned things are lies, empty and illusory, and to act at one with the original Law Body (*dharmakaya*), the natural self-nature. . . .

"Methods of practice are infinitely diverse, but the main thing is simply to banish all thought of oneself. The source of suffering is the one thought 'I,' 'I.' To know that this is so, is right. To strive on this basis and to annihilate that one thought, with sincerely fierce courage, is exactly what is meant by moral conduct. . . ."

The very foundations of fierce courage [are]

1. Mounting guard over birth-and-death.
2. Acknowledging generosity.
3. Advancing to the front line of battle.
4. Acknowledging the principle of karma.
5. Perceiving illusion and transience.
6. Perceiving the impurity of this body.
7. Regretting the passing of time.
8. Having faith in the Three Treasures.
9. Offering this body up to one's lord.
10. Guarding oneself.
11. Being always ready to give up one's life.
12. Acknowledging one's own faults.

13. Feeling that one stands before a great personage or before one's lord.
14. Keeping to humanity and morality.
15. Keeping one's eyes upon the words of the Buddha and of the patriarchs.
16. Compassion and uprightness.
17. Keeping in mind the link with the one great matter (birth-and-death).

FOR THE FARMER'S DAILY GUIDANCE

A farmer said, "I do not neglect that great matter, my Rebirth, but I have no time, for work on the farm never lets up. It is a wretched way I have to make my living. This present life of mine is worthless, and suffering will be mine in the future. This distresses me very much. What can I do to attain realization?"

"Farm work is Buddhist practice," I replied. "It is misunderstanding that makes it menial work. When your faith is firm, it is the practice of a Bodhisattva. You are wrong to think you need leisure to pray for Rebirth. Those who insist upon attaining Buddhahood torment both body and mind in their quest, while those who pray for Rebirth will not reach Buddhahood in ten thousand eons. As you labor so painfully hard in burning heat and freezing cold, with spade, hoe, and sickle, take body and mind, where the passions grow so thick, as your enemy. While you hoe and reap, press the attack and press it again upon your mind, as you work. In any period of leisure the passions will grow thicker yet. When you work painfully hard as you assault body and mind, your mind is untroubled. Thus you do your Buddhist practice the year round. Why should a farmer prefer any other practice? A man can enter a monastery and worship all day long, but if he does not give up preoccupation with himself, everything he does will turn to the karma of transmigration, let him be as holy as he likes. To reach Buddhahood or to fall into hell, therefore, depends upon the mind and not upon the work. . . .

"To receive life as a farmer is to be an officer entrusted by heaven with the nourishment of the world. Give your body, therefore, utterly up to heaven, without the least thought for yourself. Work the fields in true service to Heaven's Way and celebrate, as you grow the five grains, the Buddhas and the kami. Make a great vow to give to all, yes, even to the very insects, and say Namu Amida Butsu, Namu Amida Butsu in time with the strokes of the hoe. . . ."

FOR THE ARTISAN'S DAILY GUIDANCE

An artisan said: "Enlightenment in the life to come is certainly important, but my trade leaves me no leisure. Day and night I do nothing but work at my living. How can I possibly reach realization?"

I replied: "All trades whatsoever are Buddhist practice. It is on the basis of men's actual work that Buddhahood is to be attained. Without smiths, carpenters, and all the other trades, the needs of the world would never be met. Without warriors, the world would not be governed. Without farmers it would not be fed, and without merchants nothing in the world would circulate freely. Every other trade, as it comes into being, works for the good of the world. . . ."

FOR THE DAILY GUIDANCE OF MERCHANTS

A merchant said: "I was born into the human realm, it is true, but my work is the sorry business of buying and selling, and there is no instant when my thoughts are not on profit; therefore I cannot advance toward enlightenment. This situation pains me greatly. Please, teach me a remedy."

"He who proposes to engage in trade," I replied, "must first of all develop the right frame of mind for increasing profit. That is the frame of mind for you, that and none other. Give your own life up to heaven and singlemindedly study the way of uprightness. . . . But he who, in his longing for profit, cheats people and makes a difference between himself and others will come under the malediction of heaven. Thus calamities will befall him. He will be hated by all, loved and respected by none, and nothing will ever be the way he wants it. . . .

"Offer this body to the world, and make up your mind that what you do is only for the sake of the land and of the whole people. Vow then that you will transport goods from your own province to others, that you will bring goods from other provinces to your own and trade them in lands and villages yet more distant, and thereby please everyone. . . . When thus you conduct your trading without greed, having given up all clinging, the devas will protect you, the gods will be generous toward you, your profits will be enormous, and you will become a man of the greatest wealth. . . ."

[*Banmin tokuyō*, in *NKBT*, vol. 83; Tyler, trans., *Selected Writings of Suzuki Shōsan*, pp. 53–74]

TAKUAN SŌHŌ

Takuan Sōhō (1573–1645) was a commanding figure in Rinzai Zen at the beginning of the Tokugawa period. In 1628 Takuan, representing a radical group at Daitokuji in Kyoto, where he had received his training, protested the *bakufu*'s regulations and the government's intervention in temple affairs in order to enhance its administrative power. As a result, in the following year, Takuan was exiled to the province of Dewa in the northern part of Japan. In 1632 he was released, but for two more years was not permitted to leave Edo to return to Daitokuji. While he was in Kyoto, some of his admirers who were influential in the *bakufu* repeatedly asked him to meet the third shogun, Iemitsu. Finally,

Takuan could no longer refuse their urgent requests and reluctantly went to Edo in 1635, staying with Yagyū Tajima no Kami (1571–1646), a great fencing master of that day.

The story has it that Iemitsu once asked Yagyū the secret of his knowledge of swordsmanship. Yagyū replied that he had mastered the art through the practice of Zen under Takuan. At their first meeting, the shogun was very much attracted to Takuan and therefore would not let him leave Edo. The Zen master, however, had no desire to associate with the shogun and other dignitaries of high rank. He complained to his students about his unfortunate circumstances, for his greatest desire was to be free to live out his life, unnoticed by the world, in a quiet mountain spot. In order to keep Takuan near him, therefore, the shogun built the Tōkaiji in Edo and installed him as its head.

MARVELOUS POWER OF IMMOVABLE WISDOM (*FUDŌCHI SHINMYŌROKU*)

The instructions excerpted here were originally written in a letter addressed to Yagyū Tajima no Kami as Tokugawa Iemitsu's official fencing instructor. Takuan Sōhō's letter explains how several common Buddhist and Confucian concepts might be interpreted in terms of fencing to argue for the importance of cultivating a strong sense of imperturbability, the immovable wisdom that allows the mind to move freely, spontaneously, and flexibly, even in the midst of the most frightening or difficult circumstances. It concludes by stressing that the purpose of all self-cultivation is to enable a person to better serve his lord by living a moral life.

Since it first appeared in print in 1779, entitled *The Marvelous Power of Immovable Wisdom* (*Fudōchi shinmyōroku*), Takuan's instructions have been included in innumerable anthologies addressed not only to martial art devotees but to general audiences as well, and thus they have helped promote the popular perception that Zen is an intrinsic element of martial art training. It would perhaps be more accurate to say that success in the martial arts demands mental discipline, a topic about which Zen monks (among others) have much to say.

Where to Focus the Mind

To what ends should the mind be directed? If you focus on your opponent's movements, then his movements will restrict your mind. If you focus on your opponent's sword, then his sword will restrict your mind. If you focus on cutting down your opponent, then the thought of cutting will restrict your mind. If you focus on wielding your own sword, then your own sword will restrict your mind. If you focus on avoiding your opponent's cut, then your intention to not be cut will restrict your mind. If you focus on a person's stance, then that stance will

restrict your mind. In short, there is nothing on which you should focus your mind.

Someone might ask, "If focusing on any one object causes that thing to restrict my mind and thereby allows the opponent to defeat me, then wouldn't it be better for me to concentrate my mind in the area below my navel, to prevent it [my mind] from being moved by distractions and merely to respond automatically to the opponent's moves?"

Yes, this sounds reasonable. From the viewpoint of the highest techniques of the Buddha-dharma, however, concentrating your mind below the navel and preventing it from being moved by distractions is an inferior method, not the best one. It corresponds to a beginner's level of training, or to what Confucians refer to as reverent seriousness (*kei*) of purpose. It is no more than what *Mencius*[1] called "finding the lost mind" [of humanity]. It is not a method that leads to the highest realization. . . . If you strive to concentrate your mind below your navel and to prevent it from being moved by distractions elsewhere, then that very striving will restrict your mind; you will lose your ability to lead the encounter; and consequently you will have even less freedom of action than in other cases.

Reverent Seriousness in Neo-Confucianism and Buddhism

Neo-Confucian texts explain the word "seriousness" (J. *kei*, Ch. *jing*) as concentrating on one task without wavering (*shuitsu muteki*).[2] It means that your mind is devoted to one object without other diversions. The essence of seriousness lies in being able to unsheathe your sword and to cut without disturbing your mental composure. When you receive an order from your lord, it is especially important to serve him with this serious composure. The Buddha-dharma also includes this serious composure. For example, Buddhists sound the bell of devotion when they strike a gong three times [and] place the palms of their hands together before addressing the Buddha. The serious composure in Buddhist chanting is the same whether explained in Buddhist terms as being single-minded without disturbance (*isshin furan*) or in Confucian terms as concentrating on one task without wavering.

In Buddhism, however, this sense of seriousness is not the highest teaching. Controlling one's own mind and preventing it from becoming disturbed is the

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1. *Mencius* 6A:11.

2. In Zhu Xi's concept of the "method of the mind" (*xinfa*), self-cultivation involved attending to "oneness." For the Cheng–Zhu school, this cryptic "oneness" generally referred to one's unity with Heaven-and-earth and the myriad things, but some thinkers took it to mean focusing on one thing at a time.

practice of a beginner. Buddhists continue in this kind of training for only as many months or years as is needed to attain imperturbability so that even when the mind is allowed to wander, it retains full freedom. This is what I referred to elsewhere as the free-flowing mind, which is the highest level. According to the Confucian teaching of seriousness, the mind must be kept in check. Because mental wandering is seen as a disturbance, the mind must not be given free reign even for an instant. While this practice is useful as a short-term technique for developing unflappability, if you train in this way constantly, it will result in a loss of mental freedom. For example, it is like pulling back on a cat's leash to prevent it from pouncing on a baby sparrow. When your mind lacks freedom, like a cat tied to a leash, then it cannot function freely in accordance with its needs. But if a cat is well trained, then it can be released from the leash to go where it may, even right next to the sparrow without pouncing on it. When the free-flowing mind is released and abandoned, like the cat off the leash, it can wander everywhere without distraction and without becoming harried.

Stated in terms of your swordsmanship, you should not think about techniques for striking with a sword. Forget all striking techniques and strike. Cut the other person, but do not dwell on the other person. Both self and other are emptiness. The striking sword also is emptiness. But do not let your mind be restricted by emptiness.

Personal Advice

Because you have mastered swordsmanship to a degree unequaled in the past or present, you now enjoy a good rank, stipend, and reputation. You must not be ungrateful for this good fortune even while sleeping but must always strive to totally repay this benefaction with the finest loyal service to your lord. The finest loyal service requires, first, that you think correctly, maintain your health, and be single-minded in your devotion to your lord. You must never resent or criticize others or neglect your daily duties. In your own family, you should be exceedingly filial toward your father and mother, avoid even the slightest hint of infidelity in your marriage, observe the correct ritual decorum, and not love a mistress or practice pederasty. Do not presume on your father or mother but always observe social norms. In employing underlings, do not be guided by personal feelings. Merely promote good men so that they might admonish you for your shortcomings and correctly implement the government's policies, and demote bad men. When bad men see good men progress day by day, the bad men will naturally be influenced by your delight in the good, and they will abandon the bad and return to being good. In this way, lord and samurai (ruler and minister), superior and inferior, will become good men; their desires will weaken; and they will end their extravagant waste. Then the country's treasury will become full; the people will grow wealthy; children will care for their

parents; the strong will be charitable toward the elderly; and the country will rule itself. This is how to practice the finest loyalty.

["Fudōchi shinmyōroku," in *Takuan Oshō zenshū*, vol. 5, pp. 12–27; WB]

BANKEI

Bankei (1622–1693) was the son of a masterless samurai (*rōnin*) who, in the early years of the Tokugawa peace, turned from the arts of war to the art of medicine. When sent to a local Confucian school, Bankei showed his independence early. He left school, dissatisfied with his teacher's explanation of the *Great Learning*'s "luminous virtue" (in Neo-Confucian terms, generally equated with the moral nature), and struck out on his own. Although he went on to study briefly with Esoteric and Zen Buddhist teachers, from two of whom he received their "seal" (certification), Bankei considered himself essentially self-taught and made no secret of his conviction that what he had discovered for himself went beyond anything he had learned from others.

After a succession of intensive efforts at solitary meditation, which included extreme hardship and severe illness, he emerged self-enlightened and ready to teach his doctrine of the Unborn Buddha Nature. For Bankei, this was an extremely simple and direct teaching, involving a complete and radical deconditioning from all received influences, a stripping away of all parental influences and worldly culture to reveal one's original nature. The following excerpts explain how he taught this to increasingly large audiences and how he related it to other contemporary trends. Most of his teachings pertain to the spiritual life and the direct response to daily experience and very little to contemporary, political, social, or educational issues of a secular kind. Although Bankei sometimes used language suggesting that, as Suzuki Shōsan argued, enlightenment could be attained in the context of everyday life, unlike Shōsan, Bankei retained close ties to Zen monastic institutions.

Bankei was obviously a self-made individualist who had a powerful charismatic influence on his hearers. In his own time, he had a wide reputation as a popular lecturer to crowds of people. This contrasts with the kind of spiritual direction between master and disciple, one on one, that is more typical of Zen training. But it fits the trend in this period toward popular lecturing by both Confucians and Shinto preachers. Taken together, these methods may help explain the strong rise in popular education in the Tokugawa period, drawing on religious evangelism as well as secular developments. We also note that Bankei's emphasis on simplicity, directness, and spontaneity resonates with the concept of *makoto* in other popular lecturers of the time.

Bankei's great reputation as a teacher in his own day eventually brought him imperial recognition as a "national teacher" (*kokushi*). However, this achievement was quite personal, for he left no significant school or movement that

outlasted his own charisma. Not until the twentieth century was he resurrected from comparative obscurity.

OPENING OF THE SERMONS

The following are extracts from sermons given in 1690 at the Ryōmonji Temple, Bankei's home temple in Hyōgo Prefecture.

When the Zen Master Bankei Butchi Kōsai, founder of the Ryōmonji at Aboshi in Banshū, was at the Great Training period [held] at the Ryōmonji in the winter of the third year of Genroku, there were 1,683 monks listed in the temple register. Those who attended included not only Sōtō and Rinzai followers but members of the Ritsu, Shingon, Tendai, Pure Land, True Pure Land, and Nichiren schools, with laymen and monks mingled together, thronging round the lecture seat. One sensed the Master was truly the Teacher of Men and Devas for the present age. . . .

The Master addressed the assembly: "Among all you people here today there's not a single one who's an unenlightened being. Everyone here is a Buddha. So listen carefully! What you all have from your parents innately is the Unborn Buddha Mind alone. There's nothing else you have innately. This Buddha Mind you have from your parents innately is truly unborn and marvelously illuminating . . . and, what's more, with this Unborn, everything is perfectly managed. The actual proof of this Unborn which perfectly manages [everything] is that, as you're all turned this way listening to me talk, if out back there's the cawing of crows, the chirping of sparrows, or the rustling of the wind, even though you're not deliberately trying to hear each of these sounds, you recognize and distinguish each one. The voices of the crows and sparrows, the rustling of the wind—you hear them without making any mistake about them, and that's what's called hearing with the Unborn. In this way, all things are perfectly managed with the Unborn. . . .

"Well, then, while you're all turned this way listening to me talk, you don't mistake the chirp of a sparrow out back for the caw of a crow, the sound of a gong for that of a drum, a man's voice for a woman's, an adult's voice for a child's—you clearly recognize and distinguish each sound you hear without making any mistake. That's the marvelously illuminating dynamic function. It's none other than the Buddha Mind, . . . the actual proof of the marvelously illuminating [nature of the Buddha Mind]." [pp. 4–5]

Precepts

What is usually translated as "precepts" in Buddhism might more accurately be rendered as "admonitions," since they mainly have to do with things prohibited (no

killing, no lying, no adultery, etc.). This clarification is needed to understand why Bankei speaks of this as "all for wicked monks who broke the rules," not for buddhas.

A certain master of the Precepts school asked: "Doesn't your Reverence observe the precepts?"

The Master said: "Originally, what people call the precepts were all for wicked monks who broke rules; for the man who abides in the Unborn Buddha Mind, there's no need for precepts. The precepts were taught to help sentient beings—they weren't taught to help buddhas! What everyone has from his parents innately is the Unborn Buddha Mind alone, so abide in the Unborn Buddha Mind. When you abide in the Unborn Buddha Mind, you're a living Buddha here today, and that living Buddha certainly isn't going to concoct anything like taking precepts, so there aren't any precepts for him to take. To concoct anything like taking the precepts is not what's meant by the Unborn Buddha Mind. When you abide in the Unborn Buddha Mind, there's no way you can violate the precepts. From the standpoint of the Unborn, the precepts too are secondary, peripheral concerns; in the place of the Unborn, there's really no such thing as precepts. . . ." [p. 7]

Growing Up Deluded

"What everyone has from his parents innately is the Buddha Mind alone. But since your parents themselves fail to realize this, you become deluded too, and then display this delusion in raising your *own* children. Even the nursemaids and baby-sitters lose their temper, so that the people involved in bringing up children display every sort of deluded behavior, including stupidity, selfish desire, and the [anger of] fighting demons. Growing up with deluded people surrounding them, children develop a first-rate set of bad habits, becoming quite proficient at being deluded themselves and turning into unenlightened beings. Originally, when you're born, you're without delusion. But on account of the faults of the people who raise you, someone abiding in the Buddha Mind is turned into a first-rate unenlightened being. This is something I'm sure you all know from your own experience. . . .

"That which you *didn't* pick up from outside is the Unborn Buddha Mind, and here no delusions exist. Since the Buddha Mind is marvelously illuminating, you're able to learn things, even to the point of thoroughly learning all sorts of deluded behavior. [At the same time,] since it's marvelously illuminating, when you hear this, you'll resolve *not* to be deluded, and from today on cease creating delusion, abiding in the Unborn Buddha Mind as it is. Just as before you applied yourself skillfully to picking up delusions and made yourself deluded, now you'll use the same skill to listen to this and *stop* being deluded—that's what a splendid thing the Buddha Mind is. . . .

"When you hear this, I want you all from today on to abide in the Unborn

Buddha Mind just as it is—the Unborn Buddha Mind you have from your parents innately. Then you won't create delusions about anything, and, since no delusions will remain, you'll be living buddhas from today forever after. Nothing could be more direct! You've all got to realize this conclusively." [pp. 17–19]

Everybody Has the Buddha Mind

"When your parents gave you life, there wasn't a trace of selfish desire, bad habits or self-centeredness. But from the age of four or five you picked up the mean things you saw other people do and the bad things you heard them say, so that gradually as you matured, growing up badly, you developed selfish desire, which in turn produced self-centeredness. Deluded by this self-centeredness, you then proceeded to create every sort of evil. If it weren't for being centered on yourself, delusions wouldn't arise. When they don't arise, that's none other than abiding in the Unborn Buddha Mind. . . ." [pp. 31–32]

Samurai

"Nowadays there are lots of people who own high-priced ceramics—flower vases and Korean tea bowls. I don't own anything of this sort myself, but when I see the people who do, they take the ceramics and wrap them round and round with soft cotton and crepe and stick them in a box, which makes good sense. If a costly ceramic strikes against something hard, it's sure to break, so to keep these ceramics from breaking by wrapping them in cotton and crepe is surely a judicious measure. The samurai's mind is just like this. To begin with, samurai always place honor above all else. If there's even a single word of disagreement between them, they can't let it pass without calling it to account—such is the way of the samurai. Once a single word is challenged, there's no going back. So a samurai always keeps the 'hard' parts of his mind under wraps, swathed in cotton and crepe, and from the start takes the greatest care to avoid 'striking against' abrasive people. Everyone would do well always to be careful about this. Once anyone has challenged his words, the samurai is bound to kill him. You'd better grasp this clearly.

"Then there's the sort of killing that occurs when a samurai throws himself before his lord and cuts down an attacker. This serves to destroy evildoers and pacify the realm and constitutes the regular vocation of the samurai, so for a warrior this sort of thing is not considered to be murder. But to kill another simply scheming for your own personal ends, stirring up selfish desires as a result of self-centeredness—this is murder indeed. It shows disloyalty to your lord, unfiliality to your parents, and changes the Buddha Mind for a fighting demon. On the other hand, in circumstances when one must die for one's lord, to fail to die, to run away and behave like a coward, is switching the Buddha

Mind for an animal. Birds and beasts don't have the sort of intelligence people do, so they can't understand the proper way to act; they don't know the meaning of honor and simply flee from place to place trying to stay alive. But when a samurai, similarly, fails to understand the meaning of honor and runs away, not even showing shame before his fellow warriors, that's just like being an animal. . . ." [pp. 41–42]

Nothing to Do with Rules

"In my place, I'm always telling everyone, 'Abide in the Unborn Buddha Mind and nothing else!' Other than that, I'm not setting up any special *rules* and making them practice. All the same, since everyone got together and decided to practice for [a period of] twelve sticks of incense every day, I told them, 'Go ahead, do whatever you like'; so I'm letting them practice every day for [a period of] twelve sticks of incense. But the Unborn Buddha Mind isn't a matter of sticks of incense! When you abide in the Buddha Mind and don't become deluded, then, without looking for enlightenment outside, you'll just sit in the Buddha Mind, just stand in the Buddha Mind, just sleep in the Buddha Mind, just get up in the Buddha Mind—just abiding in the Buddha Mind, so that in all your ordinary activities you function as a living Buddha. There's really nothing to it.

"As for *zazen*, since *za* [sitting] is the Buddha Mind's sitting at ease, while *zen* [meditation] is another name for Buddha Mind, the Buddha Mind's sitting at ease is what's meant by *zazen*. So when you're abiding in the Unborn, *all the time* is *zazen*; *zazen* isn't just the time when you're practicing formal meditation. Even when you're sitting in meditation, if there's something you've got to do, it's quite all right to get up and leave. So, in my group, everyone is free to do as he likes. Just always abide at ease in the Buddha Mind. . . ." [pp. 58–59]

Plain Speaking

"As you can see in the records that have been brought to Japan, the true teaching of the Unborn long ago ceased to exist there, so that nowadays, even in China, men of the Unborn are not to be found, and that's why no records that speak of the Unborn Buddha Mind have come to Japan.

"When I was young and trying to uncover the Buddha Mind, I even made a serious effort at taking part in questions-and-answers (*mondō*) [using Chinese expressions]. But later on, having come to a real understanding of things, I gave it up. Japanese are better off asking about things in a manner that's suitable to Japanese, using their ordinary language. Japanese are poor at Chinese, so in dialogues using Chinese [terms], they can't question [teachers] about things as thoroughly as they might wish. When you put your questions in ordinary Japanese, there's no matter you can't ask about. So, instead of taking a roundabout

way and knocking yourselves out trying to pose your questions in difficult Chinese words, you're better off freely putting them in easy Japanese, without exhausting yourselves. . . .

"The reason Japanese monks are teaching laymen inept at Chinese using Chinese words that are hard for them to understand is that they *themselves* haven't settled the matter of the Unborn Buddha Mind, and evade people's questions by using Chinese words that are hard for ordinary folk to grasp. On top of which, these [difficult expressions] are nothing but the dregs and slobber of the Chinese patriarchs! . . ." [pp. 60–61]

The Proof

Once I asked the Master: "Is it helpful in studying the Way to read through the Buddhist sutras and the records of the old masters?"

The Master said: "It all depends. If you rely on the principles contained in the sutras and records, when you read them, you'll be blinding your own eyes. On the other hand, when the time comes that you can *dismiss* principles, if you read [such things], you'll find the proof of your own realization." [p. 114]

[*Bankei zenji zenshū*, pp. 3, 6, 21–22, 37–42, 50–57, 34–35, 72–73, 144; Haskel, trans., and Hakeda, ed., *Bankei Zen*, pp. 4–5, 7, 17, 31–32, 41–42, 58–59, 60–61, 114]

HAKUIN EKAKU

All present-day masters of the Rinzai sect claim descent from Hakuin Ekaku (1686–1769), an extraordinary man who gave all his efforts to reviving Zen Buddhism in eighteenth-century Japan. He rejected formalistic and intellectual Zen, as well as the *nenbutsu* chanting that was popular among some Zen practitioners at the time. Among his followers were all classes of people—farmers, samurai, daimyo, and women as well as men. Like Takuan Sōhō, he taught those who seriously sought after Zen for its own sake, regardless of their social background.

Hakuin is unusual among Zen masters in that he left many writings in colloquial Japanese, as well as in the literary language and in *kanbun*. Most are in the form of letters or essays written to his followers. Hakuin was a versatile master who excelled not only in writing but also in painting, calligraphy, and sculpture. We find in his writings a detailed account of his Zen experience, whereas similar descriptions are seldom to be found in other Zen literature.

In his system of Zen training, Hakuin emphasized focusing all one's energy on penetrating *kōan* stories until the mental exhaustion induced by the conflict between one's great determination and one's great doubt would lead to Zen awakening (*satori*), or seeing true nature (*kenshō*). Zen practitioners must penetrate several series of *kōan*, inducing repeated awakenings. Hakuin rejected

formalistic and intellectual Zen, as well as other practices, such as invoking the name of Amida Buddha (*nenbutsu*) or silent reflection (*mokushō*) meditation, which he probably identified with Ōbaku as well as with the Sōtō and Genjū (i.e., Rinzai) Rinka lineages. Hakuin also wrote numerous letters to lay people, encouraging them to practice Zen at home and at work; composed folk songs; and gave away numerous works of Zen calligraphy and drawings.

A final note concerns the present institutionalized forms of Zen, which divided into the two main streams of Sōtō and Rinzai in the mid-Tokugawa period, after the arrival of Yinyuan Longqi (J. Ingen Ryūki, 1592–1673) in 1654 and other Chinese monks who eventually founded the Ōbaku Zen lineage. The Ashikaga period's Five Mountain and Rinka Zen networks[3] each included both Sōtō and Rinzai lineages, and clerics of various Rinzai and Sōtō lineages commonly studied at one another's temples. By the time Yinyuan arrived, however, all the Five Mountain lineages had died out. Differences between the new Chinese-style Ōbaku Zen and the Japanese Rinka traditions, however, awakened among Japanese Zen monks a new sense of anti-Ōbaku sectarian consciousness. In the Rinka lineages, Sōtō monks such as Manzan Dōhaku (1636–1714) and Menzan Zuihō (1683–1769) advocated a return to Dōgen's teachings, especially as expressed in his *True Dharma Eye Treasury*, whereas the Rinzai monk Hakuin Ekaku advocated a vigorous system of *kōan* study based on earlier Japanese Rinka practices, which he identified with the Song-dynasty ancestor of his own Ō-Tō-Kan lineage, Zutang Zhiyu (J. Kidō Chigū, 1185–1269). Thus Japanese Rinka monks, both Sōtō and Rinzai, identified their own traditions with the heritage of the Chinese Song dynasty, in opposition to Ming-dynasty culture of Ōbaku. While the surviving Sōtō and Rinzai lineages have a common Rinka heritage, the differences between them have grown more pronounced since the late Tokugawa period.

MY OLD TEA KETTLE (*ORATEGAMA*)

The text excerpted here consists of letters that Hakuin sent to different lay people in 1748 when he was sixty-three years old and that show how he actively sought to popularize Zen practice among lay people. The first letter, addressed to the feudal lord Nabeshima Naotsune (1701–1749), describes how the meditation practice of holding one's vital energy in the lower abdomen—what Hakuin calls the true practice of introspection (*naikan*)—not only nurtures health and maintains youth and vitality but also is essential to success in *kōan* meditation. Finally, an excerpt from the supplement to this work provides Hakuin's Zen interpretation of the Pure Land practice of chanting

3. See de Bary et al., eds., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, chap. 14.

the name of Amida Buddha (*nenbutsu*). While Hakuin seems to have accepted these other forms of Buddhism, ultimately he insisted that they could be religiously meaningful only if performed as a type of Zen practice directed toward the goal of seeing true nature (*kenshō*, or Zen awakening).

If their motivation is bad, virtually all Zen practitioners [will] find themselves blocked in both the active and quietistic approaches to the practice of *kōan* meditation. They fall into a state of severe depression and distraction; the fire-elemental phase mounts to the heart; the metal-elemental phase in the lungs shrinks painfully; the health generally declines; and quite frequently they develop an illness most difficult to cure. Yet if they polish and perfect themselves in the true practice of introspection (*naikan*), they will conform to the secret methods for the ultimate nourishment; their bodies and minds will become strong; their vitality [will be] great; and they will readily attain to awakening in all things.

Shakyamuni Buddha taught this point in detail in the Agama [Sutras]. Master Zhiyi has culled the import of these teachings, whether examining the principles of the Dharma, whether sitting for long periods without lying down, or whether engaged in walking practices throughout the six divisions of the day, the vital breath (*ki*) must always be made to fill the *cakra* sphere (*seirin*), the lower field of cinnabar (*tanden*), between the navel and the loins. Even though one may be hemmed in by worldly cares or tied down by guests who require elaborate attention, the source of strength two inches below the navel must naturally be filled with the vital breath, and at no time may it be allowed to disperse. This area should be pendulous and well rounded, somewhat like a new ball that has yet to be used. If a person is able to acquire this kind of breath concentration he can sit in meditation all day long without its ever tiring him; he can recite the scriptures from morning to night without becoming worn out; he can write all day long without any trouble; he can talk all day without collapsing from fatigue. Even if he practices good works day after day, there will still be no indications of flagging; in fact, the capacity of his mind will gradually grow larger, and his vitality will always be strong. On the hottest day of summer he will not perspire or need to use a fan; on the snowiest night of deepest winter he need not wear socks or warm himself. Should he live to be a hundred years old, his teeth will remain firm. Provided he does not become lax in his practices, he should attain a great age. If a man becomes accomplished in this method, what Way cannot be perfected, what precepts cannot be maintained, what *samadhi* cannot be practiced, what virtue cannot be fulfilled!

If, however, you do not become proficient in these ancient techniques, if you have not made the essentials of the true practice your own, if by yourself you recklessly seek for your own brand of awakening, you will engage in excessive study and become entangled in inappropriate thoughts. At this time, the chest and breathing mechanism become stopped up; a fire rises in the heart;

the legs feel as though they were immersed in ice and snow; [and] the ears are filled with a roaring sound like a torrent sounding in a deep valley. The lungs shrink; the fluids in the body dry up; and in the end you are afflicted with a disease most difficult to cure. Indeed, you will hardly be able to keep yourself alive. All this is only because you do not know the correct road of true practice. A most regrettable thing indeed!

The *Cessation and Insight* speaks of cessation in relation to phenomena (*ke'enshi*) and of cessation in relation to true emptiness (*taishinshi*). The method of introspection that I describe here represents the essential of this cessation in relation to phenomena. When I was young the content of my *kōan* meditation was poor. I was convinced that absolute tranquillity of the source of mind was the Buddha Way. Thus I despised activity and was fond of quietude. I would always seek out some dark and gloomy place and engage in dead sitting. Trivial and mundane matters pressed against my chest, and a fire mounted in my heart. I was unable to enter wholeheartedly into the active practice of Zen. My manner became irascible, and fears assailed me. Both my mind and body felt continually weak; sweat poured ceaselessly from my armpits; and my eyes constantly filled with tears. My mind was in a continual state of depression, and I made not the slightest advance toward gaining the benefits that result from the study of Buddhism.

But later I was most fortunate in receiving the instruction of a good teacher. The secret methods of introspection were handed down to me, and for three years I devoted myself to an assiduous practice of them. The serious disease from which I suffered, that up until then I had found so difficult to cure, gradually cleared up like frost and snow melting beneath the rays of the morning sun. The problems with those vile *kōans—difficult to believe, difficult to penetrate, difficult to unravel, difficult to enter—kōans* that up to then had been impossible for me to sink my teeth into, now faded away with the passing of my disease.

Even though I am past sixty now, my vitality is ten times as great as it was when I was thirty or forty. My mind and body are strong, and I never have the feeling that I absolutely must lie down to rest. Should I want to, I [would] find no difficulty in refraining from sleep for two, three, or even seven days, without suffering any decline in my mental powers. I am surrounded by three [hundred] to five hundred demanding students, and even though I lecture on the scriptures or on the collections of the Zen ancestors' sayings for thirty to fifty days in a row, it does not exhaust me. I am quite convinced that all this is owing to the power gained from practicing this method of introspection.

Initially emphasis must be placed on the care of the body. Then, during your practice of introspection, without your seeking it and quite unconsciously, you will attain, how many times I cannot tell, the power of awakening. It is essential that you neither despise nor grasp for either the realm of activity or that of quietude and that you continue your practice assiduously.

Frequently you may feel that you are getting nowhere with practice in the midst of activity, whereas the quietistic approach brings unexpected results. Yet rest assured that those who use the quietistic approach can never hope to enter into meditation in the midst of activity. Should by chance a person who uses this approach enter into the dusts and confusions of the world of activity, even the power of ordinary understanding that he had seemingly attained will be entirely lost. Drained of all vitality, he will be inferior to any mediocre, talentless person. The most trivial matters will upset him; an inordinate cowardice will afflict his mind; and he will frequently behave in a mean and base manner. What can you call accomplished about a man like this?

[Adapted from *The Zen Master Hakuin*, trans. Yampolsky, pp. 29–33]

Outside the Mind There Is No Lotus Sutra

Outside the mind there is no Lotus Sutra and outside the Lotus Sutra there is no mind. . . . Outside the ten realms of existence there is no mind, and outside the ten realms of existence there is no Lotus Sutra. This is the ultimate teaching. It is not limited to me, but all the Tathagatas of the past, present, and future, and all learned sages everywhere, when they have reached the ultimate understanding, have all preached in the same way. The essential purport of the text of the Lotus Sutra speaks gloriously to this effect. There are eighty-four thousand ways of practicing Buddhism, but they are all provisional teachings and cannot be regarded as other than expediencies. When this ultimate is reached, all living beings and all Tathagatas of the past, present, and future, mountains, rivers, the great earth, and the Lotus Sutra itself all bespeak the Dharma principle that all things are a nondual unity representing the true appearance of all things. This is the fundamental principle of Buddhism.

We have indeed the 5,418 scriptures of the Buddhist canon that detail the limitless mysterious meaning preached by Shakyamuni Buddha. We have the sudden, gradual, esoteric, and indeterminate methods. But their ultimate principle is reduced to the eight fascicles of the Lotus Sutra. The ultimate meaning of the 64,360 odd written words of the Lotus Sutra is reduced to the five words in its title: Lotus Sutra of the Wondrous Law (Myōhō renge kyō). These five words are reduced to the two words Wondrous Law (Myōhō) and the two words (Wondrous Law) return to one word: mind. If one asks to where this one word, mind, returns: "The horned rabbit and the furry turtle cross the nowhere mountain." What is the ultimate meaning? "If you wish to know the mind of a wife who laments in the midst of spring, it is at the time when her sewing needle is stopped and words cannot be spoken."

This One Mind, derived from the two words Wondrous Law mentioned above, when spread out includes all the Dharma worlds of the ten directions

and, when contracted, returns to the no-thought and no-mind of self-nature. Therefore the Buddha preached such things as "outside the mind no thing exists," "in the triple world there is One Mind alone," and "the true appearance of all things." Reaching this ultimate place is called the Lotus Sutra, or Amida Buddha of Infinite Life; in Zen it is called the Original Face; in Shingon the Sun Disc of Inherent Nature of the Syllable *A*; in terms of Buddhist morality it is Basic, Unconditioned Essence of the Precepts. Everyone must realize that these are all different names for the One Mind. . . .

After meditating in the Himalayas the Buddha discovered the nature of the mind that is endowed from the outset. He called in his noble voice: "How marvelous! All living beings are endowed with the wisdom and the virtuous characteristics of the Tathagatas." He preached the sudden and the gradual teachings and the partial and complete doctrines of the various scriptures and became himself the great teacher of the triple world. When he was worshiped by the gods Brahma and Indra, it is as though the lotus blossom had emerged from the mud and opened to its full beauty. Just as the lotus's color and fragrance inhere in it as it lies in the mud, as it emerges, and as it blooms above the surface, so when the Buddha preached the Dharma as numerous as the sands in the Ganges, he referred to nothing that was brought in from the outside. In terms of the common person, he spoke of the appearance of the Buddha-nature itself, with which all are without a doubt endowed; in terms of living beings, once the vow to become a Buddha has been made, the Wondrous Dharma of the One Mind does not increase nor lessen one bit. It is just the same as the lotus: at the time that it lies amidst the mud, and after its blossoms are scattered in the summer, it does not undergo any fundamental change whatsoever. Thus he provisionally likened the lotus plant to the Wondrous Law of the One Mind. Is this not irrefutable proof that the Buddha mind, with which all people are endowed, was called the Lotus Sutra of the Wondrous Law? . . .

The True Reality that is the Lotus Sutra cannot be seized by the hands or seen by the eye. How then is one to receive and hold it? What then should one say to the practitioner of the Lotus Sutra who wishes to take it himself? There are three types of capacity. The practitioner of inferior capacity is captivated by the yellow scroll with its red handles, and copies, recites, and makes explanations of it. The practitioner of average capacity illuminates his own mind and so receives and holds to the sutra. The person of superior capacity penetrates this sutra with his wisdom eye, just as though he were viewing the surface of his own mind. That is why the Nirvana Sutra says: "The Tathagata sees Buddha-nature with his wisdom eye." The practitioner of the Lotus Sutra, if he is engaged in the true practice of the ultimate of Mahayana, will not find it an easy thing to do. What is simple is very much so; what is difficult is very, very difficult indeed.

[Adapted from *The Zen Master Hakuin*, trans. Yampolsky, pp. 87–90]

Supplement: Zen Practice and Recalling the Name Amida Buddha Are the Same

Suppose one man is occupied with Zen meditation on the *kōan* of Zhaozhou's *mu* (nothing) and another man devotes himself exclusively to the recalling of the Buddha Amida's name (*nenbutsu*). If the meditation of the former is not pure; if his determination is not firm, even if he devotes himself to the *kōan* for ten or twenty years, he will gain no benefit whatsoever. The man who recalls Amida Buddha's name, on the other hand, should he call it with complete concentration and undiluted purity, should he neither concern himself with the filthy mundane world nor seek the Pure Land, but proceed determinedly without retrogression, he will, before ten days have passed, gain the benefits of *samadhi*, produce the wisdom of the Buddha, and achieve the Great Matter of deliverance in the very place he stands.

What is deliverance (*ōjō*)? It all comes down to one thing—seeing true nature (*kenshō*). The [Limitless Life of Amida Buddha] Sutra states Amida's vow: "Until all those who recall my name ten times in their desire for deliverance in my pure land are delivered there, I shall not accept perfect awakening." Where is "my pure land"? Is it not the innate true nature with which you yourself are endowed, standing bright and clear before your eyes? If you have not seen into your own nature, it will not be easy for you to see this pure land. Yet nowadays those who practice the Pure Land teachings recite Amida's name daily a thousand times, ten thousand times, a million times, but not one of them has determined the Great Matter of deliverance. Don't they realize that Amida Buddha refused to accept perfect awakening? Still more, don't they realize that one instant of thought is this very Pure Land of Ultimate Happiness? Why wait then for ten repetitions of the name?

For this reason the Buddha has said that, for the valiant man, becoming a Buddha occurs in an instant of thought; for the indolent man, Nirvana will take the incalculable long period of three *as arinkkheya* kalpas. It should be known that those who think that the *mu kōan* and the recalling of Amida Buddha's name are two different things are heretics. How sad it is that the Pure Land practitioners today are unaware of the basic aspiration of the many Buddhas. They believe only that the Buddha is in the Western Pure Land and they are unaware that the Western Land is the basis of their own minds. They are convinced that through the power of the recitation of Amida Buddha's name, they will somehow leap through space and [that], after they are dead, be reborn in the Western Pure Land. But although they spend their whole lives in painful struggle, they will not be able to achieve their vow to attain deliverance there. Know then that the Lotus Sutra says, "In all the Buddha lands everywhere there is the Dharma of the One Unique Vehicle." This is why the Flower Garland Sutra says: "The Buddha body fills the Dharma realm; it appears before all living beings everywhere." If the Buddha were only in the Western Pure Land,

it would not be possible for him to appear before all living beings everywhere. And if he does appear before all living beings everywhere, then he cannot be only in the Western Pure Land. How sad indeed that although it is as obvious as the palms of their hands that the pure, true body of the Tathagata stands in all its brilliance clearly before their eyes, people are all unable to see him because their eye of wisdom is blinded. Unspeakable indeed! . . .

Doesn't the [Contemplation] Sutra state: "Amida's brilliance illumines the world in all directions"? But do not understand this to mean that the brilliance and the world are two different things. If you are awakened, the worlds in all directions, grass, trees, lands are perfected and at once are the true body of the pure light of the Tathagata. If you are deluded, the true body of the pure light of the Tathagata is perfected, but in error is made to be the world in all directions, grass, trees, and lands. That is why the [Diamond Perfect Wisdom] Sutra says: "If you see me as form or seek me as sound, you are practicing the ways of the heretic and will never be able to see the Tathagata."

The true practitioner of the Pure Land doctrine is not like this. He does not contemplate birth; he does not contemplate death; his mind does not falter or fall into error. Recalling the name of Amida Buddha constantly, he has reached the state where his mind is undisturbed. The great Matter appears suddenly before him, and his salvation is determined. Such a man can be called one who has really seen true nature. His own body is the limitless body of Amida Buddha, the Pure Land's jeweled trees of seven precious gems, the pond of the eight virtues. His own mind is illumined and radiates before his eyes. He has penetrated to the understanding that mountains, rivers, the great earth, all phenomena are the rare and the mysterious Sea of Adornment. The ultimate, in which there is complete concentration, is recalling the name, in which not an instant of thought is produced and in which the body and life are cast aside, is known as "going" (*ō*). The place where *samadhi* is perfected and true wisdom makes its appearance is known as "delivered" (*jō*). The welling forth of this absolute principle in all its clarity, the immovable place in which the true practitioner stands, not one fraction of an inch apart from truth, is "the welcoming of Amida" (*raigō*). When the welcoming of Amida and deliverance are then and there not two things—this is the true substance of seeing true nature.

[Adapted from *The Zen Master Hakuin*, trans. Yampolsky, pp. 127–29]

JIUN SONJA

Jiun Sonja (Onkō, 1718–1804) was born in Osaka, the son of a *rōnin* and a devoutly Buddhist mother. As a boy, Jiun received a Confucian education and, for a time, exhibited a disdain for Buddhism and its clergy that reflected his early Confucian sympathies. However, after his father's death in Jiun's thirteenth year, his upbringing was entrusted to a monk affiliated with the Shingon

vinaya sect (Shingon risshū), and within two years Jiun had been won over to Buddhism.[4] In his late teens, he was sent by his teacher to Kyoto for further study of Confucianism at the Kogidō, or School of Ancient Meanings, established by Itō Jinsai (1627–1705). Immediately thereafter, Jiun resumed his Buddhist training in Shingon *ritsu* temples in the Osaka area. By his early twenties, he had succeeded his teacher as abbot of Hōrakuji in Osaka, but he soon gave up that post to embark on a period of uninterrupted meditation under the direction of a Sōtō Zen monk. It was during this time that he apparently had his first enlightenment experience.

In his late twenties, troubled by what he judged to be a lack of commitment to practice, as well as by the sectarian character of Tokugawa Buddhism, Jiun commenced a movement to revive what he sometimes called "Buddhism as it was when the Buddha was alive" or, more frequently, the "True Dharma." At the heart of his movement—known as the Shōbōritsu, or "Vinaya of the True Dharma"—was an emphasis on the fundamentals of Buddhist practice and a deemphasis on sectarian concerns. After a long career as a Buddhist scholar, reformer, and apologist, Jiun died in Kyoto.[5]

SERMONS ON THE PRECEPTS AND MONASTIC LIFE

The following three sermons date from the middle period of Jiun Sonja's life, which he passed in retreat in a hut on Mount Ikoma, east of Osaka. For nearly fourteen years before this, Jiun had worked in a variety of ways to spread the "True Dharma"; then, in 1758, he withdrew to the mountain. He spent much of his time there meditating, but he also concentrated on the study of Sanskrit, completing, with the help of a handful of disciples, the bulk of his thousand-fascicle *Guide to Sanskrit Studies* (*Bongaku shinryō*).

The sermons that follow were selected to illustrate the importance that Jiun attached to the precepts and the monastic life. Students of Dōgen (1200–1253) will notice a strong similarity between the Zen master's thought and Jiun's on these subjects. Both viewed the celibate, meditative way of life initiated by the Buddha and established as the norm for all later generations of monks and nuns as simultaneously a means to and a consequence of the enlightenment experience. As Jiun states in one of the sermons translated here, the way of life of one who "leaves home" is "natural to people who follow the great path to liberation from birth and death."

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4. The Shingon *ritsu* sect, which emphasizes the Buddhist precepts, was originally founded by Eison (1201–1290) and Ninshō (1217–1303) and, after a period of decline, was revived in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries by Shunshō Myōnin (1576–1610).

5. For Jiun's critique of Confucianism, see Watt, "Jiun Sonja," pp. 188–214.

Arouse the Thought of Enlightenment and Observe the Precepts

A wise person should earnestly arouse the thought of enlightenment. The thought of enlightenment is the thought pure in its self-nature. It naturally has no relationship to fame and profit, the desires of the five senses, to self-pride and conceit, and to much talk and many concerns. Rather, it is naturally related to gentleness and harmony, to compassion and forbearance, to loyalty, filial piety, sincerity, and good faith, to humility and respect, to meditation and wisdom. From the Buddhas above to flying and creeping insects below, all are seen as the same in their self-nature, yet their distinctive attributes are not destroyed. Accordingly, one seeks enlightenment above and transforms sentient beings below; one reveres those above and loves those below.

The place where the thought of enlightenment takes form is in the practice of the precepts. That which accompanies the practice of the precepts is the mind of great compassion. Practice of the precepts without the thought of enlightenment leads to the attainment of a pleasant retribution in the conditioned world; this is the lesser karma attained by human beings and devas. A time will come when this retribution is exhausted and, as before, you will fall back into the cycle of birth and death.

Practice of the precepts with the thought of enlightenment extends infinitely into the future and in the end leads to the realization of the retribution of Buddhahood. In the sutras, it is written, "The Buddhas of the three periods of time gained the thought of enlightenment through these precepts." All of you should believe this and receive and observe the precepts in conformity with the Dharma.

[Watt, trans., "Sermons," p. 122]

Leave Home for the Protection of the True Dharma

The Dharma is fundamentally not something that arises and becomes extinct. Even if all sentient beings, at the same time, were to arouse the thought of enlightenment, fulfill the practice of the bodhisattva and realize unsurpassed enlightenment, as regards the Dharma, there would not be the slightest increase. . . . Corruption in the conduct of monks, however, may accurately be referred to as a sign of the Dharma's decline. . . . Seeing the corruption today in the appearance and conduct of the five groups [within the Buddhist clergy],[6] one must arouse a [high] aspiration.

The sutras say that when Shakyamuni was a prince and went forth from the north gate [of his palace], he saw an ascetic, and for the first time, he aroused

6. The five groups are monks, nuns, male and female novices, and *siksamana*, a special category of female novice between the ages of eighteen and twenty.

the thought of enlightenment. Thereafter, he followed a hunter and exchanged his garments for a robe, and cutting off his hair with a knife, for the first time [himself] took on the appearance of an ascetic. Then, in the guise of one who had left home, he begged for food in the country of Magadha. . . .

The Buddha, the World-Honored One, was not a person who left home because the position of a Cakravartin king[7] or the governance of the empire had become a burden. . . . It was not that his officials and subjects had become a burden. For the Buddha, the World-Honored one, even when he was among great numbers of people, it was no different than when he was alone in a quiet place with no one around. It was not that the palaces and towers had become a burden. . . . Nor was it that he left home because his three wives . . . had become a burden. . . . Nor was it that he left home because his relatives had become a burden. . . .

Why, then, did he leave home? It is simply that the guise of an ascetic and of one who leaves home is natural to people who follow the great path to liberation from birth and death. Because all of the Buddhas of the three periods of time left home and realized enlightenment, Shakyamuni also, following their [example], left home and realized unsurpassed enlightenment. . . .

Therefore, when illustrious masters of ancient times discoursed on the three Treasures and spoke of the element most important for the transformation of people, [they held that] the merit of the Buddha comes first. For the attainment of liberation, [however,] the merit of the Dharma comes first. Even the Buddha realized enlightenment by taking the Dharma as his teacher, and people today also practice relying upon the Dharma. [Yet] for the maintenance of the Three Treasures, the merit of the Sangha comes first. If the conduct of the Sangha is correct, then the Buddha and the Dharma will survive, and, as a consequence of that, the true Dharma will long abide. . . .

Today, a person who sees the signs of the Dharma's decline and who [still] has a [high] aspiration, cannot pass the days at ease. If, arousing a [high] aspiration, a person wants to protect the Dharma, there is nothing better than leaving home in accord with the Dharma. If one's appearance is correct, one's aspiration will naturally be correct, and if one's aspiration is correct, the Buddha's Dharma will survive. . . .

[Watt, trans., "Sermons," pp. 123–25]

The Merit of Leaving Home

The merits of a person who leaves home are innumerable and without limit. . . .

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7. A Cakravartin king is a universal monarch, an ideal Buddhist ruler who governs through spiritual power rather than force.

On the one hand, one who leaves home inherits the seeds of Buddhahood and causes them to flourish. . . .

On the other hand, one who leaves home becomes a field of blessing for all sentient beings. This is because one who has left home is the manifest form of compassion. For those human beings and devas who see him, he becomes a cause of virtue. . . . Those who reverence and honor him will surely gain the retribution of being held in high esteem, and those who make offerings to him and sing his praises will surely give rise to all virtue and wisdom. . . .

When a monk walks under the moon in meditation, his mind is emptied of all conditioning. When he sits in meditation beneath a tree, all gates to the Dharma manifest themselves within his mind, and he roams far beyond the three worlds. He is unaware that he is still on earth; yet, at ease, he moves about in one room. He is unaware that he is a person who has left home, or again, that he is a human being. Gain and loss, right and wrong—of what concern are they to him? A ruler cannot make him his subject; his father cannot again make him his child. He has no ties to wife or children; he does not compete for fame or profit. Rather . . . he is like the ruler of a country who becomes the overseer of the four classes of people, causes each to work at this task, and yet himself simply sits with folded arms, having nothing to do.

[For the monk], all sentient beings are his children. There is only compassion; there are no relative degrees of intimacy. To shave off one's hair is to discard all ornamentation. To dye one's clothes is to transcend all distinctions of noble and humble. To take the begging bowl in hand is to become a field of blessing for all sentient beings.

[*Jiun Sonja zenshū*, vol. 14, pp. 378–89, 25–27; Watt, trans., "Sermons," pp. 119–28]

Chapter 34

ORTHODOXY, PROTEST, AND LOCAL REFORM

In its original sense as "right teaching," orthodoxy was by no means a foreign concept in Tokugawa Japan. *Seigaku*, "right teaching" or "correct learning," conveyed the same idea. Nor was the concept of "heterodoxy" unknown. *Igaku* expressed the idea of "different," "divergent," or "deviant" teachings or learning, although it signified more a departure from a "Way" than from a stated creed (as "heresy" does).

Almost a universal feature of established traditions, orthodoxy itself has assumed many forms, depending on the nature of its advocacy or its institutional backing; thus it has more often been a contested issue than an accepted fact. In Japan, as we have seen, orthodoxy as the "right" or "correct" teaching was asserted in different forms by individual leaders, each of whom insisted on his own understanding of the teaching as the original true or correct one. In each case, a new fundamentalism claimed to be the one correct or orthodox teaching.

More often, however, orthodoxy has been associated with institutional sponsorship or enforcement. We saw earlier that official orthodoxy was often identified with sponsorship by the Tokugawa ruling house, although the nature and extent of its sponsorship of the Hayashi school, or of Zhu Xi's teaching, varied from age to age, shogun to shogun, and even minister to minister and scholar to scholar. In other words, it was more like personal patronage than an established state system.

How this worked depended on several systemic factors. The Tokugawa re-

gime has generally been characterized as a centralized feudalism. Because of its dominant position, the *bakufu* (literally, "military headquarters") was looked to for direction or as a model by its subordinates, who tended to "follow the leader." Thus much of what headquarters adopted in Edo was taken as a model by its daimyo, and this was especially true of feudal houses that were branches of or closely associated with the ruling house (and that themselves, in turn, exerted an influence on the center).

Besides the political factors, religious, intellectual, and social factors were operating as well. Because there was no civil service examination system acting as a magnet to draw students into "examination studies," as there was in China and Korea, scholars responded to other needs and influences, among them many of the intellectual challenges common to the intellectual elite of East Asia as a whole.

Moreover, as feudal states, the daimyo domains (or *han*) remained largely autonomous in matters not considered to affect the security of the shogunal regime. Thus within this loose structure, as events developed and education spread, there was a considerable diversity among schools, teachers, and scholars, which was abundantly shown in our earlier reading. Concomitant with rapid social growth and economic change, however, serious problems compelled the attention of both scholars and officials, arousing intense concerns and, indeed, alarm. Among those who responded to these concerns in a decided and determined way was the *bakufu* leader Matsudaira Sadanobu (1758–1829). His education had been in the Zhu Xi school, and he acted in accordance with the fundamental premise of that teaching: that the whole political and social order rested on sound education in public morality sustained by individual moral and intellectual cultivation as expressed by Zhu Xi as "self-discipline [as the key to] the governance of humankind" (*shūko chijin*).

Matsudaira was also much concerned with preparing retainers for public service. He tried to convert the school under the nominal leadership of the Hayashis from one that allowed considerable freedom of intellectual inquiry and discussion open to all classes to a program that was more focused on moral training for public service by Tokugawa retainers. The curriculum that Matsudaira advocated was based on the standard texts of Zhu Xi, especially the Four Books and the *Elementary Learning*. He also instituted examinations to certify retainers for official service. A similar regimen was later ordered for the domain schools.

Thus at the end of the eighteenth century, steps were taken to change the pattern of schooling privately conducted but open to all, to a more official one, with a strong sanction for Zhu Xi's teachings and the proscription of those deemed "deviant" (*igaku*). At the same time, since education at large was expanding in the late Tokugawa period, it is noteworthy that among the many new schools established—whether private, official, or semiofficial (i.e., patronized by local daimyo)—the Zhu Xi curriculum predominated. Although this

trend may be partly attributable to the move toward a new orthodoxy, the fact that many of these schools (*terakoya*) were locally sponsored and managed suggests that more was at work here than central direction. Indeed, the Zhu Xi curriculum may well have survived an intellectual attack on its own educational merits in local settings, as it had in quite different systemic conditions in late imperial China and Chosŏn Korea.

Along with the persistence and even the revival of this "orthodox" educational system, or what might be called the ground level of basic literacy, there was an equally significant spread of intellectual activity and a challenging diversity on the higher, more advanced level of scholarship. The Prohibition of Heterodox Studies (or Ban on Deviant Learning) may have set limits on the influence of independent and original thinkers, but its effect was nothing like the repression of modern totalitarian systems.

At the end of the Tokugawa era, education may be roughly characterized as having two levels. The first level, of basic education and literacy, was still very much formed by Neo-Confucian discourse, the language of the Four Books and the Five Classics, the *Elementary Learning*, and the *Classic of Filiality*. The second level showed much greater heterogeneity among the intellectual elite, whose thinking, to the extent that it could be characterized in general terms, opened out onto a much larger horizon while often eclectically trying to reconcile different poles of thought in a loose framework of coexistence or syncretic fusion. Indeed, even the later Hayashi school reflected this syncretic trend.

The selections in this chapter start with the reassertion of the old, and yet systemically new, orthodoxy, followed by examples of challenges to that orthodoxy or established authority, still other forms of advocacy on behalf of local domestic reform, and, finally, bold proposals for national planning and external expansion.

THE PROHIBITION OF HETERODOX STUDIES

THE KANSEI EDICT

The Kansei Edict, issued in 1790 during the administration of Matsudaira Sadanobu, strongly reaffirmed the shogunate's support for the traditional Zhu Xi teaching. In form, however, it was merely a directive to the head of the Hayashi school, hereditarily entrusted with supervising education, to stamp out unorthodox teachings in his own and other official schools. Five years later, another directive called for the enforcement of this ban in the official schools maintained by the other feudal lords. The main effect of these decrees was to discourage the open propagation of heterodox views, but without actually suppressing the schools in which they were privately taught.

The teaching of Zhu Xi has had the full confidence of successive shoguns since the Keichō era [1596–1615; i.e., since the founding of the shogunate], and your family, generation after generation, has been entrusted with the duty of upholding and expounding this teaching. It has been expected, therefore, that orthodox studies would be pursued without remiss and that your students would be trained in accordance with it. Lately, however, various new theories have been put forward; heterodox teachings have become popular; and social standards have been broken down. Indeed, since they [heterodox teachings] point to a complete decline in orthodox studies, we have heard from time to time of those whose thinking is not pure and correct. Consequently in order to tighten discipline at the Confucian college, we are assigning Shibano Hikosuke and Okada Seisuke responsibility in these matters, and you are requested to consult with them on this question, so as strictly to bar your students from heterodox teachings. Not only in your own school, but in all others as well, you are advised to see that the orthodox doctrine alone is taught as the basis for training men for public service.

[Inoue, *Nihon shushi gakuha*, pp. 522–23; WTdB]

THE JUSTIFICATION FOR THE KANSEI EDICT

As the text of the edict indicates, two men were appointed especially to ensure that the new ban would be observed in the official school, probably because the eclectic views of Hayashi Kinpō, then head of the school, did not inspire confidence in his readiness to enforce the new policy wholeheartedly and vigorously. One of these men, Shibano Hikosuke, who was instrumental in having the edict promulgated, had himself been influenced by the views of Nishiyama Sessai, a convert from Ogyū Sorai's school. When a friend of Shibano's sent him a letter protesting this narrow view of Confucian orthodoxy, Nishiyama was eventually entrusted with formulating a reply. This reply clearly shows that the primary targets of the ban were followers of the Ancient Learning propounded by Sorai and Itō Jinsai, as well as those identified with the Wang Yangming school.

Letter from Nishiyama Sessai to Akamatsu Sōshū

After the fall of the Zhou dynasty, the conduct of education declined, and heterodox teachings sprang up. Yang Zhu upheld self-interest and cast doubt on rightness, [and] Mo Di upheld all-embracing love and cast doubt on humaneness and righteousness, but they were mistaken in what they said. Mencius exposed them as perverters who, failing to acknowledge [the claims of the] sovereign and [the special affection due to a] parent, thwarted humaneness and

rightness. Han Yu paid tribute to Mencius, saying that his merit [in exposing these heretics] was no less than that of the [sage-king] Yu.

Both Lu Xiangshan with his "sudden enlightenment" and Wang Yangming with his innate knowledge [literally, "good knowing"] talked about sage wisdom but were mistaken about it. Wise men of the Song and Ming dynasties exposed them as "overtly Confucian and covertly Buddhist"[1] and as destroyers of the moral law. . . .

How much more in recent times with Itō and Ogyū, who opposed the tradition of the *Great Learning* and the *Mean* as being contrary to the original [doctrine] of Confucius and slandered Zisi, Mencius, Cheng, and Zhu, saying that they contradicted the Way of the sages! With sophistry and eloquence they seduced their followers; while pretending to speak for the "ancient learning," they simply peddled their own pernicious doctrines. What small men they were! . . . Since their time, second-rate Confucian scholars have imitated them. Arrogant and conceited, each has insisted on his own mistaken interpretation of the classics and slandered the Cheng–Zhu school. Hundreds of them now vie with one another to set up their own schools, in which they propound new teachings under the strange name of "ancient learning."

You have said: "There have been many different methods of reading the texts and studying the Way, but what all alike revere and believe in are the teachings of Confucius. These consist of nothing more than filial piety, duty toward elders, loyalty, fidelity, [the study of] the *Odes* and the *Documents*, rites and music, governing the country, and pacifying the people. If this be so, then why must one take as one's foundation the Song Confucians alone? Those who use the Han and Tang commentaries or follow Wang Yangming or adopt the teachings of [Jinsai's] Horikawa school or of Ogyū Sorai or choose at will from among the interpretations of many different schools do no injury to the Way as a consequence." If it were as you say, however, those who study the Way of the sages would have no need of true guidance, and the art of teaching would have nothing to do with the conduct of ordinary life. Your students, I believe, are well aware that Buddhism and Daoism are deviant and false doctrines, for the followers of Buddhism and Daoism state explicitly what each regards as the Way, and the deviant nature of their doctrines is immediately apparent. But these stupid Confucians appeal to the authority of the classics and commentaries to advance their own false beliefs, so that what is false, yet appears true, utterly contaminates human eyes and ears and greatly confounds the world.

[*Kansei igaku-kin kankei monjo*, vol. 3 of *Nihon jurin sōsho*, p. 6; WTdB]

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1. Quoting Chen Jian (1497–1567). See de Bary and Bloom, eds., *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, pp. 884–87.

THE LATER WANG YANGMING (ŌYŌMEI) SCHOOL

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the so-called learning (or school) of Wang Yangming would have been just another of the many different Confucian schools had not its intense moral activism extended beyond the school to play an important role for the instigators and leaders of the "Restoration" movement in the 1860s.

SATŌ ISSAI

Satō Issai (1772–1859) stands as an outstanding example, at the very center of late-Tokugawa-period *bakufu* education, of an influential teacher of the ideas of Wang Yangming who synthesized them with those of Zhu Xi. He was born in Edo as the eldest surviving son in a family that had served the lord of Iwamura domain (in Mino Province) as Confucian advisers for three generations. His father had studied for a period under Hattori Nankaku, a famous disciple of Ogyū Sorai, and had had an important part in the government of his domain for more than thirty years. In his childhood, Issai became close friends with a boy named Taira, who—four years his senior—was the third son of the Iwamura daimyo, Matsudaira Norimori. In 1790, the same year as Matsudaira Sadanobu's Prohibition of Heterodox Studies was promulgated,[2] Issai officially entered Norimori's personal retinue. In 1792 he went to Osaka, where he was able to study for a while under the great Kaitokudō scholar Nakai Chikuzan. In 1793 both he and Taira began studying under Hayashi Kanjun, head of the Hayashi college (Shōheikō), but before long Kanjun died without an heir, prompting Sadanobu to order that Taira be adopted into the Hayashi family as heir to Kanjun's position. Taira, henceforth known as Hayashi Jussai, then formally took Issai as a disciple. In 1800, Issai was invited by the lord of Hirado to Nagasaki, where he was able to meet with visiting scholars from Qing China.

In 1805 Issai became professorial head (*jukuchō*) of the Shōheikō, which in 1790 had been converted into the official school for training *bakufu* officials.[3] Under his and Jussai's leadership, the college flourished as never before, attracting superior students from the various domains all over Japan. Although the Shōheikō was supposed to be a bastion of Zhu Xi learning, especially after

2. As part of the Kansei Reform, Sadanobu prohibited the teaching in the *bakufu* college of the teaching of Itō Jinsai, Ogyū Sorai, Yōmeigaku, and the "poeticists and novelists" who were strongly influenced by Sorai. Five years later, this prohibition was extended to the domainal schools, although in most domains it was not enforced very strictly.

3. It became the training school for the sons of *hatamoto* (bannermen), but later, undervassals (*baishin*) and *rōnin* also were admitted. The new official system of learning was fully established under Jussai's leadership in 1797.

the Kansei Edict, Issai early on was strongly attracted to Wang Yangming's teachings. Thus it was commonly said that Issai followed "Zhu Xi outwardly, Yangming inwardly (*yōshu in-ō*)." In Issai's case, however, this was not a matter of insincerity but a matter of a distinction between his public functions and his private beliefs. In 1821, when he turned fifty, Issai began to attract major disciples (e.g., Asaka Gonsai), and those who became his students between 1820 and 1836 include many of the leading scholars of the late Tokugawa period.[4]

In 1841, at the age of seventy, Issai built a retreat near his daimyo's residence and thought of retiring from active service. Later in the same year, he was greatly saddened by the death of Jussai and the suicide in prison of his disciple, the artist Watanabe Kazan. Nevertheless, toward the end of the year, Issai was formally appointed a professor of the official Shōheikō, which required him to move into a residence at the college. Here he continued to guide students, give lectures, meet dignitaries, write diplomatic documents, and give policy advice to the government until his death in 1859.

ATTENTIVENESS TO ONE'S INTENTIONS (SEI-I)

In the following passage from Satō Issai's interpretation of the *Great Learning* (*Daigaku ikka shigen*), he tries to harmonize the views of the Zhu Xi and Wang Yangming schools in his comments on a prime text of both, the *Great Learning*. An influential strain of Zhu Xi thought affirmed the primacy of "reverent seriousness, concentration, or attentiveness (*kei*)," as represented by Yi T'oegye in Korea and Yamazaki Ansai in Japan. The Wang Yangming school emphasized "making one's intention sincere" through reliance on innate knowledge. Issai equates the two, thus circumventing the issue of orthodoxy by minimizing differences and emphasizing common grounds.

Keeping one's intention sincere (*sei-i*) is nothing other than reverent attentiveness (*kei*). To think of sincerity and not let it slip away—if that is not attentiveness, what is? Therefore, [Yangming says that] if one has already spoken of keeping the intention sincere, it is not necessary to speak of attentiveness precisely because there is no attentiveness outside keeping one's intention sincere. The subsequent passage in which he explains making the intentions sincere also begins with vigilance in solitude (*shindoku*) and ends with attentiveness. One can see his meaning. The *Mean*'s concept of making the self sincere (*seishin*) ends in perfect sincerity (*shisei*), and the practice by which it is achieved is clarifying goodness. The *Great Learning*'s "making the intentions

4. They are Yoshimura Shūyō (Yōmeigaku), Sakuma Shōzan (principally Shushigaku), Ōhashi Totsuan (Shushigaku after a period of Yōmeigaku), Yamada Hōkoku, Takemura Kaisai, Ikeda Sōan, and Yokoi Shōnan—all of them Yangming school followers.

sincere" culminates in utmost goodness (*shizen*), and the practice by which it is achieved is extending knowledge (*chichi*) and rectifying affairs (*kakubutsu*).

[Adapted from Ichikawa, *Nihon jukyōshi*, vol. 4, pp. 407–9; BS]

ARTICULATING ONE'S RESOLVE (*GENSHIROKU*)

Among the most famous of Issai's works are his four collections of guidelines for life, called *Articulating One's Resolve*. For the most part, they are simple maxims for daily life, illustrating the importance of conduct that exemplifies one's deepest commitments and high aspirations—in other words, conduct in keeping with the demanding vocation of Confucius's "noble person" (*kunshi*) or the dedicated Japanese samurai. They also purport to serve as the common ethical denominator between the Zhu Xi and Wang Yangming schools. Moreover, since noble ethical conduct cannot be achieved without a firm clarity of mind and a healthy flow of vital energy in the body, many maxims also refer to techniques of training the mind and vital energy, fighting distraction and dissipation, and minimizing the buildup of tension.

Of the many Japanese of the Restoration period who kept these maxims close by for regular self-admonition and encouragement, the best known is Saigō Takamori (1827–1877), the much-celebrated samurai leader of Satsuma who, after his death, lived on as a symbol of the samurai spirit and the Japanese Yangming school (Yōmeigaku).

1. All matters between Heaven and earth, from ancient times to the present, through yin and yang and day and night, through the alternating brightness of the sun and the moon, through the alternation of the four seasons: all are determined in advance by destiny. As for people's conditions of wealth or poverty, high or low station, long or short life, fortune or misfortune, coming together or being separated, all these too are fixed by a predetermined destiny.[5] It is only that we do not know this destiny in advance. It is like a puppet play that has a mechanism behind it all but the observers are not aware of it. People of the world do not realize that this is the case, forever busying themselves searching this way and that in the belief that their own power of knowing is enough to rely on, until finally, exhausted and emaciated, they die. This also is a great delusion.

2. Foremost is to take Heaven as your teacher. Next is to take a person as your teacher. After that is to take the classics as your teacher.

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5. In a later version of the text, Issai replaced the character *sū* (predetermined order or fate), which he used first for "destiny" in both the natural and the human worlds, with the characters *ri* (order, pattern, principle) and *mei* (command, fate, mandate), respectively. He was evidently somewhat uncomfortable with the fatalistic or non-Confucian nuances of the word *sū*, so he tried replacing it with words that are authentically Confucian.

3. In whatever you are doing, the most important thing is to have a mind to serve Heaven. It is not important to think of displaying anything to people.

6. In learning there is nothing more important than establishing your resolve. However, establishing your resolve is not a matter of forcing yourself. It is just a matter of following the natural inclination of your mind-and-heart.

18. Whenever things go really well for you, it is only because you have grasped the natural flow of things. There is nothing more wondrous than this.

19. Your face needs to be cool; your back needs to be warm; your breast needs to be empty; your belly needs to be full.

20. If the spirit is all in your face, you cannot avoid chasing after things and acting indiscriminately. Only when you draw in the spirit and make it dwell in your back is it possible to forget your body. And only then are you really the possessor of your body.[6]

21. If your heart-mind is obstructed, then all your thoughts will be misled.

22. Miscellaneous idle thoughts arise helter-skelter in your mind because of disturbances caused by external things. If you constantly use your own resolve like a sword to drive out all outside distractions, not allowing them to get inside you, then your mind will naturally feel clean and clear.

24. The correctness or crookedness of your mind and the strength or weakness of your vital energy (*ki*) are inevitably revealed in your writing. Even the mental states of delight, anger, sadness, and fear, as well as the degree of your diligence and inner tranquillity—all are expressed in the characters you write. Accordingly, it will help your practice of self-examination if you write some characters every day and use them to judge the condition of your mind.

26. In reflecting on things, it is necessary to be thorough; in handling affairs it is necessary to be simple.

27. A person who truly has a great aspiration [resolve] is able to be diligent in little things. A person who is truly farsighted does not neglect little things.

30. A person who is strict in reproaching himself will also be strict in reproaching others. A person who is tolerant in pardoning others will also be tolerant in pardoning himself. Everyone tends to lean to one side or the other. The noble person (*kunshi*) is "demanding of himself but sparing in his reproach of others."[7]

31. Most people today say they are very busy, but if you look at what they are doing, about 10 to 20 percent of their time they are taking care of important matters, and the other 80 or 90 percent of their time they are occupied with matters of little consequence.

[Satō Issai, *Genshiroku*, in *NST*, vol. 46, pp. 10–13; BS]

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6. *Yijing*, hexagram 52.

7. *Analects* 15:15.

ŌSHIO HEIHACHIRŌ

Ōshio Heihachirō (Chūsai, 1793–1837) was the son of a samurai in line to inherit the family's position of city police captain (*machi yoriki*) in the Osaka city magistrate's office. When he was only seven, however, his father died, and when his mother died the following year, his upbringing was entrusted to his grandparents. At the age of fourteen, Ōshio began his apprenticeship as a *yoriki*, not a high-status position, but one well remunerated and carrying a great deal of actual authority. When reading his family genealogy at the age of fifteen, however, Chūsai discovered that his ancestor at the time of the founding of the Tokugawa order had been a warrior who, in the campaign of Odawara (1590), had impaled an enemy general with his sword right before Ieyasu's very eyes. For this, he was rewarded with a bow that had belonged personally to Ieyasu and was granted a fief in Tsukamoto village in Izu. In an autobiographical letter to Satō Issai in 1833, Ōshio reminisced about this:

> On learning all this I was deeply grieved and felt ashamed at being a petty document writer in the company of jail keepers and municipal officials. It seems that my ambition (*kokorozashi*) at that time was to fulfill the will (*kokorozashi*) of my ancestor by winning fame as a man of great deeds and heroic spirit. Perhaps that is why I constantly felt frustrated and despondent, unable to have any real enjoyment.

Compared with the glorious martial exploits of his ancestor, who had played a part in the heroic founding of the shogunate itself, being a mere civil official in a bureaucratic hierarchy, writing documents and rubbing shoulders with petty clerks, criminals, and jailers, seemed like the height of shame.

The inner moral confusion that this caused Ōshio, combined with his need for a firm ground of moral decision making in carrying out his police work, led him to take up Confucian studies as taught in the Zhu Xi school. At the age of twenty-four, he happened to read a book of moral maxims by the Ming thinker Lü Kun (1536–1618), which impressed him immensely. Searching further, he was led to the study of Wang Yangming and his school. As a result, he gradually learned how to focus the energy of his moral aspiration on the daily tasks of his official position, confident that the mundane duties before him were in themselves the proper field for realizing ethical greatness. This dispelled his earlier sense of shame and frustration regarding these tasks.

The magistrate who took office in 1820 was impressed by Ōshio's character and abilities and promoted him successively to public prosecutor (*meyasuyaku*) and public examiner (*ginmiyaku*). In these capacities, Ōshio won fame through his resolute prosecution of three difficult legal cases: the exposure of a supposed

"Kirishitan" cult and the arrest and punishment of its members, the prosecution of a large bribery scandal involving another *yoriki*, and the banishment of Buddhist clergy who had persisted in violating monastic discipline. In 1830, disturbed by the public attention these cases had brought him (and by his patron's retirement), Ōshio suddenly resigned from his position, hoping to devote himself fully to teaching Yangming's thought at the private school, the Grotto[8] for Mind Cleansing (Senshindō), that he had set up in his official residence. In 1833, he privately published his most important philosophical work, *Notes from the Grotto for Mind Cleansing* (*Senshindō sakki*), a meticulous yet vehement exposition of the practice of the Confucian Way as understood in the Wang Yangming school, focusing on the intertwined teachings of "the mind itself is Heaven," "returning to the Great Vacuity," and "extending innate knowledge."

In the same year, serious flooding in many regions resulted in a severe famine throughout much of the country. In Osaka, where the price of rice almost doubled, rumors of riots began to fill the air. No longer able to act directly as an official, Ōshio decided to leave his school to give lectures in rural areas. He also stepped up his efforts to get his own writings published and distributed in the hopes of warning officials before it was too late. Unfortunately, the famine did not abate in response to traditional governmental measures for dealing with such crises. Ōshio repeatedly offered policy advice to the new city magistrate through his adopted son, but his advice was angrily rejected. Many people were starving in the streets of Osaka, and even more in the rural districts under Osaka's jurisdiction, but the magistrate's office still issued a decree ordering that Edo be supplied with as much rice as it had ordered. Finally, burning with indignation, Ōshio distributed a fiery manifesto addressed to "the village headman, elders, peasants, and tenant farmers in every village, who were given birth by Heaven."

On the nineteenth day of the second month of 1837, Ōshio led more than twenty of his disciples in a cannon attack on the mansion across the street, after which they set fire to Ōshio's own residence and marched into the city. With cannonballs, flaming arrows, and incendiary bombs, the band set fire to the entire Tenma district, beginning with the residences of the *yoriki* and their underlings. They then headed for the waterfront area of the city, setting fire to the mansions of rich merchants on the other side of the Yodogawa River—including the residences of the Kōnoike, Mitsui, Iwaki, Shimaya, and Yoneya. By noon, the band had grown to more than three hundred people. The *bakufu* authorities were at first thrown into confusion by the disturbance, but by 4:00 P.M. they had dispersed the rebels. Within a few days, almost all the rebels had committed suicide, turned themselves in, or been arrested. More than a

8. In traditional usage, the word "grotto" was used, often metaphorically, for a quiet spot used for teaching, study, or meditation.

month later, the police discovered Ōshio's hiding place. Rather than allow himself to be arrested, he set fire to the house he had been staying in and committed suicide with his adopted son.

During the anti-*bakufu* movement toward the end of the Tokugawa period, the unselfish intent (*kokorozashi*) of Ōshio's rebellion was widely admired, and his indomitable idealism came to be reinterpreted as a model for radical political action aimed at popular liberation and the preservation of national sovereignty. Radical leaders like Yoshida Shōin pondered the strategic lessons of the failure of Ōshio's rebellion. After the Meiji Restoration as well, the spirit of Japanese Yōmeigaku—symbolized most frequently by Ōshio, Yoshida, and Saigō Takamori—remained very much alive in Japanese political thought. With its exaltation of the absolute moral and spiritual autonomy of the individual, it mingled with French concepts of individual liberty and natural right in the popular rights movement of the 1880s. At that time, it appealed particularly to former members of the samurai class, helping redirect their impulses toward violent protest into a constructive political movement for parliamentary government.

In 1893, after the promulgation of the constitution in 1889 had deflated the popular rights movement, Tokutomi Sohō (1863–1957) and Miyake Setsurei (1860–1945)—advocates of a popular-based nationalism opposed to the authoritarian style of Confucian ethics promoted by Motoda Eifu—published books promoting the spirit of Wang Yangming learning as a means of cultivating the moral autonomy and independence of mind required of the citizens of a modern nation-state. A year later, the nationalist Christian Uchimura Kanzō (1861–1930) published a book entitled *Japan and the Japanese* (later renamed *Representative Men of Japan*), which exalted Nakae Tōju as a Japanese saint and Saigō Takamori as a national hero and praised Yōmeigaku as the Chinese philosophy that came closest to the noble religion of Christianity. When the conservative Tokyo University philosophy professor Inoue Tetsujirō (1855–1944) began promoting a system of "national ethics" (*kokumin dōtoku*) based on Japanese Confucianism, the first in his influential series of books on Tokugawa Confucianism was on Yōmeigaku (1900). The affirmative conception of Wang Yangming learning in the Meiji period was also carried back to China by Chinese nationalists who took refuge in Japan, such as Liang Qichao, Zhang Binglin, Sun Yat-sen, and Chiang Kai-shek.

In Japan, among those who idealized Ōshio and Saigō in the Taishō and early Shōwa periods was the journalist and politician Nakano Seigō (1886–1943), who decried the Meiji oligarchs' betrayal of the ideals of the Restoration and called for a "second restoration" that would unite the emperor and the people into a powerful egalitarian order. In the postwar period, the most prominent promoters of Yangming learning were Yasuoka Masahiro (1898–1983), a prolific writer, scholar, and adviser to several generations of Liberal Democratic Party prime ministers, and Mishima Yukio (1925–1970), the famous novelist, play-

wright, and aesthete, who wrote an impassioned essay a few months before his suicide promoting Ōshio's samurai philosophy of uncompromising moral commitment—which he presented as a sort of native equivalent of Nietzschean nihilism—as the only way to save Japan from the conformist mediocrity of bureaucratic capitalism and mass-consumer hedonism.

ŌSHIO'S PROTEST (ŌSHIO HEIHACHIRŌ GEKIBUN)

Ōshio Heihachirō's manifesto for revolt during the great famine of 1837 begins with a reminder to his countrymen that Heaven's blessings would be withdrawn from the ruler if the people were driven to desperation. Appealing to the benevolent founding principles of the government established by Ieyasu, it condemns the self-seeking corruption and immorality that had spread throughout the ranks of the government since the establishment of the Tokugawa peace, claiming that the entire populace now burned with rancor against the government.

Since the time of Ashikaga Takauji, the Son of Heaven has been removed from participating in government and has been deprived of the power to distribute rewards and punishments. Therefore the rancor of the people no longer has a place of appeal and has reached to Heaven itself. In response, Heaven has sent down a long series of calamities. Forgetting the "humaneness that unites all beings as one body," the officials of the Osaka magistrate's office are conducting the government for their own selfish ends. They send tribute rice to Edo, but they send none to Kyoto, where the emperor himself resides. On top of this, in recent years the moneyed merchants of Osaka have accumulated vast profits from interest on loans to the daimyo and appropriated great quantities of rice, living a life of unheard-of luxury. . . . Knowing no want themselves, they have lost all fear of Heaven's punishment and make no attempt to save those who are begging and starving to death on the streets.

[*Nihon keizai taiten*, vol. 45, pp. 673–76; BS]

INNATE KNOWLEDGE AND THE SPIRITUAL RADIANCE OF THE SUN GODDESS

In the following passages, Ōshio asserts a common spiritual consciousness linking the innate knowledge of Mencius and Wang Yangming with the spiritual radiance of Amaterasu shining in the self.

If one asked the ancient sages of our own country, one would also find [the teaching] that no moral principles, no learning, and no human affairs exist outside one's innate knowledge. How can I say this with such certainty? Lu

Xiangshan wrote, "If a sage appears in the Eastern Sea, this mind is the same, and this principle is the same." Who is worthy of being called the Sage of the Eastern Sea, if not the Great Kami Amaterasu herself? . . . The spiritual radiance of the Great Goddess corresponds precisely to the innate knowledge "taught by Confucius, Mencius, and Wang Yangming. . . ." Unfortunately, this statement will certainly offend people. But it will not offend the gods. Therefore, it is enough just to understand this truth secretly in the depths of one's own heart.

Mencius derived the term "innate knowledge" from the *qianzhi* [Heaven rules] of the *Classic of Changes* and the words of Confucius. This *qianzhi* is nothing other than the spiritual radiance of the Great Vacuity. The spiritual radiance of the Great Goddess [Amaterasu] corresponds precisely to the innate knowledge taught by Confucius, Mencius, and Wang Yangming.

[Ōshio Heihachirō, *Hōnō shosekishū batsu* 2, in *Nihon no yōmeigaku*, vol. 1, pp. 410–11; BS]

NOTES ON "CLEANSING THE MIND" (SENSHINDŌ SAKKI)

The phrase "cleansing the mind," derived from the Xici commentary on the *Classic of Changes*, refers to a method of mind cultivation and control by which all selfish and self-limiting thoughts are dispelled and the mind returns to a state of pure spiritual openness and unobstructedness as expansive as the open sky and as luminous as the Heavens. This openness and receptivity is referred to as the Supreme Vacuity or Emptiness (*taikyo*) in Neo-Confucianism. It is especially emphasized in the Wang Yangming school as the ultimate source of spontaneous innate knowledge (the faculty of knowing), transparent and translucent when undistorted by bad habits, partiality, or selfishness. In this state, the mind clearly reflects both the underlying unity and the moral differences among all things and affairs and responds to them accordingly.

A:1. Heaven does not mean only the vast blue space of the sky above. Even the empty space between stones or the hollow inside a branch of bamboo is also Heaven. If so, how much more is this true of what Laozi calls the "spirit (god) of the valley." The "spirit of the valley" is nothing other than the human mind. Accordingly, the fact that the wondrousness of the human mind is the same as Heaven can be verified in the sage. Because the ordinary person has lost this openness, however, we cannot say that this is the case. [p. 370]

2. The Vacuity outside the body is itself Heaven. What is called "Heaven" is one's own mind. Here one can realize that the mind encompasses all things. For this reason, if we see a living thing, even a plant, a tile, or a stone, killed or broken or destroyed, it causes pain in our hearts. This is because all these things exist originally and essentially in our mind. If beforehand, desires are obstructing the mind, then the mind is no longer empty. If it is no longer empty,

then it is only a little insensate thing, not the substance of Heaven. It is already alienated even from our own physical body, not to mention from other things. Is it not fitting that a person in such a condition be called a "small person"? [p. 370]

6. If we speak from the point of view of physical form, the body envelops the mind, and the mind is inside the body. If we look at it from the point of view of the Way, the mind envelops the body, and the body is inside the mind. A person who takes the view that the mind is inside the body will find himself encumbered by things the moment he abandons the effort of holding on to and preserving it. A person who realizes that the body is inside the mind will always enjoy the wonder of transcendence, and he will always be able to put things to work for himself. The student should know the difference between putting things to work for oneself and being encumbered by things. [p. 371]

7. The reason that [Confucius's disciple] Yan Yuan was spoken of as "empty"[9] is that he often returned to the Supreme Vacuity. But he still had a little way to go. The sage, on the other hand, from beginning to end, is nothing but one Supreme Vacuity. [p. 371]

10. The person who is bound up by things wavers even in ordinary times. How much more will he waver in the face of an emergency? The person who is grounded in the earth does not waver even in the face of an emergency, let alone in ordinary times. For this reason, one must know to abide in that in which it is proper to abide. [p. 372]

11. When you are going to help someone in distress, you should check whether or not there is a ripple of movement in the depths of your spirit. If there is the slightest ripple, then selfish desire is already there, and your mind is no longer [in accord with] Heavenly substance. If your mind is not [in accord with] Heavenly substance [i.e., completely open to perfect goodness], then it is best not to help the person. [p. 372]

13. If in deep sleep you experience chaotic and repugnant dreams, these are nothing but shadows of your own self-deception in that solitary awareness at the core of your waking consciousness. But if you truly reach the realm where you are not self-deceived in that solitary awareness, you will be a realized person. That is why it is said that "the realized person has no dreams." It is not that he has no dreams but that he has no chaotic and repugnant dreams. The cases of King Wuding of the Shang dreaming of the sage Fu Yue and of Confucius dreaming of the Duke of Zhou would not have been possible if they were not realized people. [p. 372]

14. The return of the human mind to the Supreme Vacuity also begins by being vigilant over the mind in solitude (*shindoku*) and working to overcome the self. If one does not enter by vigilance in solitude and the conquering of

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9. *Analects* 11:18.

self, then it will turn into the vacuous and misguided way of Zen. It is a matter of a difference of a hair's breadth that becomes a gulf of a thousand *ri*. Thus this is a point at which the student of the learning of the mind-and-heart can easily go wrong. [p. 373]

16. The vacuity of an ordinary person's heart cavity is the same as the vacuity of a sage's heart cavity. But there is a vast difference in the clarity or turbidity of their psychophysical natures (*kishitsu*). The vacuity of a poor person's house is the same as the vacuity of a noble person's house, but the walls, roofs, and floorboards are very different in their level of beauty and quality. Now the vacuity of the heart cavity is the vacuity of the Supreme Vacuity, and the vacuity of the Supreme Vacuity is the vacuity of the heart cavity. Originally they are not two. After all, it is the physical nature that constitutes its walls. Accordingly, if a person studies and transforms his physical nature, he will be the same as the sage, and just like the sage his radiance will reach to the ends of the universe, encompassing all and penetrating all. For those who engage in learning without transforming their physical natures, what is it after all that they are learning? Such learning can only be called a shallow and vulgar pursuit. [p. 373]

19. "The resolute scholar (*shishi*) and the humane person do not seek life at the expense of humaneness (*jin*)."[10] Life is something that can be extinguished. Humaneness as the virtue of the Supreme Vacuity cannot be extinguished for all time. It is misguided to throw away what can never be extinguished to protect what is extinguishable. Accordingly, it is truly reasonable that the resolute scholar and the humane person should choose the former and give up the latter. This is not something that the ordinary person understands. [p. 374]

21. If the heart has not returned to the Supreme Vacuity, without fail it will be moved. Why? Because in an earthquake all things that have form—even the towering mountain peaks and the fathomless ocean—will shake. But no earthquake can ever shake the Supreme Vacuity. Therefore, only when the heart has returned to the Supreme Vacuity can one speak of it as "unmoving." [p. 375]

25. The *ki* of the blood-force thrives when the blood thrives and declines when the blood declines. Therefore it is not something we can rely on. The great floodlike *ki*[11] does not grow stronger or weaker with the rise and fall of the blood but constantly fills the body and mind, not declining or changing until death. [pp. 375–76]

26. The *ki* of the blood-force is corrupted and dissipates with death, but the great floodlike *ki* is not corrupted and does not dissipate with death. The moral power and meritorious deeds of the sages, worthies, and heroic personages radiate throughout the universe, and as the years pass, they only shine more brightly. Why is this? This is the great floodlike *ki*. The ordinary person has no

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10. *Analects* 15:8.

11. Mentioned by Mencius.

trace of this. Bound to the physical *ki*, he always feels impatient or fretful, passing his days sluggishly and irresolutely and ending up rotting away not much differently from an insect or a plant. Is this not a great pity? Is it not a great shame? If one thinks on this, how can one afford to neglect the all-important word "diligence"? [p. 376]

57. For the mind to return to vacuity, one enters by making the intentions sincere and being vigilant [over one's mind] in solitude. And if one's intentions are sincere, then there will be no occasion for anger, fear, hankering, or worry to arise. If even one of these is present, then the mind is not vacuous. [p. 386]

58. If the mind has not returned to the Supreme Vacuity but one speaks of innate knowledge, then it is all sensory knowledge, not the genuine innate knowledge. The genuine innate knowledge is nothing other than the spiritual intelligence of the Supreme Vacuity. Except for the person who understands the Way, who can realize this? [p. 386]

106. The commendable words and virtuous actions of other people are themselves the goodness in my own heart, and the disgraceful words and evil actions of other people are themselves the evil in my own heart. For this reason, the sage is unable to regard these things with indifference. The tasks of ordering one's family, ruling the state, and bringing peace to the realm are nothing but preserving all that is good in one's heart and eliminating all that is evil. . . . [p. 404]

129. Humaneness is the life of the Supreme Vacuity; rightness is the completion of the Supreme Vacuity; ritual decorum is the penetration of the Supreme Vacuity; wisdom is the luminosity of the Supreme Vacuity; [and] trustworthiness is the oneness of the Supreme Vacuity. . . . [p. 413]

162. Ordinary people regard Heaven and earth as infinite and everlasting but regard their own selves as something perishable. Therefore they concern themselves only with giving free rein to their desires while their physical vitality (*kekki*) is still strong. The sages and worthies, on the other hand, regard not only Heaven and earth as infinite but also their own selves as Heaven and earth. Therefore they are not afraid of the death of the body but fear the death of the spirit (*kokoro*). As long as the spirit does not die, one's unendingness can rival that of Heaven-and-earth. Accordingly, one regards one day as the same as a hundred years, bracing oneself with unwavering firmness as if one were standing at the brink of a chasm, unable to let go of oneself for even a moment. For this reason, one does not let one's resolve be moved by external things and does not seek longevity through the indulgence of desires. One concerns oneself just with eliminating human desires and holding firm to the principles of Heaven. . . . [pp. 430–31]

B:20. In studying the Way of the sages, we entrust everything to our innate knowledge of the good. Therefore we are like someone crazed (*kyōsha*) in our efforts to make public what we perceive to be right and wrong. Accordingly, we

have no way of telling how much trouble from other people this will bring upon us. Nevertheless, to end up diminishing our sensitivity to right and wrong just because we are afraid of the trouble it will cause us is something that a man of character (*jōfu*) would consider shameful. And what honor (*menboku*) would we have to be able to meet the sages in the afterlife? Therefore, I concern myself with nothing but following my resolve (*kokorozashi*). [p. 465]

36. From the vacuity in the mouth and nose to the vacuity of the five viscera and the heart, all are the vacuity of the Supreme Vacuity. The spiritual intelligence of the Supreme Vacuity is completely collected in the vacuity of the five viscera and the heart. Thus these cavities are the dwelling places of humaneness, rightness, ritual decorum, and wisdom. These four virtues are nothing but the spring, summer, autumn, and winter that circulate within the Supreme Vacuity. If one looks from this perspective, then the four virtues and the four seasons, while different, are also the same. Accordingly, the ancients said, "Man is Heaven, and Heaven is man." Confucius said, "What does Heaven say? The four seasons alternate and the hundred things are given birth. What does Heaven say?"[12] Here he was using Heaven to speak of human virtue. In that case, is it not also reasonable to say that "Heaven is man and man is Heaven"? [p. 473]

41. The Supreme Vacuity encompasses the world, and the world is encompassed by the Supreme Vacuity. And although things go through a myriad changes and transformations, they have never been able to obstruct the Supreme Vacuity. Here we can see why the capacity of the sage's mind is without obstruction. [p. 474]

57. Only after the mind has returned to the Supreme Vacuity can real moral principles be maintained. If a person has not returned to the Supreme Vacuity, real principles will [still] lie buried, and there will be nothing to distinguish him from a material thing. There is nothing more shameful than for a human being to be no different from a material thing, something without that spiritual nature (*rei*). If everyone in the world feels no shame about this, then what is going to happen to that spiritual nature? [p. 479]

69. The Supreme Vacuity is filled to the brim with real principles and real vital energy (*ki*). Moreover, things that have form, even when they are not empty within, also all possess perfect vacuity in the core of their being. This can be verified by examining plants and trees. [p. 487]

[Ōshio Heihachirō, "Senshindō sakki," in *NST*, vol. 46, pp. 370–86, 404–5, 413, 430–31, 465, 473–74, 479, 487; BS]

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12. *Analects* 17:14.

AGRARIAN REFORM AND COOPERATIVE PLANNING

NINOMIYA SONTOKU

Fuji no shirayuki wa	The white snow on Fuji
Asahi ni tokeru	Melts in the morning sun,
Tokete nagarete	Melts and runs down
Mishima ni ochiru	To Mishima,
Mishima jorōshū no	Where Mishima's prostitutes
Keshō no mizu.	Mix it in their makeup.

Ninomiya Sontoku (1787–1856), who grew up within sight of Mount Fuji, must have hummed this popular ballad on occasion and may have mused on what it meant. The white snow is beautiful to look at, but it can be useful to people only when it melts and runs down to the foot of the mountain, where people live. The Japanese often speak of the "underground activity of water" (*chika-suigyō*) as a simile for self-effacing service on the lowest level of human life. Ninomiya's lifelong service was something akin to that of water. He never wanted to be a government official, nor did he offer to serve as a political adviser. Starting life as a farmer, he always remained one. But at the same time, he did much to improve the farmer's life by teaching and practicing a creed that can be summed up in these few articles: first, manual labor is the worthiest of human activities, since it brings to fruition the creative labors of the gods; second, the law of averages in nature requires a sort of planned agrarian economy in which something is set aside from good harvests to tide over bad years; third, agrarian life is essentially communal, and its success depends on unselfish, cooperative activity in an organization through which the savings of some members may be made available for the use of others; and fourth, human life must be conceived as a continuing act of thanksgiving for the providence of Heaven, earth, and man.

This creed and the indefatigable labors of Ninomiya Sontoku to rescue his fellow farmers from the vagaries of nature won for him the affectionate title Peasant Sage of Japan. A popular ivory image of Ninomiya represents him as a hardworking and affable youth with a happy, smiling face. But a wooden portrait kept in his home and a drawing now placed in the Ninomiya Shrine at Odawara represent him as a man of rugged physique and rough features, with a look of unshakable determination. This is the man to whom shrines were built, as to a patron saint in the rural districts around modern Tokyo.

At first glance, it might seem hard to reconcile Ninomiya's deep sense of gratitude to nature with his constant emphasis on the need for planning against the vagaries of nature. But to his mind, the seeming irregularities of nature were

in no way arbitrary or capricious. Natural calamities indeed occur without regard to immediate human desires, but they are part of an inexorable natural order that works ultimately for the good of humans, provided that they do their share. People cannot rescue themselves from the miseries of a hazardous livelihood by crying out against nature. Instead, they must be ready to understand the conditions set by nature and take them into account when planning their lives. This requires, above all and before all, the virtue of integrity or honesty (*shisei*),[13] which to Ninomiya meant not only a recognition of law and order in human relationships but also a wholehearted acceptance of the order of nature. The Way of Heaven (*tendō*) and the Way of humankind (*jindō*) should be mutually enhancing, but it is not for people to supersede or dominate Heaven (nature). Humankind succeeds by accepting and following nature, and something that must be accepted as a law of nature is the necessity for human labor. Hard work is just as much a part of the natural order as is the rising and setting of the sun or the change of the seasons. Every year, every month, every day, and every hour has an incalculable value to advancing human life. Therefore idleness cannot be tolerated. "The root of virtue is found in labor," Ninomiya once said, "and the loss of virtue comes from idleness."

Labor also makes people what they are, for civilization and human advancement are nothing but the cumulative achievements of human labor. The Japanese nation itself is only what generation after generation of forebears have made of it through their loving labors. Ninomiya expresses his idea in a poem that refers to the rising tide of neo-Shintoist concepts in early-nineteenth-century Japan:

Furu michi ni	The beaten path
Tsumoru ko no ha wo	Is covered with fallen leaves;
kakiwakete	Brush them aside
Amaterasu kami no	And see the footprints
Ashiato wo miru	Of the Sun Goddess.

The practical side of Ninomiya's teaching is embodied in his own system of economic planning. Farmers are apt to experience the seeming indifference, or even cruelty, of nature during a year of poor harvest. This will be felt most keenly by those whose existence is most precarious, who are living from day to day or from harvest to harvest at the limit of their resources. The only plan is for them to think and plan in long-range terms. In other words, people must try to see things in somewhat the same way that nature does, and statistics, based on the law of averages, is what enable them to do so. Ninomiya thus urges his fellow farmers to compile their own statistics of crop yields over a ten-

13. The "Absolute Sincerity" of the Confucian classic, the *Mean*.

year period or longer. With this, they can estimate their annual average income fairly reliably and budget their expenses accordingly. The major portion of Ninomiya's collected works, which run to thirty-six volumes, is devoted to the budgets or formulas (*shioki*) that he worked out for various individuals, village communities, feudal domains, and even the shogunate. They represent probably the most detailed case studies of agrarian problems and the most immediately practical solutions for them attempted in the Tokugawa period.

Ninomiya's system of planning or budgeting, however, was not conceived in terms of immediate personal needs alone. People had to contribute to the welfare of others, especially of posterity. Just as the individual shares in the life of a community and benefits from the contributions of his predecessors, so must he contribute to the general welfare. Since each individual's welfare is bound up with that of the community, the sufferings of some, if unaided in times of distress, will eventually affect the lives of others and hold back the progress of all. The mark of a civilized community is what it provides for mutual aid. In agrarian communities, this should take the form of a voluntary credit union. Ninomiya gave the societies that he organized the name Society for the Repayment of Virtue. Thus he acknowledged the debt that each man owes to his fellows and to his forebears for their contribution to the general welfare.

Perhaps the only thing original in Ninomiya's teachings is these simple formulations for long-range planning and mutual aid in the agrarian community. These are by no means insignificant contributions, for the depressed condition of agriculture in many Asian countries still urgently called for more of the planning, cooperative enterprise, and short-term farm credit that Ninomiya was promoting. Community cooperation and mutual aid had been prominent features of Neo-Confucian communitarian thought and practice in China and Korea, but few, if any, were applied to commercial enterprise and economic planning to the extent that Ninomiya's cooperatives did.

Nevertheless, his espousal of such techniques alone cannot explain the success of his movement or the lasting impression he made on Japanese farmers. He was as much a religious leader as anything else, although he did not consider himself to have been favored by any special insight or inspiration or by the sort of education that might command respect among the learned. He had no formal instruction, and readers of his life story are impressed that he took from his reading only what he had already learned from life. His thought does not bear the mark of any established tradition, and yet it seems to have absorbed much from existing cults that would contribute to his purpose. Thus he once said that his teaching was one-half Shinto, one-quarter Buddhist, and one-quarter Confucian. That his creed does combine the most practical aspects of these doctrines is not hard to see: the emphasis on honesty or sincerity, which is a cardinal virtue in Confucianism and one that the Neo-Shintoists valued to the exclusion of almost all others in their bare, spare system of thought; the

emphasis on thanksgiving, which is important to both Shinto and Pure Land Buddhism; the same insistence on disciplined and devoted service that Nichiren called for in the name of the Lotus and the nation; and, finally, the self-reliance that Zen inculcated in its followers. Above all, Ninomiya must have shown the poor peasant the effectiveness of these ideas in action. While others talked and wrote about them, he worked at them. His accomplishments in rescuing numerous communities from poverty and ruin, starting with nothing more than his native wit and willingness to work hard, became the inspiration for many others after him who joined together to solve their problems in a self-reliant but selfless spirit.

THE REPAYMENT OF VIRTUE (*HŌTOKU*)

Ninomiya Sontoku's collected works fill thirty-six volumes; for the most part, they contain his detailed analyses and solutions of the economic problems of various domains. For his more general beliefs, we must refer to the accounts kept by disciples of his conversations with them, or to the simple slogans and formulas that he found so effective in spreading his ideas among people who, like himself, had little formal education.

Through the following refrain runs the theme of man's dependence on nature and society and the cumulative benefits accruing from that inheritance, and everyone's obligation to repay that debt by extending the benefits to others.

The origin of father and mother depends on the will of Heaven-and-earth.
The origin of the human body depends on its being given birth to, and cared for, by father and mother.
The succession onward to children and grandchildren depends on the sincere solicitude of husband and wife.
The wealth and status of parents depend on the labor and achievements of their forebears.
The wealth and status of ourselves depend on the accumulated goodness of father and mother.
The wealth and status enjoyed by children and grandchildren depends on our own labor and effort.
The growth and preservation of our selves depend on three things: food, clothing, and shelter.
The three necessities of food, clothing, and shelter depend on [the products of] field and farm, woods, and forest.
[The products of] field and farm, woods and forest, depend on the labor and cultivation of the people.

This year's food and clothing depend on the production of last year.
Next year's food and clothing depend on the exertions and hardships of this year.
Year in and year out we must be ever mindful of the repayment of virtue.

[*Hōtoku-kun* 1, in *Seikatsu genri* vol. of *Ninomiya Sontoku zenshū*, p. 544; WTdB]

THE PRACTICE OF REPAYMENT

The teaching of the Repayment of Virtue is a practical teaching. In practicing it, the three most important things are to labor, to be thrifty, and to pass on something to others. To labor means to work hard at one's own occupation; to be thrifty means to keep the family income clearly in mind and to live within that income; [and] to pass something on to others means to practice the five forms of sharing according to one's own means. These are what I call the Three Duties of my school. These duties are like a tripod, which needs each one of its legs and fails to fulfill its function if one is missing. A man may labor hard at his occupation, but if he is not thrifty, it will be labor wasted. A man may be thrifty, but if he is not also hardworking, he will be unable to produce anything, and he will have a sense of guilt toward Heaven and earth. Last, even if a man is both hardworking and thrifty, if he does not pass something on to others, he will be lacking humanity and may become miserly. Industry and thrift are practiced only for the sake of passing something on to others.

[*Hōtokugaku naiki* 7, ed. Fukuzumi, in *Ninomiya Sontoku zenshū*, vol. 36, pp. 864–65; WTdB]

THE WAY OF NATURE

Ninomiya's teaching stressed the maximum utilization of the gifts of nature without suggesting in any way that humans should try to dominate or exploit nature. He does not think in terms of technological progress but, rather, in terms of fulfilling nature's own plan through rational management and human industry. Less of a scientist and an engineer and more of an ethical or a religious reformer, Ninomiya puts his faith in voluntary efforts on the part of the individual instead of state planning or controls.

Here is a man who wants to eat rice to feed his body and sustain life. The best thing for him to do is to cultivate rice. Now rice culture follows the seasons. Seeding starts at the end of spring, and transplanting, hoeing, fertilizing, and other kinds of care are done in the summer. When the rice is ripe in autumn, it is cut and taken in before winter arrives. After threshing, the grain is apportioned so that there will be enough for needs throughout the year, avoiding excess now and deficiency later. This is the quickest way to get rice to eat.

Although some people might consider it too long a process, I can assure you that there is no other proper way to obtain rice for the people. If you work hard and faithfully at this great task, you will be free from hunger and starvation from generation to generation. Do not ask for a shortcut. In the final analysis, Heaven has its own natural way of doing things, and in order to obtain rice, the only proper way is to cultivate rice plants. When cultivating rice plants, too, there is a proper procedure, which is sowing the seeds. Remember that rice plants never produce rice plants and that rice seeds never produce rice seeds. First the seeds must grow into plants, and then the plants produce seeds. From the beginning of creation there has always been this endless process of transformation and transmigration.

So let our labor bring benefits
Equally to all,
That all as one may attain the Buddha-mind
And go on to live in the land of Bliss.

[*Sangyō shizen dan*, in *Ninomiya Sontoku zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 951–52; WTdB]

THE "PILL" OF THE THREE RELIGIONS

Old Ninomiya once said, "I have long thought about Shinto—what it calls the Way, what its virtues and deficiencies are—and about Confucianism—what its teaching consists of, what its virtues and deficiencies are—and also about Buddhism—what its various sects stand for and what their virtues and deficiencies are. And so I wrote a poem:

Yo no naka wa	The things of this world
Sute ajirogi no	Are like lengths
Take-kurabe	Of bamboo rod
Sore kore tomo ni	For use in fish nets—
Nagashi mijikashi	This one's too long, that one's too short.

"Such was my dissatisfaction with them. Now let me state the strong and weak points of each. Shinto is the Way that provides the foundation of the country; Confucianism is the Way that provides for governing the country; and Buddhism is the Way that provides for governing one's mind. Caring no more for lofty speculation than for humble truth, I have tried simply to extract the essence of each of these teachings. By essence I mean their importance to mankind. Selecting what is important and discarding what is unimportant, I have arrived at the best teaching for mankind, which I call the teaching of Repaying Virtue. I also call it the 'pill containing the essence of Shinto, Confucianism, and Buddhism.'". . .

Kimigasa Hyōdayū asked the proportions of the prescription in this "pill," and the old man replied, "One spoon of Shinto, and a half-spoon each of Confucianism and Buddhism."

Then someone drew a circle, half of which was marked Shinto and two quarter segments were each labeled Confucianism and Buddhism. "Is it like this?" The old man smiled. "You won't find medicine like that anywhere. In a real pill all the ingredients are thoroughly blended so as to be indistinguishable. Otherwise it would taste bad in the mouth and feel bad in the stomach." [pp. 822–23]

The old man said: "The Buddhists say that this life is temporary and that only the life hereafter is important. Nevertheless, we have obligations to our masters, our parents, our wives, and our children. Even if we could renounce this world, leaving behind our masters and wives and children, our bodily life still would go on. And as long as our bodily life goes on, we cannot do without food and clothing. In this world you cannot get across the river or sea without paying the boat fare. So Saigyō says in his poem:

Sute hatete	Having renounced all,
Mi wa naki mono to	I feel myself utterly nonexistent,
Omoedomo	And yet when it snows,
Yuki no furu hi wa	I know
Samuku koso are	How cold I am! [p. 820]

[*Ninomiya ō yawa*, ed. Fukuzumi, in *Ninomiya Sontoku zenshū*, vol. 36, pp. 820–23; WTdB]

SOCIETY FOR RETURNING VIRTUE (*HŌTOKUSHA*)

The Society for Returning Virtue was organized by one of Ninomiya's leading disciples, Fukuzumi Masae, to advance the work of his master and eventually spread all over Japan. The following account of its organization and activities was written in 1912.

"Men who wish to render thanks to Heaven by benefiting mankind as much as they can; men who wish to reform villages in order to help the poor; men who wish to sow the seeds of goodness that they may enjoy its lovely flowers and noble fruit; of such men does the 'Hōtokusha' consist." So wrote Fukuzumi Masae, a great disciple of Sontoku.

This Hōtokusha (Society for Returning Virtue) was organized by Fukuzumi according to Sontoku's instructions and consisted of a Central Society and many branches which have since spread all over Japan. The central organization was on the principle of Sontoku's Hōtoku office, or Hōtoku yakusho, as it was called,

of which Sontoku said, "The spirit of the Hōtoku office, if pictured, would be like an august deity shedding a holy light and filled with love and compassion for the common people. No other picture would do justice to its subject."

The purpose of the Hōtokusha is to help the poor and to aid them to unite in helping one another, first, by opening their hearts and developing goodness of character among them, and secondly by assisting them to open up wild lands, improve irrigation and roads, repair bridges and river banks, and, in general, by doing all that is of benefit to the poor. It begins by helping the poorest and encouraging and rewarding the good. The function of the Central Society is to give financial help as well as advice to the branches, so its members are well-to-do persons who freely give their money and services in order to show their gratitude to Heaven by helping their fellow men, and they expect no material reward for themselves.

The Branch Societies consist of poorer men who pay a small subscription known as the "Nikka-sen" or "Daily Subscription Money," laying aside from day to day a certain amount of their regular earnings, or the product of extra labor, though it be but a farthing a day, to be paid into the Society monthly. The money thus subscribed by the poor, together with money received from the Central Society, forms a fund from which loans are made to members requiring capital for sound productive enterprises, such as improving their trade or industry. No interest is charged, because the purpose of the Society is to help the needy. Sontoku once compared the virtue of lending money, without interest, to the sun. "When the sun rises industry awakes. Officials take up their duties, farmers till their fields, merchants buy and sell, and all men work at their various employments. So when money is lent without interest farmers who were sitting idle for lack of implements set to work on their farms, merchants who were lying asleep because they had no money to buy goods get up and open their shops again, the weak become strong, and the poor become rich. The sun rises and sets daily and corn grows, trees blossom, fruit ripens, and in 365 rounds of the sun all the needs of man are satisfied. Even so is the virtue of money lent without interest—farmers and merchants prosper, and the idle become industrious."

Zenshukin, "Seed-of-Goodness Money," is a fund formed from occasional contributions of members, and is employed in charity and various public benefits. The following extracts from an old cashbook of a branch indicates the source of such contributions:

Contributions to Zenshukin

Yen	*Sen*	
3	0	Amount saved by economizing expenses on marriage ceremony of donor's sons.
9	50	Proceeds of sale of unnecessary clothing in donor's family.

5	0	Share of profit from keeping pigs.
2	0	Proceeds of sale of three trees planted for the purpose five years ago.
1	25	Amount saved by economizing in traveling expenses.
0	75	Amount saved by giving up drinking saké.
0	37	Amount realized by selling pipes and tobacco, donor having given up smoking.
0	25	Proceeds of nightwork making rope.
0	65	Proceeds of sale of a silver hairpin.

The Hōtokusha is virtually a Cooperative Credit Society founded with a high moral purpose, and it has proved a great boon to the poorer classes of people. Its organization at the present time is not precisely the same as at its inception, having been more or less modified to meet the changing circumstances of the times and the various needs of different localities, but in spirit and in general principles, it remains as it was at its origin.

[Yoshimoto, trans., *Peasant Sage of Japan*, pp. 227–31]

Chapter 35

FORERUNNERS OF THE RESTORATION

RAI SANYŌ AND YAMAGATA DAINI: LOYALISM

RAI SANYŌ'S UNOFFICIAL HISTORY

Rai Sanyō (1781–1832), a major figure in the rise of emperor-centered nationalism at the end of the Tokugawa period, was the son of Rai Shunsui, a well-known Neo-Confucian teacher in Osaka who was enlisted in the service of the Aki domain (Hiroshima) when Sanyō was four years old. Sanyō's mother also was accomplished in the literary arts, and two uncles of his were well-known Confucian scholars, which ensured that he would receive an excellent education from an early age. At the age of sixteen, he accompanied his uncle and teacher Kyōhei to Edo, where he studied for a year at the Shōheikō. There, he is reported to have amazed scholars with his abilities in Chinese poetry and prose. With the permission of domainal leaders, his father had already set out to write a national history, but this permission was abruptly withdrawn four years later, and the manuscript he had been working on was destroyed.

As a child, Sanyō felt his father's disappointment keenly, and this nourished his own aspiration to devote his life to writing history. In order to fulfill his ambition free of external pressures, he decided to free himself from duties in the service of a domain and become an ordinary unattached "grassroots" scholar

(*sōmō no sōshi*). Leaving one's domain without special permission, however, was a crime under Tokugawa law. At the age of nineteen, after his father was appointed to teach at the Shōheikō, Rai took the opportunity to flee the Aki domain and make his way to Kyoto. This led to his father's angrily disinheriting him in order to fend off greater punishment and to Sanyō's being placed under house arrest for three years. Later, however, he was allowed to have the books he needed to begin writing his *Unofficial History of Japan* (*Nihon gaishi*).

In 1809, Sanyō was invited to become headmaster of a private school run by a distinguished poet of Song-style Chinese poetry, Kan Sazan (1748–1827), in the neighboring province of Bingo. Although Sazan was hoping to adopt Sanyō as his heir and had arranged a well-paying position for him in the service of the Fukuyama domain, this was hardly a route that would satisfy Sanyō's real ambition, and he carefully explained to Sazan his desire to go to Kyoto. Sazan yielded, and in 1811 Sanyō moved to Kyoto, where he opened a small school of his own. Here he lived for twenty years as an independent man of letters, supporting himself by teaching, writing, and calligraphy; associating regularly at his school with many of the leading literati of Kyoto in his time—poets, literati painters (*bunjinga*), and Confucian scholars—living a rather bohemian lifestyle cut off from officialdom; and engaging in aesthetic pursuits. In this environment, Sanyō was free to express his own views in his writings on history.

Finally, in 1827, Sanyō completed his *Unofficial History*, and in response to an invitation by the senior statesman (*rōjū*) Matsudaira Sadanobu (1758–1829), he presented it to the shogunate. To his own relief, the work was accepted and even praised by Sadanobu, helping give it the wide circulation it later enjoyed. In his late years, Sanyō also presented his *Unofficial History*, through his son, to the daimyo of Hiroshima and, through his disciples, to the daimyo of several other domains. That it truly did present views that might be considered "dangerous" is suggested by the fact that several domains strictly prohibited the public circulation of the book. Famous Confucian scholars like Yokoi Shōnan (1809–1869) had to obtain it surreptitiously and read it in secret. Gradually, however, it was brought to people's attention and came to be widely read.

Sanyō was not only a historian but also an accomplished calligrapher and writer of Chinese-style poetry. What helped make his history famous was the elegant, vigorous, and highly readable style of Chinese in which it was written, which was modeled on the *Zuo Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals* and the *Records of the Historian*. In an article on Rai Sanyō published in 1893, the prominent Meiji historian Yamaji Aizan wrote,

> Through him, the Japanese came to know the history of their fatherland. The Japanese came to know what the country of Japan was. They came to know why it is that the country of Japan is superior to all other countries. And they came to know of these things not merely in theory but were taught them in language that had the quality of poetry, the quality

of song. Subsequently, it came about that the country met with a succession of maritime emergencies. The hearts of the people were suddenly awakened, and the cry of "revere the emperor and expel the barbarians" filled the four seas. Who can say that this was not a result of the lessons he had taught us? Ah! Such is the accomplishment of Rai Noboru (Sanyō)!

UNOFFICIAL HISTORY OF JAPAN (*NIHON GAISHI*)

The following passage, giving Rai Sanyō's views on the abortive Kenmu Restoration, includes the key concepts of historical explanation that he used and the values he celebrated of self-sacrificing devotion to the emperor. He speaks of him in the Confucian sense as a true king, thus challenging such claims sometimes made on behalf of the shoguns as kings or princes (ō).

The Unofficial Historian says:

In writing the history of the shogunal houses, whenever I get to the Heiji and Jōkyū periods, I put down my brush and sigh: Ah! Such a decline of morals in the world! Such a lack of correspondence between name and reality! In earlier times, those referred to as military retainers[1] had no concern other than to loyally serve the king [emperor].[2] The Heike and Minamoto clans were no exception. Yet beginning from the Heiji period [1159–1160], they took advantage of the slackened discipline in the court to fulfill their greedy lust for power. Some [people] were totally without scruples in their violence and ferocity, and some were fiercely and unfathomably suspicious of other people.[3] Although their actions were different, they all were the same in their disregard for the kingly laws and in their pursuit of personal gain. However, they could still claim that they had a right to do what they did because they were of royal ancestry and had been royally appointed as military commanders.

When we get to the Hōjō clan, however, even though they were only subordinates of the shogun, they ordered the court around with impudence. From this point, I can hardly bear to speak about the affairs of the realm. Moreover, regarding the Jōkyū incident,[4] all the writings that discuss which side was in

1. Literally in Chinese, "military ministers" (*bushin*), which in Japanese was understood as samurai.

2. The word that Sanyō uses throughout is "king" (ō), not "emperor," emphasizing the Confucian ideal of kingly rule, as opposed to mere power holders with no legitimate claim to rule.

3. Sanyō is referring mainly to Taira no Kiyomori and Minamoto no Yoritomo.

4. After the Jōkyū incident of 1221, in which cloistered emperor Go-Toba attempted by military means to reassert the power of the throne over the newly established shogunate, three cloistered emperors were banished by the shogunal regent, Hōjō Yoshitoki.

the right were by men who lived in the period of Hōjō power, so we have no way to verify their authenticity today. Besides, how can it be acceptable to compare Hōjō rights and wrongs in the relationship between ruler and vassal? Nevertheless, the Hōjō vilified the court and turned their rage on it, subjecting it to the greatest insult, treating the emperor in all his dignity as if he were nothing more than a pig. Oh people of the eight islands,[5] which one of you has not been bathed in the beneficence of the early kings?[6] But all the so-called warriors (*bushi*) of that time were used to being taken care of by the Hōjō, and they were willing to serve them hand and foot. Even if the nominal rank and status of their lineage were much higher than the Hōjō, they were content to take orders from the Hōjō and put themselves at their beck and call. In time, because this state of affairs continued, they came to take it for granted. How can one even bear to talk about this?

As for those known as court nobles (*kōkei*), they ordinarily hung around the court at their pleasure, using the ranks and emoluments they had appropriated from the emperor to lord it over the realm. Even at a time like this, they did not come up with a single strategy to deal with the crisis; they folded their arms and watched on the sidelines while the Hōjō did what ever they wanted. So how can we blame it all on the warriors (*bujin*)? It is true that the trend of the times made some things impossible and the virtue of the ruler was not without blemish, but the occurrence of such a calamity was also the fault of the emperor's ministers. From that point on for the next hundred years, the succession to the throne and the appointment of shoguns and ministers were completely controlled by the Hōjō, and the court shrank in stature as if it were tied and bound. The emperor even had to check the look on the Hōjō regent's face before deciding to feel happy or sad. What a sorry state of affairs!

I have heard that after the ex-emperor Go-Toba was exiled to Oki, he had to build himself a hut leaning against a cave in order to shelter himself from the wind and rain. He lived this way for nineteen years before he died. The three ex-emperors—the father and his two sons—were separated from one another by a thousand *ri*, each living on a remote island in the sea.[7] To the end of their days they were not able to see one another again. How could they have forgotten the Hōjō for even one day? In view of this, the Genkō incident[8] was absolutely inevitable.

As for the merit of loyal service to the emperor in this incident, in my opinion, the first place goes to Kusunoki no Masashige. If it were not for

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5. Yashima or Ōyashima is a name for Japan that occurs in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*.

6. In the Japanese context, the "early kings" or "former kings" who founded the nation were the imperial ancestors.

7. Tsuchimikado was exiled to Tosa and then went to Awa. Juntoku was exiled to Sado Island.

8. The Genkō incident was the attack on the Hōjō by Emperor Go-Daigo in 1331 to 1333.

Kusunoki, then as I see it, the royal western progress of Emperor Go-Daigo[9] would have ended up the same way as the Jōkyū incident. Why so? Even though Hōjō Takatoki made some mistakes in his government, his power was greater than ever. He could have relied on the authority the Hōjō had built up over several generations to pressure the long-weakened imperial throne. He had a million warriors as fierce as tigers and wolves following his commands and raging around the country. There was no way anyone could stand up to him. People in the realm had taken the Jōkyū incident as a warning, and they were reluctant to act, waiting with bated breath and not daring to mention the idea of "loyal service to the emperor." But Lord Kusunoki, alone, braced his humble body against all of this, raising the cry of righteousness, marching straight into the ranks of the Hōjō troops, and overcoming Takatoki's bodyguards. Through this he was able to rouse the spirits of righteous warriors in all directions, persuading them to rise up quickly one after another and annihilate the source of evil in one attack, avenging the deep rancor of many generations of emperors and clearing away their great shame. The masses of the people were again able to look up at the light of the sun and moon. Although we can say that the time was ripe for the destiny of the throne (*kōun*) to open up, if Lord Kusunoki had not raised his voice for the cause, how could it have been achieved? How do we know that Heaven did not deliberately give birth to this person to rectify the way of the world and save it from moral decay? . . .

In sum, Kusunoki's rank was lower than his capacity, so he was not given enough opportunity to fully reveal his talents. Thus in the end he gave his life for his country. Finding peace in righteousness, he dedicated himself in complete sincerity to the ancestors of the imperial line. The merit of his heroic deeds has not only passed down to his descendants. After his time, probably every nobleman or warrior who has taken up bow and arrow in the name of loyalty to the emperor has been inspired by hearing about Kusunoki. Ah! It is men like Kusunoki who can truly be called worthy of the title *samurai*.

[Rai Sanyō, *Nihon gaishi*, *kan* 5, "Nitta-shi zenki," vol. 1, pp. 280–83; BS]

YAMAGATA DAINI'S NEW THESIS

Early in 1759, a samurai-physician, master tactician, Confucian scholar, and classical Chinese poet completed a polemical tract on sociopolitical reform entitled *Master Ryū's New Thesis* (*Ryūshi shinron*). This man, known to history as Yamagata Daini (1725–1767), never published or widely circulated his polemic because it harshly criticized warrior regimes in Japan since the twelfth

9. That is, Hōjō Takatoki's exile of Emperor Go-Daigo to Oki.

century. But eight years later, the Tokugawa *bakufu* in Edo arraigned Yamagata, his student Fujii Umon (1720–1767), and another Confucian scholar named Takenouchi Shikibu (1712–1767) on charges of lèse-majesté in the Meiwa incident of 1767. Yamagata and Fujii were beheaded for their contumely. Takenouchi was ordered into remote exile but died en route. These sentences took place nine years after the Hōreki incident of 1758. This was a disturbance instigated by conservative leaders at the imperial court in Kyoto, who asked the Edo *bakufu* to punish Takenouchi for having lectured to low-ranking nobles on the Shinto–Confucian syncretist thought of Yamazaki Ansai (1618–1682).

Until now, the tendency of Japanese and Western historians of the Tokugawa, or Edo, period (1600–1868) has been to link together these eighteenth-century Hōreki and Meiwa incidents and to view Yamagata, Fujii, and Takenouchi as prototypes of later loyalist martyrs victimized by a tainted shogunal government. The highly authoritarian Tokugawa military regime, they believed, was bent on crushing any sign of popular dissent or opposition, especially if motivated by incipient restorationist sentiments. Yamagata Daini, in particular, has been glorified as part of a grand myth that comes in two versions, pre-1945 and post-1945, depicting him as a revolutionary idol and a fervid visionary. Yamagata's cutting invective, we are told, laid bare the moral bankruptcy of Tokugawa feudalism and urged that it be destroyed and replaced by a superior form of government under the restored imperial aegis.

Most prewar and wartime Japanese scholars expounded the pre-1945 version of the myth, in line with the state ideology of their day. They sought to establish a hallowed pedigree for the ultranationalist ideal of "revering the emperor" (*sonnō, kinnō*)—the defining core of their "national essence or polity" (*kokutai*). That search for a hallowed pedigree led them to idolize any historical figure who could be portrayed as having remotely inspired the Meiji Restoration. Thus the nativist but still pro-Tokugawa National Learning (Kokugaku) and Mito schools were misrepresented as hotbeds of restorationist sentiment.

Then came Japan's ignominious defeat and surrender in August 1945. Nationalist values and the emperor system fell into disrepute among mainstream academics and the general public. Largely but not solely under an iconoclastic Marxist influence, a postwar revisionist school of interpretation in Japan tried to debunk this myth of "revolutionary imperial loyalism leading to the Meiji Restoration" by underscoring its highly conservative, hierarchy-affirming nature—at least with regard to National Learning and the Mito school. The now-accepted view holds that loyalist thinkers such as Motoori Norinaga and Fujita Tōko tried to shore up the *bakufu*—not tear it down—by borrowing prestige and spiritual authority from the imperial court and national deities.[10]

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10. Matsumoto Sannosuke, *Kokugaku seiji shisō no kenkyū*, and early postwar works representative of Marxist historians such as Tōyama Shigeki, *Meiji ishin*, and Inoue Kiyoshi, *Nihon gendaishi I: Meiji ishin*.

But in Yamagata Daini's case, the myth of revolutionary loyalism remains intact. Whereas prewar and wartime nationalist scholars construed his loyalism as being inspired by his love of the emperor, postwar humanist scholars ascribe it to his concern for the oppressed masses. In the post-1945 version of the myth, Yamagata has become an avatar of humanism, democracy, and egalitarianism. Now he is portrayed as wanting to destroy the Tokugawa military regime (*tōbaku*), not as an end in itself, but as the best way to implement radical populist ideals that would liberate downtrodden Japanese commoners.

In the following excerpts from Yamagata's principal work, he does not seem like a loyalist in either the "restorationist" or "revolutionary" sense usually ascribed to him. That is, Yamagata never tried to reinstate direct imperial rule by destroying the *bakufu* and abolishing warrior supremacy and domain ownership, the cardinal principles on which the Edo regime was based. Instead, his loyalism was of another variety. His main thesis, implicitly advanced in *Master Ryū's New Thesis* of 1759, held that the shogun and daimyo were imperial regents or ministers of state who—as long as they took sagely counsel from Confucian scholar-advisers like Master Ryū—should enjoy de facto autonomy in "assisting" (*hohitsu*) political administration under figurehead emperors.

Yamagata Daini was in fact harshly critical of the *bakufu* governments dating from 1185, including the Tokugawa. And since gratuitous—unsolicited—criticism of a regime in power was considered to warrant the death sentence, Edo leaders had ample pretext for executing Yamagata. But this does not make him a "revolutionary" loyalist or a "restorationist" in the sense of wishing to end all forms of warrior rule and domain ownership in order to restore the emperor and court to ruling power. Second, in viewing the imperial court as a "fallen dynasty" barely surviving from the past and in formulating sociopolitical reforms for his own day, Yamagata Daini followed the Ogyū Sorai school far more closely than he did either the Yamazaki Ansai or the National Learning schools. Moreover, Yamagata's proposed reforms called for strengthening and perpetuating—not ending—socioeconomic discrimination based on hereditary class privilege under the existing sociopolitical order. Third, Yamagata held two key implicit assumptions: that although the imperial house would reign forever, emperors were not expected to rule, and so emperors should emulate Chinese exemplars by delegating power to loyal state ministers—the shogun and daimyo—who, in turn, would seek out bold criticism and enlightened counsel from scholar-advisers like Master Ryū. Above all, Yamagata's brand of loyalism lay in the tradition of "imperial assistance" that was inspired by the Fujiwara regents and articulated in medieval histories such as Jien's *Views of an Ignorant Fool* (*Gukanshō*) and Kitabatake Chikafusa's *Chronicle of the Direct Succession of Gods and Sovereigns* (*Jinnō shōtōki*), works that extolled the principle of ministerial autonomy exercised on behalf of figurehead emperors. The main historical significance of Yamagata Daini's political thought is here, not in his anti-*bakufu* criticism or his putative restorationist aims.

MASTER RYŪ'S NEW THESIS (*RYŪSHI SHINRON*)

Rather than advancing his views on his own, unsolicited from the authorities, Yamagata Daini attributed them to a Master Ryū in the mid-sixteenth century. The contents, however, bear the marks of Yamagata's own antecedents in the school of Ogyū Sorai and Dazai Shundai (see chap. 31). Yamagata draws heavily on ideal Chinese models, cited from the Confucian classics, as the basis for a critique of the deplorable state of affairs in Japan. Nevertheless, like Jien and Kitabatake Chikafusa earlier,[11] Yamagata accepts the traditional structure of an imperial Japanese house assisted by civil ministers and military shoguns, if only they would live up to their true responsibilities.

I. Making Name and Actuality Conform

Master Ryū said:

Something may have a name but not be actual.[12] But nothing actual ever lacked a name. We cannot do without names; that is why the sages used them in their teachings. In antiquity, the Duke of Zhou made officials perform as their titles dictated, and all states submitted to benevolent rule. Confucius made the conduct of state ritual and music accord with their ceremonial names, and all under Heaven praised its efficacy. The *Daodejing* says, "The myriad things were begotten by the named."[13] The *Zhuangzi* says, "Reality accompanies name as guest does host."[14] Confucians and Legalists have mastered many teachings revealed in names.

The divine emperor Jinmu founded our eastern land [in 660 B.C.E.] and ruled by the dictum "Nourish the people's livelihood and eliminate hardship from their lives."[15] His radiant virtue extended throughout the four quarters for over a thousand years. [Shōtoku Taishi] set up a system of graded court caps and robes [in 603] to distinguish ranks and so enacted ritual and music to teach

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11. See de Bary et al., eds., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, chap. 11.

12. This set of paired opposites, "name and actuality" (*mei/kei*), is crucial to Yamagata's thesis. *Mei* (Ch. *ming*) stands for stated norms or terms as well as names. Here *kei* (Ch. *xing*) does not mean "form." In classical usage, as in the *Zhuangzi* and *Han Feizi*, the homophone *kei*, both "form" and "punishment," means the "true situation" or "reality."

13. *Rōshi jō*, p. 31; Lau, trans., *Tao te ching*, p. 57.

14. *Sōshi naihen*, pp. 44–46.

15. Jinmu, the mythical founder of Japan's imperial dynasty, supposedly ruled from 660 to 585 B.C.E., and the ideal of virtuous government (*riyō kōsei*) was expounded by the sage-king Yu, founder of the Xia dynasty, as described in the (spurious) "Counsels of the Great Yü" chapter in the *Book of Documents*.

proper government.[16] We had counterparts to the Dukes of Zhou and Shao and to the regents Yi Yin and Fu Yue, so our civilizing dynastic powers of moral suasion left no commoner untouched.[17] Later, nobles like Fujiwara no Mototsune [836–891] and Yoshifusa [804–872] made state affairs conform to the Taihō Code and thereby carried on the glorious institutions first established by Shōtoku, the Sharp-Eared Prince.[18] Our long-lived dynasty attained such great heights that its flowering civilization rivaled the Three Dynasties of high antiquity.

Imperial rule deteriorated by Hōgen-Heiji times [1156–1159], and the government fell into the hands of [Minamoto] eastern barbarians, owing to civil strife in the Juei–Bunji eras [1182–1189].[19] After that, the military dictated state affairs. Underlings seized power and installed or deposed sovereigns at will, so the former sages' ritual and music were lost.[20] Later still, when the Ashikaga arose, warrior power increased further; and they waxed impudent toward the throne despite their lowly title of "general in chief."[21] But the illustrious virtue of former sage-emperors had so permeated the peoples' hearts that even these brutal subjects dared not give their presumption free rein. The imperial regalia remained with His Majesty, and the dynastic line survived "like a thread.". . .[22]

Local warlords arose with the passing of generations. They ran amok like tigers and dragons, stealing and killing to no end. Villainous rebels hatched every sort of conspiracy while warrior-barbarians plundered at will. They wore neither cap nor headcloth; their garments lacked collar and sleeves. The arro-

16. Shōtoku Taishi (574–662) patterned his twelve-rank system of court caps and garments on the Chinese models.

17. The Dukes of Zhou and Shao were ministers under King Cheng (r. 1115–1079 B.C.E.) of the Zhou dynasty, who was a grandson of King Wen. Shao administered the western part of the empire, and Zhou, the eastern. Yi Yin and Fu Yue were regents during the Shang dynasty. Yi Yin served under Kings Tang (r. 1766–1753 B.C.E.) and Tai Jia (r. 1753–1720 B.C.E.). The *Book of Documents* stresses that meritorious service by these four ministerial exemplars accounted for the ideal government of those times.

18. Shōtoku Taishi earned the name Toyosatomimi no mikoto because, according to legend, he could understand ten people talking to him at the same time.

19. Yamagata sees the Juei–Bunji eras (1182–1189) as beginning the decline and fall of imperial rule. Thus he ignores Yoritomo's receipt of the title "Barbarian-Quelling Great General" (*seii taishōgun*) in 1192, the Kenkyū era.

20. After the Jōkyū incident in 1221, Hōjō Yoshitoki forced Emperors Juntoku and Chūkyō to abdicate; later he banished the former emperors Tsuchimikado, Go-Toba, and Juntoku.

21. Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (1358–1408) became shogun in 1368 at the age of eleven. In 1381 he became minister of central affairs and minister of the left. His "Palace of Flowers" was about twice the size of the Imperial Palace. In 1394 he became the grand state minister (*dajōdaijin*), then unprecedented for a warrior, when he bequeathed the shogunal post to his son. In 1401 he proclaimed himself "king of Japan" and "vassal" to the Ming emperor in order to obtain lucrative trading rights with China.

22. *Ito no gotoku*, a phrase taken from the *Sorai shū*, in *Ogyū Sorai*, p. 491.

gant touted their virtue; the violent took pride in their deeds. A few of them truly pitied the masses, but they continued the evils of a Warring States era.[23] How could they know the sages' teachings? And how could lowly commoners remain in their native abodes to enjoy a stable livelihood?

What are the greatest of those evils? First is the grand disarray of state offices. The Way is valid in all times and places: Civil rule maintains order under normal conditions, [and] martial rule deals with emergencies. Now people do not distinguish civil from martial rule. Those who are supposed to deal with emergencies maintain order in normal times. That should not be. . . .

The daimyo are provincial rulers who inherit lands, pass on hereditary titles, and administer states and peoples.[24] They assume the airs of military commanders and issue arbitrary decrees unauthorized by recorded precedent. Even cooks and clerks, who never wield arms, presume to be warriors and oppress the people. That is the first evil inimical to the Way of government. All daimyo, great officials, and others who hold the fifth court rank or above receive the post of provincial governor and are appointed to one of the eight imperial government ministries.[25] But these are in name only; reality differs. . . .

And the discrepancy is even worse below the fifth rank. Why? I do not know. But we cannot avoid duplicity when using one form of government [military] to perform the functions of another [civil]. Here is a second evil: Government offices lacking meaning and order. Generals are masters; court counselors, their servants.[26] Princes of the fifth rank hold posts tied to the fourth. The tail wags

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23. Yamagata wants us to believe that his tract dates from the age of Oda Nobunaga, when Japan was emerging from the Warring States period toward unification. Modern historians date that period from 1467 to 1568, but evidence in his text shows that Yamagata interpreted it to have begun in 1185, when Minamoto hegemony was established, or in the 1330s. "Imperial rule lasted over two thousand years," he says later, after which the imperial house split into Northern and Southern branches when Ashikaga rule began.

24. Throughout this tract, Yamagata depicts the *bakuhan* system as roughly analogous to the Zhou-era *feng-jian* system. Thus his "realm," or "all under Heaven" (*tenka*), comprises numerous *kokka*, "states" or daimyo domains. Here the words "rulers" and "states" are rendered in the plural, except where Yamagata writes of rulership in the abstract or clearly refers to the shogun or emperor.

25. All daimyo and high-ranking *bakufu* bannermen who held the fifth court rank, more than three hundred in number, theoretically qualified for the post of provincial governor. The eight central-government ministries set up by the ancient imperial law codes were Central Affairs, State Ceremonial, Popular Affairs, Civil Administration, War, Justice, Treasury, and Imperial Household.

26. Strict adherence to the rank-office concordances stipulated by the old imperial law codes would mean that the Tokugawa shogun as a general could hold junior third rank at most. That would place him below a grand counselor (*dainagon*), who held senior third rank. But the Tokugawa branch houses of Kii and Owari held the grand counselor title, so they should have outranked the shogun, their patriarch and overlord. Moreover, Tokugawa Ieyasu received junior first rank in 1602, even before being granted the shogunal title.

the dog; we wear shoes on our heads and hats on our feet. So power justifies pretension. Here is a third evil: Hierarchy is subverted and the base become exalted. . . .

Imperial rule lasted more than two thousand years.[27] Its moral suasion pervaded the realm, and its virtue permeated the people's hearts. How long-lived, extensive, and fathomless it was! But it atrophied: "Deprived of water, the white dragon fell prey to a fisherman"; and [Emperor Go-Daigo] traversed a thousand miles drenched in dew and rain.[28] How trying indeed! Restored to power by one or two loyal subjects, he ruled only a small provincial state,[29] but still he maintained his ancestral tombs. The imperial line remains eternal; it has survived over four hundred years to the present. Though power has fallen to underlings, the Way remains intact above and the canons of former sage-emperors are in the imperial law codes for all to see. If someone but foster love for the people, he could make name and actuality conform, make ritual and music flourish, and end the need for punishments. How sad that no such man exists in the realm. . . .

II. Attaining Unity

Master Ryū went on:

In states suffering from decay and disorder, rulers and subjects lack unity because rank and stipend come from different sources. Those who seek prestige go to one; those who seek personal gain go to the other. Since honors and wealth come separately, people's desires are divided. Which side should we follow? [Kyoto] bestows honors but is poor, [Edo] dispenses wealth but enjoys no prestige. Authority is divided because people cannot gain both. Which side should we follow? One must be sovereign; the other, subject. . . .

All men feel pangs of conscience and tugs of desire; but superior men obey conscience, while contemptible men succumb to desire. So, in times of decay and disorder, a superior man maintains his lofty disdain, renounces the world from a cave in the hills, or follows his noble impulses in the woods; but the contemptible man is smug in his sinecure and neglects administrative duties while filling out his tenure. . . .

The sages codified ritual and music, decreed specific duties, and created

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27. The failure of Go-Daigo's imperial restoration led to warrior Ashikaga rule in the late 1330s. Since imperial rule began in 660 B.C.E. for Yamagata, another "two thousand years" would have ended in 1340.

28. This is a stock metaphor for a king or nobleman who should stay in his palace rather than invite harm by roaming about incognito.

29. "He ruled only a small provincial state" implies that the realm as a whole no longer submitted to Go-Daigo's imperial dynasty; thus by Confucian standards, it was defunct and could not claim legitimacy.

dress codes; that is how status ranks, state offices, and graded court caps and garments came to be. "Sages" created these, "worthies" conveyed these, and "the sovereign" administers these. "Great officials" submit to him, "officials" work under them, and "the people" come under the moral suasion of all. No one, from the Son of Heaven above to the commoner masses below, lacks cap or garment; that is why men do not mix with the birds and beasts. None of this derived from nature; all was established by sages. . . .

A ruler who ignores the Way acts differently. To him, cap and garment are shackles; ritual and music are empty adornments. He relies on laws and punishments to rule, and that produces upheaval and revolt. How unlike the sage-kings! After an era of decay and disorder, rulers must thoroughly examine the ancient practices to make sure that existing dress codes distinguish civilization from barbarism as true adornments should. . . .

High officials today may wear proper caps and garments during religious rituals or observances. But way-clearers in front of official processions tuck up skirts, bare buttocks, swing arms, kick feet, and scream crassly. Everyone thinks this is a display of grandeur, and such antics are established folkways. But I find them more repulsive than the sight of a peasant clod sweating in the summer sun. . . .[30]

Even if sages should appear to conduct the ritual and music of antiquity, make state offices conform to ancient practices, and revive a system of court cap and garments, even then the barbaric folkways of cropped hair, bared buttocks, and exposed feet would remain. Without long-term inducements to purge these, how could we emulate the people of Middle Kingdom civilization [China]?

IV. Main Guidelines

Master Ryū said:

He who would rule all states under heaven must first establish main guidelines; details will work themselves out later. He must promote great benefits and eliminate great evils in the realm. A benevolent ruler, wise ministers, and good men in office make for "great benefits." A violent ruler, foolish ministers, and petty men in office make for "great evils." When great benefits are promoted, great evils disappear; when good men are elevated to office, contemptible men defer to them. . . .

Men in office today cannot devise policies or create ideas on their own. They adhere to the customs of bygone eras without a thought to validity, saying, "That's how it's always been." But if this is so, one cannot question a thing's proper nature or function. Of course there are good customs we should follow—those set down by sages, conveyed by worthies, and proved over time to be

30. This paragraph is from Dazai, *Keizai roku*, p. 185.

harmless in government and helpful in conducting affairs. When a custom does not work, we must examine the original intent behind it and the current circumstances surrounding it. We must amend it so as not to contravene antiquity or contradict the present, and only then, implement it. Why should we stick blindly to a custom just because it exists? . . .[31]

A state has both civil and military officials because neither can perform both functions; in this they are comparable to horses and oxen. By nature, horses can run far and oxen can pull heavy loads. But if we made either do the opposite, neither could bear the task. Men entrusted with civil affairs study classical texts—the *Odes*, *Documents*, *Rites*, and *Music*. So they develop warm dispositions that become character traits. The highest are ministers; the lowest, local clerks. But that is the work they can do. If we put them in the ranks and give them armor and weapons, we could never hope for the exploits of a Meng Bin or Xia Yu.[32] By contrast, men entrusted with military affairs wield arms—the halberd, shield, hatchet, and battle-ax. So they develop fierce dispositions that become second nature. The highest are generals; the lowest, horsemen or footmen. But that is the work they can do. If we gave them sacrificial implements and dressed them in court garments, we could never expect the capacity for ceremonial of a Ziyou or Zixia.[33] Clearly, then, neither civil nor military officials can perform both tasks. . . .

VI. Heaven-Mandated Peoples

Master Ryū said:

Antiquity had four heaven-mandated [classes of] peoples: officials, farmers, artisans, and merchants.[34] Officials served states, exhorting the realm to virtue. Farmers planted and harvested, ensuring the realm's food supply. Artisans crafted utensils, supplying the realm's needs. Merchants exchanged goods, dispersing wealth throughout the realm. All four received heaven's mandate from above and exerted themselves for the people below in a spirit of mutual love, help, sustenance, and respect for achievement. Each was essential; none could be eliminated. . . .

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31. Contrast Yamagata with Motoori Norinaga's rigid adherence to established methods: "In general, affairs in society are beyond human wisdom and manipulation, no matter how wise you may be. So do not implement new methods readily. If you rule by following the times and holding to established ways in all small things, you will make no serious errors, even though some flaws remain" ("Hihon tamakushige," in *Motoori Norinaga zenshū*, vol. 8, p. 331).

32. Yanmagata is referring to Sima Qian: "As they say, 'Even though things be of the same class, abilities differ.' Thus we praise Wu Huo for his power, cite Qing Ji for his swiftness, and emulate Meng Bin and Xia Yu for their valor" (*Shiji*, vol. 3, p. 226).

33. Singled out by Confucius for "culture and learning" (*Analects* 11:3).

34. This and other sections on political economy are derived from Dazai, *Economic Terms* (*Sango*).

State officials head the four peoples. They discharge their heaven-ordained duties by honoring the ruler's decrees to issue edicts for commoners. They help him rule the masses by practicing humaneness and rightness, personifying loyalty and good faith, and dispensing virtuous teachings. But officials now are dissolute and lack a sense of shame. They are derelict in obeying Heaven's mandate above and inept at promoting the common good below—as their dismal reform efforts show. They grasp at profits like merchants, obstruct farming, damage industry, and grow pompous in their plush lifestyles—oblivious to the injuries they cause. Day in and day out, they consume food grown by farmers and goods crafted by artisans—with no thought of gratitude. Easy living makes them poor. . . .

Farmers plant in the spring and harvest in the fall. They live amid the grasses and sleep drenched in dew. The flesh on their limbs grows cracked and sore as they labor to pay taxes and raise families with what remains. Their lives consist of steady, constant toil. A man may be of the highest nobility or own all the world's wealth, but he cannot live without food. So in a sense, farmers hold the power of life and death over him. That is why the sage-kings took charge of agriculture in antiquity. They urged men to plow, taught women to weave, enriched farmers by keeping taxes low, and stabilized farm livelihoods by reducing corvée demands. They lovingly cared for farmers so that even solitary souls without kin received blessings.

Such is not true in later ages. Farmers work infertile fields for months on end. After wrenching a crop from the thin soil, they must battle tax officers who demand 60 to 70 percent of the harvest plus corvée and taxes in kind. Some farmers work rich lands that leave a surplus for personal use—until officials demand further exactions. Those surcharges, plus corvée duty, lead farmers to destitution and death. But what do officials care? . . .

Artisans fashion utensils to eliminate hardship for the realm's peoples, but they also vie with merchants for petty profit. They use shoddy materials to craft inferior goods—quick to make and quick to break—because they want products to sell briskly, not to be durable. They could produce high-quality goods if they wished, but that would make them poor. So they turn out cheap goods and get rich. . . . Artisans today are just merchant underlings. Why quibble over degrees of skill? The sages' Way to "eliminate hardship from the peoples' lives" is at an end—all because government lacks proper policies.

The more people toil, the poorer they get. Commoners say: "Tilling a field puts no food on my table; spinning at a loom puts no clothes on my back." Officials, too, say: "Studying does not get me ahead; working does not help my family." Both ignore their Heaven-mandated tasks and eagerly adopt evil ways. Why do so many seek ill-gotten gain in superfluous mercantile activities, while so few work hard at their proper callings? The ancients said, "Whatever the ruler likes, his people are disposed to even more." The former sage-kings knew this. So they esteemed virtue and scorned riches in order to keep the masses

from doing evil. Their moral tenets were manifest above, so folkways were purified below. Today we must set up state offices, determine their proper functions, suppress what is superfluous, revive what is primary, eliminate mercantile power, and foster agriculture. Only then will officialdom reform. If everyone is content in his livelihood, each of the four peoples will find its proper place in society, and all-under-Heaven will be at peace.

VII. Mutual Surveillance Groups

Master Ryū said:

Techniques for governing in antiquity always include mutual surveillance groups. But if these are set up improperly, people will not enjoy a stable livelihood in their native abodes and will abscond in great numbers; then states will be beset by outlaws. There can be no greater affliction for government than that.[35] In our own day, following an age of decay and disorder, mutual surveillance techniques have been lost, and domicile registers are in disarray. People are strangers even in hamlets of ten or so households. Cities teem with vagrants, and each year thousands more flee from the countryside, leaving broken homes behind. . . . Conditions, then, are *not* normal.[36] We must revive mutual surveillance groups and ascertain proper methods of domicile registration. Superiors must direct inferiors, and inferiors must follow superiors without exception. All must be made to obey. Only then will people again enjoy settled livelihoods in their native abodes. Only then will punishments revert to being purely symbolic in nature. These changes, I pray, can be implemented under the Way of government.

VII. Exhorting Officials

Master Ryū said:

Farmers, artisans, and merchants are the good peoples—"good" in that they "nourish others and eliminate hardship." They assist and foster one another and thus benefit their states. The former sage-kings loved these peoples as parents do children. They set up teachers to edify them and officials to rule over them. Mutual surveillance groups were instituted, and corvées properly regulated. The sages elevated and grouped these good peoples with state officials. Hence the name "the four peoples" (*shimin*) and its rationale. Performers, entertainers, and their ilk pursue riches and money by dealing in sensual pleasure.

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35. Yamagata took many of his ideas about mutual surveillance groups, domicile registries, and de-urbanization from Ogyū Sorai.

36. Compare this with Yamagata's definition of the Way of government: "Civil rule maintains order under normal conditions."

They feed only themselves and produce nothing to feed or clothe the realm's peoples. . . .

Petty officials consort with entertainers, frequenting theaters daily. They see alluring sights and hear charming words. They envy these entertainers and come to believe that such talents are unrivaled in the realm. They lose all sense of shame and emulate the ways of actors. They soon become glib and slick and are fully adapted to base ways. Discipline breaks down, and officials popularize vile, lewd customs. . . . As a result, officialdom degenerates to a nadir. No official can manage his affairs without loyalty, faithfulness, and a sense of shame. . . . When the former sage-kings prescribed their tenets, they established state posts for teachers and officials. They sought out, employed, and promoted talented men to those posts, overlooking no one in the realm. Such is not true in later ages. Once a man renowned for some skill is lucky enough to gain a post, it is passed on as a hereditary calling even when the house's head is unqualified.[37] Although he wishes to quit, he cannot; forced to carry on the calling, he feels shackled by it. . . . With no system of civil service examinations,[38] we thwart able men who try to get ahead and make unqualified men do work they dislike. Yet we complain that there are no good men in government. How foolish! We suppress men who would benefit their states and impede those who would serve the realm. Can this be the Way to exhort officials or give repose to the peoples?

IX. Giving Repose to the Peoples

Master Ryū said:

The former sage-kings . . . viewed the people of all-under-heaven as parents do their children and cared for them as they would their own bodies—by ensuring the attainment of repose and enjoyment in life. These people in turn viewed the sages as children do their parents. . . .

Someone asked:

Then, how can we ensure the people's repose and security?

Master Ryū answered:

Rulers today generally squeeze taxes to benefit themselves, and farmers are their worst victims by far. Employ conscientious tax officers who do not plunder the surplus from field and loom. Then the realm will not lack supplies of food; for the people will be content with their proper livelihoods. Employ conscientious tax officers who stop merchants from garnering ill-gotten gains. Then the realm will not lack supplies of goods; for state officials will be content in their heaven-mandated calling. When officials and peoples are content, states

37. Yamagata is criticizing hereditary succession to office in service positions, even though his treatise, on the whole, accepts hereditary status.

38. The Chinese, unlike the Japanese, had such a system.

are strong and rich. Strong, rich states are a blessing to the realm; for only then can ritual and music be promoted, and rewards and punishments be clarified. This is truly the Way to make the people content. It is for all eternity.

X. Adhering to One's Calling

Master Ryū said:

Under the former sage-kings, peoples remained in their callings, fathers passed these occupations on to sons, and each family enjoyed a stable livelihood devoted to work in its native abode. In early antiquity, all accepted this as the Way and pursued their calling diligently. Food was plentiful, implements were sturdy, and goods circulated freely, so that users incurred no loss and producers suffered no want.

Later ages have not been like that. Official stipends amount to less than a farmer's surplus. Farmers fall behind artisans and merchants, who in turn fall behind diviners and physicians, who in turn fall behind clerics. Meanwhile, actors and courtesans form a class of their own, and the adherents of alien cults and barbarian learning create a separate realm for themselves. Do slaving commoners remain true to their calling and diligent in their work? No, they seek personal gain by changing occupations at will. Yesterday they plowed fields, today they peddle goods; at dawn they brewed spirits, by dusk they cast spells or tell fortunes. Warrior-officials in imposing attire envy the garb of actors; monks in the bliss of nirvana convert to the doctrines of Jesus. Commoners are wholly undiscriminating. How can they tell right from wrong? They know only that they are at risk in one calling and secure in another, that they have nothing to lose and everything to gain by changing occupations; for by nature, they yearn for profit and shrink from loss. How can today's run-of-the-mill officials hope to end all this?

In the capital and other cities, palaces and mansions line each street in splendor. . . . Storerooms house lovely treasures of gold and brocade. Stalls that serve tea and intoxicants extend for miles on end—with no green grass or brown earth in sight. "Like ants racing to putrid meat,"[39] the realm's peoples all flee their states and native abodes for the capital. Who can begin to guess their numbers? As more persons crowd into less space, the area outside the palace walls barely supports one man per two square yards. All crave personal profit and strive to garner ill-gotten gain in superfluous mercantile activities. Those who toil diligently in primary occupations at the plow or loom are nowhere to be found. . . .

In antiquity, those who ruled the four quarters dispensed benefits impartially to help afflicted persons in states all over the realm. Only then did commoners

39. *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*, trans. Watson, p. 276.

enjoy a secure livelihood and devote themselves to their callings in their native abodes. That is why regimes of old were long-lived in upholding peace and order, and why their states grew ever more wealthy and populous. The *Classic of Documents* says: "Nonpartisan and impartial, the kingly Way is broad; fair and impartial, the kingly Way is level." Thus ruling the people means to be "broad," and ruling a state means to be "level." "Leveling," then, must be the aim of those in government today.

XI. The Need to Circulate Goods and Currency

Master Ryū said:

The Way for ensuring enough food is to promote farming; the policy for distributing wealth is to "level" prices. Assess no high taxes, and farming will advance. End merchant profiteering, and prices will level off. . . . [In Japan] of late, taxes run from 50 to 60 percent of the crop, plus levies on goods and demands for corvée. Whatever stays with the farmer does not meet his expenses. So he neglects farming and his fields turn to wasteland. Neglect leads to want, want to desperation, and desperation to flight. For a lack of tillers, fields produce no crops and food supplies decrease.

Merchants are different. They hoard when prices are low, sell when these are high, and so make easy money. . . . They buy up homes and lots, and some come to own a thousand houses. They rent out shops and dwellings, and some become millionaires. They enjoy life to the hilt. At home, they hoard goods without loss. In society, they throw state revenues into chaos by their timely hoarding and selling. No present measures can combat their wily machinations, so they become contemptuous as their wealth rivals that of feudal lords. . . .

Well, what should we do? . . . Create agencies and issue edicts to make them eat the same food as farmers and live on a par with artisans. Confiscate their luxury playthings and stately mansions. Punish anyone who refuses to mend his ways and obey. If sellers are many and buyers few, the goods now hoarded in storerooms will go up for sale everywhere. When many goods go up for sale, they sell poorly and prices fall. Then we can tell the genuine from the fake and the good from the shoddy. We can fine profiteers and confiscate from hoarders. Prices could not but level off; goods and money could not but circulate.

What about farmers? . . . We must redraw field boundaries and revise classifications as to "good" and "poor." Then we can calculate annual yields over the years and establish a new tax system. If we can keep officials from abusing it, farmers will enjoy stable livelihoods in their proper calling, and agriculture will advance. . . .

Those who are now in office got there by giving gifts. So they will expect no less from others. They favor men who bring much and spurn those who bring

little. Palace eunuchs and women exploit such greed to satisfy their ambitions. Loyal officials of good faith withdraw, leaving dissolution behind. . . .[40]

I earnestly hope the realm's lords will use the rules of propriety to limit and regulate gift giving, remove schemers of tainted ambition, rectify covetous ways, and punish offenders so that the high-ranking will be men of integrity and the lowly will be men of honesty. Only then will lords uphold their states, ministers and high officials retain their offices and salaries, and lesser officials and commoners enjoy security of livelihood in support of their families.

XII. Benefits and Evils

Master Ryū said:

The key to government is striving to promote benefits and eliminating evils in the realm. Benefits are not for oneself alone. All people must partake of the ruler's virtue; all must have enough food, gain wealth, and be relieved of anxiety and suffering. By teaching "equilibrium and harmony" we bring peace to the common masses. . . .

There is no other Way to promote benefits. But commoners are stupid. If they stray from the Way that must be followed—and so create harmful disorder—they must be punished to eliminate evils. Only thus can one chastise them for doing evil and encourage them to do good. When many persons do good and few do evil, the realm benefits. Ritual and music are instruments of cultured adornment in civil rule; laws and punishments are matters of martial rule. Civil rule maintains order under normal circumstances; martial rule brings emergencies under control. Civil rule creates good administration; martial rule suppresses the chaos of war. Civil rule is the norm; martial rule is a last resort. . . .

What must be done? A ruler needs only to find worthy men for office. That is very easy. What is very hard is for those men to make themselves known to him. . . . How much more eager they would be if what he liked were not painful at all. If he only wants something done, endless streams of men will come forth to do it. But if a ruler rejects this dictum and keeps things as they are, it will be clear that he does not want to promote benefits in the realm.

The ancients knew how hard it was to see themselves, so they used mirrors to view their faces; they knew how hard it was to know the limits of wisdom, so they used the Way to rectify their conduct. A ruler's best course of study is not to master the refinements of the Six Arts, not to recite the doctrines of the Hundred Schools [in late Zhou China]. He should just accept the need to believe in the Way. Then those who have mastered it will come forth to serve

40. Yamagata again refers to the bribery and corruption that supposedly characterized Ōoka Tadamitsu and Tanuma Okitsugu.

him. If he but places his trust in them, how could villainous rebels ever arise in his state? All troubles in the realm would then cease.

Yamagata Masasada of Kai Province
Second lunar month of 1759

[Adapted from Wakabayashi, *Japanese Loyalism Reconstrued*, pp. 3–28, 129–71]

HONDA TOSHIAKI: AMBITIONS FOR JAPAN

What is perhaps most significant about the reformers considered here is that their responses to the challenge of a new age reflect their own past. Thus two of them demonstrate a notable willingness to learn from the West, to the extent that this was possible through contact with the Dutch in Nagasaki, combined with the sort of fierce nationalism that had steadily risen in the late Tokugawa period.

A typical example of this man of the future, who would have one foot in the old world and another in the new, was Honda Toshiaki (1744–1822), from the west coast province of Kaga. As a mathematician, ship captain, and scholar, he concerned himself with the economic strengthening of Japan and its survival in a world of expanding imperialism. Another example is Satō Nobuhiro, from Dewa in the north, who had an unusual heritage in that he represented the fifth generation of a family of experts in horticulture and mining in northern Japan. A keen student of Western science and a passionate nationalist, in his later years he designed a program of national reorganization along totalitarian lines.

In view of the shogunate's efforts to channel all thought and discussion within certain prescribed limits, we could understand if the Japanese had shown little awareness of their true situation during the early nineteenth century and little inclination to speak about it. But despite the Prohibition of Heterodox Studies in 1790, the restrictions on intellectual contact with the West, and the penalties for any direct criticism of government policies, there was a surprising degree of intellectual ferment and diversity of opinion in regard to the very problems that the Tokugawa had chosen to ignore or proved incapable of solving. With the more numerous and frequent appearances of the "black ships" of the West in Japanese waters, as well as the worsening economic conditions, as manifested in the impoverishment of both peasants and samurai, expressions of dissatisfaction increased as the new century wore on. This was especially true in the northern regions of Japan, where fears of Russian expansion and economic troubles were most acutely felt.

At the same time, the long reign of peace under the Tokugawa shogunate had been kind to many peaceful intellectual pursuits, among them mathematics. Very early in the eighteenth century, Seki Kōwa (Takakazu, 1642–1708) is

said to have arrived simultaneously with Newton and Leibniz at the mathematical problems of integral and differential calculus and their solution. Because the shogunate was concerned at that time with calendar reform and the preparation of new maps of the country, it needed men trained in mathematics. The rising tide of mercantilism, with its emphasis on navigation, likewise helped make this field of study popular. Accordingly, Seki's followers opened schools in important towns and feudal domains. At the age of eighteen, Honda's biographer says, he made his way from the northwest province of Kaga (Echigo) to Edo, in order to study mathematics under a famous master of the time. His progress was such that at the age of twenty-four, he was able to open his own school and became known as a first-rate mathematician in his own right.

Not satisfied with the native Japanese system of mathematics, Honda decided to study Dutch, in the hope that a knowledge of that language would open to him the secrets of Western mathematics. Other Japanese of his day were studying Dutch in order to read books of medicine, astronomy, and military science. Indeed, many of Japan's best minds in the late eighteenth century were turning to the West for new information and guidance as the country's isolation grew increasingly indefensible. That they chose to study Dutch rather than any other Western language was dictated by the fact that since 1639 the Dutch had been the only Europeans permitted to remain in Japan, and it was to their trading station at Nagasaki that many young Japanese looked for knowledge. There were no decent dictionaries, however, and the difficulties besetting the would-be scholar of Dutch were enormous, but with great determination and expense of energy some of them became proficient enough in the language to be able to make significant contributions in many fields.

Honda's interest in Dutch mathematics moved to a study of astronomy and navigation, sciences closely connected with mathematics, and from them to more general considerations of the importance of shipping and trade (which depend on a knowledge of navigation). He was convinced that Japan's economy was at a standstill and that only by breaking out of its self-imposed isolation could it achieve greatness. Honda's books are filled with ambitious programs and suggestions about how to incorporate the new knowledge from the West.

No matter how diverse the subjects he wrote about, Honda used or displayed his knowledge of mathematics wherever possible. In some cases, his penchant for mathematical formulations of economic and social problems, together with his impatient disregard of the niceties of conventional prose, make it difficult for the reader to follow him. And sometimes it is painfully apparent that he likes multiplying statistics, often unnecessarily, merely to magnify his conclusions and stagger the reader. But it also is true that at times his tedious computations produce significant results, such as his conclusions concerning the relation of population growth to food supply, corresponding to those of his English contemporary Thomas Malthus.

It was this combination of circumstances—population growth beyond the

limits of the Japanese islands to sustain; increasing impoverishment of a society trapped in a static agrarian economy; and Honda's recognition that Western nations, some of them with even less territory than Japan, had overcome such limits by means of a maritime, mercantilist policy—that led him to turn away from the inward-looking, home- and land-centered view of the Confucians to an expansionist one. Such a view was not unprecedented—sixteenth-century daimyo and merchants had engaged in overseas enterprises, and Hideyoshi had dreamed of an Asian empire—but the Tokugawa had opted for a policy of containment and control, which to Honda was no longer viable.

Honda's chief program of action, as enunciated in *A Secret Plan of Government* (*Keisei hisaku*), was labeled "secret" or "confidential" because public advocacy in matters of state policy was not allowed to anyone not officially responsible for them. The *Plan* centered on Japan's "four imperative needs": gunpowder, metals, shipping, and the acquisition of overseas possessions. Honda was interested in gunpowder primarily for use in blasting new channels for rivers, part of his program for improving transportation in the country, rather than for its use in warfare. By metals, he was referring to both the precious ones, which, in mercantile fashion, he wanted to bring to Japan, and the base metals, whose use he advocated in place of wood, so as to reduce loss to rot and fire. His views on shipping and the acquisition of overseas possessions are given in the readings.

Honda devoted almost equal attention to such matters as the aggrandizement of Japan and the problems of daily living faced by settlers of the proposed colonies. In all things, he tried to regulate himself by what he conceived to be the dictates of practical use. For example, he favored abolishing the use of cumbersome Chinese characters in writing Japanese and adopting instead the more practical Western alphabet. He decried the impressionistic renderings of nameless mountains often found in Japanese paintings and praised instead Dutch realistic painting, which, he thought, was better for pedagogical purposes. He hoped that by taking advantage of the benefits of Western science, Japan could shake off its long somnolence and emerge as the "England of the East":

> How may Japan become the greatest nation in the world? She should profit by the arts of civilization which she has learned during the 1,500 years that have elapsed since the time of the emperor Jinmu. She should move her main capital to the country of Kamchatka. (It is located at 51° N. Lat., the same as London, so the climates must be similar.) She should build a great stronghold on Karafuto [Sakhalin]. . . . Once great cities spring up in Karafuto and Kamchatka, the momentum will carry on to the islands to the south, and the growing prosperity of each of these places

will raise the prestige of Edo to great heights. This, in turn, will naturally result in the acquisition of the American islands.[41]

This outspoken imperialism was voiced in 1798, at a time when Japanese were forbidden by law to leave their country and only a few castaways had ever visited foreign shores. Honda's program may at points seem excessively crude, and when he assumes that the climate of Kamchatka must be the same as that of London, he may make us smile. Nevertheless, even in such instances he also compels our admiration by his bold use of Western knowledge—even though it sometimes was misinformation—in his attempt to help Japan out of the economic stagnation that he so deplored. Apart from a brief period of service to the lord of Kaga, however, Honda remained an independent teacher and wrote under pseudonyms. His ideas were known to only a small circle of close friends and students until his works were finally published in the late nineteenth century.

A SECRET PLAN OF GOVERNMENT (*KEISEI HISAKU*)

Shipping

By shipping I mean the transport of and trade in the products of the whole country by means of government-owned ships, and the relief of the hunger and cold of all people afforded by these instruments of supplying each region with what it needs. Shipping and foreign trade are the responsibility of the ruler and should not be left to the merchants. If shipping is left entirely in the hands of merchants, they will act as their greed and evil purposes dictate, thereby disturbing commodity prices throughout the country. Prices then fluctuate enormously, and the farmers find it difficult to survive. If this situation is remedied by using government-owned ships for transport and trade, the prices of commodities will be stabilized naturally and the farmers relieved.

As long as there are no government-owned ships and the merchants have complete control over transport and trade, the economic conditions of the samurai and farmers grow steadily worse. In years when the harvest is bad and people die of starvation, the farmers perish in greater numbers than any other class. Fields are abandoned and food production is further reduced. There is then insufficient food for the nation and much suffering. Then the people will grow restive and numerous criminals will have to be punished. In this way citizens will be lost to the state. Since its citizens are a country's most important

41. Quoted in Keene, *The Japanese Discovery of Europe*, p. 223.

possession, it cannot afford to lose even one, and it is therefore most unfortunate that any should be sentenced to death. It is entirely the fault of the ruler if the life of even a single subject is thereby lost.

All the many varieties of troubles, disasters, and crimes found among the common people are a product of their unhappiness and anger over fluctuations in commodity prices. Such fluctuations are caused by the inadequacy of sea transport, which in turn is caused by the fact that the ruler controls no ships, and there is no government service. It cannot be estimated how greatly the prerogatives of the ruler are thereby impaired. Shipping and trade are now the business of merchants. Under this system no distinction is made between the interests of the merchants and the duties of the ruler. By developing the techniques of shipping it would become possible to equalize prices throughout the country, thus helping both the samurai and the farmers. Food production would increase steadily, which, in turn, would make the nation prosperous.

It is obviously impossible to feed the thousands of people living in a great city with only the food that can be brought in by coolie labor or on the backs of beasts; unless food is transported in ships the population will go hungry. But when shipping is controlled, as is the case by merchants, it will lead in the end to disaster; this must be changed. . . . [pp. 166–67]

Some daimyo have now ceased to pay their retainers their basic stipends. These men have had half their property confiscated by the daimyo as well and hate them so much that they find it impossible to contain their ever accumulating resentment. They finally leave their clan and become bandits. They wander lawlessly over the entire country, plotting with the natives who live on the shore and thus entering a career of piracy. As they become ever more entrenched in their banditry one sees growing a tendency to revert to olden times.[42]

It is because of the danger of such occurrences that in Europe a king governs his subjects with solicitude. It is considered to be the appointed duty of a king to save his people from hunger and cold by shipping and trading. This is the reason why there are no bandits in Europe. Such measures are especially applicable to Japan, which is a maritime nation, and it is obvious that transport and trade are essential functions of the government.

Ships which are at present engaged in transport do not leave coastal waters and put out to sea. They always have to skirt along the shore, and can navigate only by using as landmarks mountains or islands within visible range. Sometimes, as inevitably happens, they are blown out to sea by a storm and lose their way. Then, when they are so far away from their familiar landmarks that they can no longer discern them, they drift about with no knowledge of their loca-

42. Reference to the *bahan*, Japanese pirates who were at their strongest in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

tion. This is because they are ignorant of astronomy and mathematics, and because they do not possess the rules of navigation. Countless ships are thereby lost every year. Not only does this represent an enormous annual waste of produce, but valuable subjects also perish. If the methods of navigation developed, the loss at sea of rice and other food products would be reduced, thus effecting a great saving. This would not only increase the wealth of the nation, but would help stabilize the prices of rice and other produce throughout Japan. The people, finding that they are treated equally irrespective of occupation and that the methods of government are fair, would no longer harbor any resentment, but would raise their voices in unison to pray for the prosperity of the rulers. By saving the lives of those subjects who would otherwise be lost at sea every year, we shall also be able to make up for our past shame, and will keep foreign nations from learning about weak spots in the institutions of Japan from Japanese sailors shipwrecked on their shores. Because of these and numerous other benefits to be derived from shipping, I have termed it the third imperative need. [pp. 168–70]

If the islands near Japan were colonized, they would make highly desirable places. By such colonization numerous possessions—some sixty or more—would be created, which would serve not only as military outposts for Japan but would also produce abundant metals, grain, and fruit, as well as various other products, thus greatly adding to Japan's strength. I presume that run-of-the-mill officials must be thinking that colonization could be effected only at the expense of the ruler, and the authorities are not in the least inclined to spend any government money on developing farmland. This is the way mediocre minds always react.

The order to be followed in colonizing territories is as follows: First, ships are dispatched to ascertain the location of the islands to be taken and to measure their extent. The natural products of the islands are investigated, and the native population estimated. Then, when it is known about how many provinces the islands would make if colonized, the actual work is begun. If the natives are still living in caves, they are taught about houses. A house should be built for the tribal chief. Those natives without implements or utensils should be supplied with them. By helping the natives and giving them everything they desire, one will inspire a feeling of affection and obedience in them, like the love of children for their parents. This is true because they are moved by the same feelings that pervade the rest of the world, barbarians though they may be considered.

The way to compensate for the expenses involved in colonization lies in taking the natural products of the islands and shipping them to Japan. Trading marks a beginning of compensation for those expenses. Even barbarians do not expect to ask favors and give nothing in return. The products they offer represent a commencement of taxation. Since every island has wooded areas, there will always be some value in the lumber which can be taken from the islands, even

after a great many years. The value of other products besides lumber would be too great to calculate. It is the task of the ruler-father to direct and educate the natives in such a manner that there will not be a single one of them who will spend even one unprofitable day. This matter should not be put off for another moment; it is a vital state duty.

At this point we must discuss the foundation of colonization—the sciences of astronomy and mathematics. In Japan these sciences are not as yet fully known, and there are few men who understand their significance. Even in China the principles of astronomy and mathematics have roughly been understood since the arrival of a number of Europeans late in the seventeenth century.[43] If, in connection with colonization projects, ships cross the seas without reference to the principles of astronomy and mathematics, there is no way to tell how much easier sea travel is than land travel. The name of the book in which the natural laws behind these principles are contained is *Schatkamer*, a European work.[44] One may learn from the latitude of a particular island what its climate is like throughout the year. Or, without actually visiting an island, one can predict in this way whether it will prove fertile. This may be done with certainty; false tales need not be believed.

The key to colonization is to establish a system with long-range objectives as to future profit and loss. By encouraging the good customs of the natives and eliminating their bad ones, it is possible to have them maintain human dignity. They should never be permitted to forget the generosity of the Japanese ruler. This is how colonization should be set about, but Japan persists in her bad habit of imitating old Chinese usages. Very few of the government authorities possess any real knowledge of astronomy or mathematics, and it is because of their ignorance that whenever there is talk of colonizing the northern territories, as occasionally happens, the project is never carried through. It is Japan's misfortune that her officials are misled by foolish tales about these great countries, which are actually far superior to Japan, and consequently do not take advantage of great opportunities for profitable ventures. This is a matter of especial regret because there have been Russian officials in the islands inhabited by the Ainu since about 1765. They have displayed such diligence in their colonization efforts that eighteen or nineteen Kurile islands and the great land of Kamchatka have already been occupied. Forts are said to have been built at various places and a central administration established, the staff of which is regularly changed and which rules the natives with benevolence. I have heard that the natives trust them as they would their own parents.

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43. Honda is a century off; the late sixteenth century would be more accurate.

44. Honda possibly is referring to Klaas de Vries's *Schatkamer of te Konst der Stuur-Lieden*, a navigator's handbook frequently reissued in Holland. The book was known in Japan before the country was opened. See Hayashi, "List of Some Dutch Astronomical Works," p. 44.

In Japan, on the other hand, this system is as yet not followed. It is forbidden to carry from the country seeds for the five cereals or edged tools for use in building houses. It is forbidden to teach Japanese to any natives. These are supplemented by a host of other prohibitions. It is a most lamentable system which has as its object keeping barbarians forever in their present condition. Since the Russians operate under a system which provides that their own subjects are sent out to live among the natives, it is only to be expected that the Ainu look up to the Russian officials as gods and worship them. . . . [pp. 170–72]

When the Ezo islands are colonised, they will make worthwhile places which will yield several times as much produce as Japan does today. Although there are other islands both to the east and west which should also be Japanese possessions, I shall not discuss them for the moment. At this crucial time when the Ezo islands are being seized by Russia, we are faced with an emergency within an emergency. When, as now, Japan does not have any system for colonizing her island possessions, there is no way of telling whether they will be seized by foreign countries or remain safe. This is not the moment for neglect; such actions by foreign powers may lead to the destruction of our national defense. With the establishment of a system of colonization, a knowledge of navigation will naturally develop among Japanese, but if navigation, shipping, and trade continue to be considered the occupation of merchants, the natives of our island possessions are doomed to an eternal want of civilization. The fact that the Ainu are living in a state of barbarity has been regarded by Russia as affording a fine opportunity for her to devote her energies to the colonization of the islands, a timely undertaking. The lack of a colonization system has kept Japanese rule from the island and has meant that the natives are unaware of the goodness of the ruler of Japan. Because of this ignorance they have been quick to become subject to Russia.

So important is colonization that I have termed it the fourth imperative need. [p. 178]

[Keene, *The Japanese Discovery of Europe*, pp. 166–72, 178]

SATŌ NOBUHIRO: TOTALITARIAN NATIONALISM

Like Honda Toshiaki, Satō Nobuhiro (1769–1850) was a northerner from that side of the country facing the Japan Sea. Dewa was his native province, the same province from which came the militant Neo-Shintoist Hirata Atsutane. Two things appear to have been uppermost in Satō's mind: the economic rehabilitation of the country in order to rescue it from poverty and starvation, and the buildup of Japan's military power in the face of frequent visits by the "black ships" of the West in Japanese waters. For Satō, as for Honda and a few others, a drastic renovation of the national life seemed necessary. And in truth, no other thinker, even in late-nineteenth-century Japan, came forward with a more

complete and detailed program of reform than Satō did. His *Confidential Memoir on Social Control* (*Suitō hiroku*) contains a complete program of political, economic, and cultural reconstruction, which was the fruit of a long life of freedom and independent study, of broad learning and special training, such as few men enjoyed in his time.

In the early 1840s, Satō's writings aroused a great deal of interest among high shogunal officials. The chief minister, Mizuno Tadakuni, who wished to transform the shogunate into a more centralized polity, asked for and received from Satō a summary of his ideas. However, Mizuno was driven from office shortly thereafter by those who opposed the direction of his reforms. Besides a solid grounding in Chinese culture, common to the leading thinkers of the later Tokugawa period, Satō could draw on a large store of experience and experimentation in the fields of agriculture, horticulture, forestry, and mining, accumulated by five generations in his own family. Of the five, his father and grandfather in particular had become real specialists, and to them he owed much of his expert knowledge in the development of natural resources, which formed the basis of his economic rehabilitation program. To this family heritage, Satō added his intensive study of the Dutch language, which was for him the gateway to a knowledge of Western mathematics, astronomy, geography, history, navigation, and artillery. His knowledge of Western astronomy was impressive, as is shown in *Essays on Creation and Cultivation* (*Yōzō kaiku ron*), and using Dutch sources he was able to write *Brief History of the Western Powers* (*Seiyō rekkoku-shiryaku*). In addition, he wrote a general survey of the oceans and several handbooks on the use of artillery. Satō also claimed to have conducted experiments on a motor boat propelled by fire and on a new type of explosive. It was studies like these that impelled him to write about military and naval reorganization of the country and to develop his imperialistic program of world union.

Satō was not satisfied with the knowledge gained from books, so he took every opportunity to travel around the country, from the land of the Ainu in the northeast to Kyushu island in the southwest. His personal observations of the feudal domains are contained in *Lands and Climates* (*Shokoku fudoki*), an important source of firsthand geographical information.

Thus Satō may be considered a worthy representative of the rationalistic and empirical strain in Tokugawa thought. He also represents, to an equal or perhaps greater degree, another important trend in this period: nationalism. Free of any feudal allegiance, he tended to think in terms of the nation as a whole and not of the interests of a single domain. Therefore, it is not surprising that in his later years he was influenced by the extreme nationalist and Neo-Shinto leader Hirata Atsutane. With his knowledge of Western astronomy, Satō assumed that the sun was the center of our universe, and so Japan, with the Sun Goddess as its progenitrix, must be the sovereign land of the whole world. Furthermore, he claimed that the oldest annals of Japan, the *Kojiki* (*Record of Ancient Mat-*

ters), was the true book of revelation. In it he found the truth concerning the triple godhead: the Sovereign God and Center of Heaven (Amenominaka-nushi), the August Spirit of Vitality (Takami-musubi), and the August Spirit of Fertility (Kami-musubi). According to Satō, the highest truth in the three realms of nature (Heaven, earth, and humankind) was the law of vitality and fertility. And this law of vitality and fertility, personified in two of the three godheads, assumed an enduring form in the Sun Goddess as sovereign of the solar system and forebear of the divine rulers of the divine land. It was this law of vitality and fertility, according to Satō, that must be the basis of all political, economic, and cultural reconstruction of the nation.

Satō's program of reconstruction dwells on what he calls "three essentials and six indispensables." A state that aims at upholding the aforementioned principle must have a Department of Education (Kyōkadai), a Department of Religion (Jingidai), and a Department of Justice (Dajōdai). In regard to the Department of Religion, Satō believed that the gods and goddesses in the national pantheon were those who had made signal contributions to the divine way of vitality and fertility and were installed in the pantheon so that their example could inspire devotion to this principle.

Satō insisted on the importance of education as the basic function of the state. The Department of Education would include a minister of education and a state university, with the right to choose the curriculum, select teachers, and perform other necessary duties without any outside intervention. The university would have ten divisions: philosophy, religion, social institutions, music, law, military defense, medicine, astronomy, geography, and foreign languages. All government officials should be graduates of the university. The department would also have under its jurisdiction provincial schools, one in each district that yields 20,000 *koku* of rice. They would admit all children at the age of eight, regardless of their social status. The provincial school, in turn, would have under its jurisdiction an institute of general relief, four free dispensaries, six asylums for poor children, forty playgrounds, and twenty kindergartens. The benefits of education at the expense of the state must go to every member of society.

Under the three departments come six administrative bureaus: (1) Bureau of Basic Affairs (Honji-fu), and by basic affairs Satō meant agriculture; (2) Bureau for the Development of Natural Resources (Kaimotsu-fu), including forestry and mining; (3) Bureau of Construction and Manufacture (Seizō-fu); (4) Bureau of Commerce and Treasury (Yūzū-fu), which would control the exchange of all commodities through local offices of price control (Heijunkan) and act as the financial agent of the state, providing funds for all state expenses and relief activities (Satō insisted that these functions be in the hands of trained civil servants and not of merchants); (5) Bureau of the Army (Rikugun-fu), with complete control of unskilled labor and offices in important defense districts of the country; and (6) Bureau of the Navy (Suigun-fu), along with sixteen coast

defense forces of 3,200 men and seventy-two outer defense forces with 35,000 men. The entire population would come under the jurisdiction of one or another of these government bureaus and would be divided into eight classes along functional lines.

For Satō, the country could never be saved from the menace of poverty as long as the Japanese were limited to their own home islands. That is, the law of vitality and fertility demands that the nation move on and spread all over the world. The world is one and is ruled by the simple principle of production and procreation; it is the destiny of Japan and the duty of all Japanese to produce and procreate so as to become the first nation of the world.

PREFACE TO *THE ESSENCE OF ECONOMICS* (*KEIZAI YŌROKU*)

The empirical strain in Satō Nobuhiro's thought is brought out in this preface, which is largely autobiographical. Although some recent historians have doubted whether Satō's immediate forebears contributed as much to the technological development of agriculture, mining, and manufacturing as he claims here, it is at least clear that he regards advances in these fields as dependent on the steady and systematic accumulation of empirical knowledge. Since Satō places a premium on firsthand observation, much of this account is a travelogue of his and his father's "field trips" throughout Japan, studying the topography and economic geography of different regions. Finally, he talks about his increasing interest and employment in matters of military defense.

My family lived for generations in Okachi County, Dewa Province, where it held an hereditary estate. After losing its estate in the debacle of 1600,[45] it turned to medicine as its profession. In later days my grandfather, Fumai-ken, himself saw tens of thousands made homeless by recurring famines, and scores die of starvation. He was grief stricken and thought: "The profession of medicine is of minor importance if it cannot save the masses. I should like to find a way to save the people from the dire afflictions of cold and hunger in times of national poverty and distress." Thus began his interest in the study of economics. Taking precedence in his studies was the management of agriculture, followed by mining, the manufacture of various commodities, and the improvement of methods of manufacturing. In his desire to improve the methods of manufacturing, he traveled widely through the provinces, calling on experts in various fields and seeking advice from stone cutters, jewelers, mine managers, coal workers, kiln owners, brick makers, fishermen, trap setters, paper makers, weavers, dyers, masons, smiths, coppermen, woodcutters, sawyers, arrowhead makers, lacquer

45. The defeat of Ieyasu's enemies at Sekigahara.

artisans, sheath makers, tea masters, brewers, candy experts, and beverage makers. He asked each one about the principles of his trade.

He also traveled to remote mountains and distant valleys, forded rivers and crossed lakes, and explored gold mines and oil wells. After more than forty years of laborious, indefatigable research and leaving his tracks nearly everywhere in the country, he died at the Ani copper mine in Akita County, Dewa, in 1732. Among his works are *New Book on Natural Resources* (*Kaikoku shinsho*) in twelve chapters and *Secret of Tracing Ores* (*Sansō hiroku*) in two chapters. The *New Book on Natural Resources* explains the principles of economics and the secret of developing natural resources, and it constitutes the basis of our family program of study. In a few words, its aim is to discuss how to develop our land, which is in a primeval state, so as to yield products contributing to the enrichment of our country. It is similar to plans proposed for the development of Ainuland [Hokkaido]. It examines minutely the particulars of topography, the taking of measurements, and the marking of boundaries, and it explains their techniques. The *Secret of Tracing Ores* describes the physiognomy of mountains, which should yield gold, silver, copper, iron, tin, lead, cinnabar, mercury, jade, precious stones, verdigris, sulfur, and alum. It also explains how to determine the presence of gold, silver, or other metals in mountains by their shape and the color and quality of their soils and rocks. It further discusses how to find veins of metals and how to determine the logical sequence of veins of various metals. Moreover, because it deals with the kinds and amount of metal deposits, estimating the height or depth at which they may be found and the difficulty expected of their excavation, it enables one to calculate in advance the suitability of a particular mountain for mining and the prospects of success. Consideration of the natural topography the existence of water courses on and under mountains reveals the secret of cutting tunnels to keep the pits dry. Thus, the work has been of incalculable value to mining engineers, who have closely guarded its secrets. Because this study of mountain physiognomy existed in the past only in name and not in fact, many miners have made all kinds of wild claims, deceiving and luring people into bankruptcy. Indignant about this situation, my grandfather spent more than forty years of careful study to write this book, which he then presented to his followers. As a result of his study, mountain physiognomy has become a science, providing a standard for students to rely on. Today, those who study the science of mountain physiognomy in Dewa, Mutsu, Iyo, Tajima, and Iwami are, for the most part, followers of my grandfather.

When Fumai-ken was still alive he ordered my father, Genmei-ka, to develop and improve the science of economics and natural resources, which he did. After my grandfather's death my father also traveled about the country for more than forty years in his study of this subject, and he wrote the *Theory of Developing Resources* and *Lectures on Economics* in thirteen chapters, *Mountain Physiognomy, Illustrated*, in one chapter, and *Management of Miners* in two

chapters. In the spring of Tenmei 1 [1781], when my father journeyed to Matsumae, I accompanied him to the land of the Ainu. I spent the year at Matsumae, seeing the land with my own eyes, studying its climate, and inspecting its various products. In the spring of Tenmei 2 [1782] we crossed over from Matsumae to Tsugaru, from where we toured Nanbu, Sendai, Sōma, and the entire seacoast of Mutsu. That fall we reentered the Sendai region via Nihonmatsu and Fukushima, and traversing a by-road called Koyasugoe, at year's end we returned home to Akita, where we observed the New Year. In the spring of Tenmei 3 [1783] we left home to go to the silver mines of Shinjō, and in the summer of that year we toured the province of Dewa, climbing the Chōkai, Gassan, Haguro, and Hayama mountains. We inspected the natural features and products of Shōnai and Mogami fiefs, Yamagata, Kamiyama, and Yonezawa fiefs. That fall we reached Aizu, where we climbed Iide and Bandai and walked around Lake Inashiro. Wherever we went in Aizu, we inspected the soil and the products. In October of that year we passed through Hidama Pass to reach Nasu County in Shimotsuke Province. We climbed Mount Takahara and stopped for several days at the gold mine in its foothills, where my father taught the natives how to grow mushrooms. At year's end we arrived at Nikkō and greeted the New Year at the village of Kujira, where a disciple of my father, Sarubashi Kai-no-kami, lived.

During the early spring of Tenmei 4 [1784] we traveled on foot and examined the natural products of the mountains and valleys of Nikkō, beginning with Kurokami. Then we took leave of Sarubashi and made our way to the copper mine of Ashio, where there were disciples of my father and grandfather. My father visited this place to consider a method of extracting silver from copper, at the invitation of the villagers of Nitamoto, who wished to develop a tin mine. The output of the Ashio copper mine in recent years had been extremely small, and the mines had deteriorated considerably. My father remained there for more than a hundred days. In the heat of the waning summer, he contracted dysentery, and medicines proving ineffective, he died at an inn on the third day of August.

On his deathbed he advised me that if I returned home after his death, I would live out my life exactly like a plant and the scholarship gained by the labors and hardships of my father and grandfather through two generations would be wasted. "Although you are only a youth," he said, "you seem to be intelligent. It is my wish that you go to Edo, study the science of economics and of natural resources under a competent teacher, carry out the cherished wishes of your father and grandfather by succeeding to the family profession, and carry this science to its completion."

I was at the time a mere youth of sixteen, and I did not know what to do. I listened, however, to my father's injunction and went to Edo to become a pupil of the Master Udagawa Genzui, or Kaien. I heard lectures on natural history, both descriptive and functional. I received training in the reading and transla-

tion of Dutch. And from Master Inoue Chū, or Bubi-en, and from my friend Kimura Taizō, I learned astronomy, geography, mathematics, and surveying.

Then I picked up my basket and set out on an extensive trip around the country. I visited towns and cities as well as remote mountains and ravines, searching for plants and products, and covering by foot more than sixty provinces. Besides economics and natural resources, I was able to acquire training in such military arts as the making of armor, the making of bows and arrows, and the use of artillery and fireworks. In Bunka 3 [1806] I returned to the Eastern Capital (Edo) and took up residence on Yanagi Street in Kyōbashi.

In 1808 I went to Awa Province, where I devoted my attention largely to fireworks and to inventing numerous devices. It was here also that I wrote *A Historical Survey of Eastern Nations* in two chapters and *My Idea of Real Military Science* in seven chapters (which was enlarged to thirteen chapters in Bunsei 4 [1821] and the title changed to *My Idea of Military Science*). I also studied the mathematical principles of firing by gunpowder and wrote the *Theory of Firearms* in two chapters. It was in Awa too that I experimented with new weapons of my own invention for use in military expeditions, coastal defense, and naval warfare and wrote the book *How to Use Three Types of Firearms* in three chapters. Moreover, after painstaking study of military matters, I perfected a method of applying firepower to offensive action, and I built a ship propelled by firepower as well as two types of miraculous bullets, which I called the New Thunder and the Golden-Purple Bell. In this way I was able to complete my plans for the maritime defense of our nation.

In 1809 I left Awa to return to Edo, but in the following year I again left Edo to retire to Mamezaku village in Shimōsa. I made this move because during my stay in Awa I had suddenly become famous as an inventor of devices relating to maritime defense, and officials in the service of the various fiefs and other curious persons flocked to my residence every day, forming large groups of carriages before my gate. My wife, fearing the unforeseen consequences of such great notoriety for a *rōnin* like me, constantly urged me to retire.

Since my retirement I have become interested in a school of thought called Japan's Ancient Way, which is espoused by a fellow native of Dewa, Hirata Atsutane. As I studied carefully the traditions of our heavenly gods and earthly deities, the purity of our origins, our manifest national purpose, and the principles for the evolutionary improvement of all things on earth, have become clear to me, so that I have been able to perfect and complete my family's program of studies.

Thereupon, using my grandfather's *New Book on Natural Resources* and my father's *Development of Natural Resources* as a foundation and adding to them what I myself had gained through constant study and research, I collected the various principles and theories of my family's studies in the following works: *Essays on Creation and Cultivation* in three chapters, *The Pillar of Heaven* in three chapters, and *Compendium of Economics* in eighty chapters. The drafts

of these works are ready now, and after they have been proofread, they will become a family legacy entrusted to the safekeeping of my children.

[Satō Nobuhiro, *Keizai yōroku*, in *Nihon keizai taiten*, vol. 18, pp. 174–78; RT, WTdB]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CONCERNING RESTORATION OF THE ANCIENT ORDER (*FUKKO-HŌ MONDŌ-SHO*)

The following passage from *Questions and Answers Concerning Restoration of the Ancient Order* amplifies the preceding account of Satō's activities as an economic, military, and technical adviser to various feudal lords. It illustrates how local daimyo were pursuing their own interests in economic and technological development autonomously, whereas the range of Satō's activities was nationwide, expressed a unified national consciousness, and called for rulership responsible for the national welfare.

In the beginning of the Kansei era [1789–1801], I had an audience with the lord of Tsuyama. I discussed with him methods of making his domain prosperous, and I wrote for him a book in two volumes on the subject of reforms. Later, during my visit to Kazusa Province, I discussed fishing methods with the natives of the coast of Tsukumo and showed them ways of maintaining a fishing economy. Early in the Bunka era [1804–1818] I became adviser to Chief Officer Shūdō of Awa fief, and visiting in the city of Tokushima I participated in discussions on coastal defense and wrote *Theory of Firearms* in two chapters, *How to Use Three Types of Firearms* in three chapters, and a *Brief History of Western Countries* in three chapters. In addition, I discussed the subject of unifying the world, wrote the fifty-chapter book *How to Control the Ocean*, helped cast many cannons, and thus spent three years in Awa. I then went to Owari, where I remained for a year and wrote the *Development of Natural Resources* in seven chapters. The following year I returned to my native village and helped the Satake family open a sea route on the Pacific to transport Akita's products to Edo. The following year I went to Edo and took up residence at Nakabashi. When I wrote *How to Administer Satsuma* for Igai, the chief officer of Satsuma fief, who had enrolled as my student, the lord of Satsuma who read the tract was so pleased he sent me an honorarium in the personal care of Yamamoto Rihei and Tanaka Shichibei. I then went to the lord's residence at Takanawa to pay my respects and stayed for more than ten days at the home of Chief Officer Igai. Because he asked me many questions in great earnestness about agriculture, I later wrote and presented him with a copy of *Agricultural Problems* in ten chapters. The venerable lord was again highly pleased and made me a present of three male and three female pigs. I put them in the care of one of my pupils, Aida Gihei. Their numbers increased many times. Later, I took up residence at Daizudani in southern Shimōsa where I lectured on economics

and agriculture and began revising the works on agriculture written by my forebears.

[Satō Nobuhiro, *Fukko-hō mondō-sho*, in *Nihon keizai taiten*, vol. 19, pp. 98–99; RT, WTdB]

THE POPULATION PROBLEM

The great increase in Japan's population during the peaceful years of Tokugawa rule created a problem whose magnitude few of even thinking Japanese appreciated. Satō, feeling that population growth was in accordance with natural law and the divine spirit of creativity, called for fuller employment of Japan's resources and greater food production and opposed limiting the birthrate as well as infanticide. The following passage is from *The Essence of Economics* (*Keizai yōroku*).

Since the Middle Ages, agricultural guidance in the various provinces has been on the decline because no farm experts were appointed to study and help the people develop natural resources. Thus, despite the beauty of our country and the abundance of fertile land, the exhaustion of the soil and the lack of new attempts at cultivation have led to a scarcity of produce, which is hardly sufficient to feed and clothe the populace of the country. This, in turn, has led to difficulty in rearing children and to the secret practice of infanticide. The practice is particularly widespread in the northeast and in the eastern regions. It also is widespread in the Inland Sea region, Shikoku and Kyushu, but there the children are killed before they are born, so it does not look like infanticide. The one place where infanticide seems to be extremely rare is Echigo, but in its place is the widespread practice of selling girls over seven or eight years of age to other provinces for prostitution. In fact, they are a kind of "special product" of northern Echigo. Some consider this practice inhumane, but to think so is a great mistake. It is far more humane than either abortion or infanticide. I was told that long ago in Central Asia there was a large country whose king killed 3,300 children each year to obtain their livers, with which he made a medicine for the kidneys to be used for sexual purposes. No one who is told of this practice can help but feel a sense of shock and revulsion. When first I heard of it, I too was greatly shocked, but later as I reflected on it deeply, it occurred to me that while the king's act of slaying 3,300 children annually was indeed inhumane, it was not as barbarous as the practice of infanticide that is prevalent today. In Mutsu and Dewa alone, more than sixty thousand or seventy thousand children are killed each year. And I have not yet heard of anyone who deplores this situation. I find it nonetheless an unspeakable state of things. . . . That infanticide is so widespread in the various provinces cannot be attributed to the inhumanity of the parents. In the final analysis, it must be attributed to the ruler who lacks compassion, who is unaware of his duty as a deputy of Heaven to help the people, who does not study the science of developing natural re-

sources, who does not appoint agricultural experts, and who fails to carry out a program of agriculture that would encourage farmers to make their greatest effort. Under such rule agricultural yields are meager and the condition of the land [is] poor. Human beings are the beloved children of Heaven. If rulers fail to teach service to Heaven and permit the slaying of several tens of thousands of children year after year, who knows what Heaven will not do? If this state of affairs continues, divine punishment is inevitable. Therefore the ruler of the land must not fail to adopt methods to achieve natural prosperity.

[Satō Nobuhiro, *Keizai yōroku*, in *Nihon keizai taiten*, vol. 18, pp. 433–34; RT, WTdB]

TOTAL GOVERNMENT

Satō's plan for the total utilization and control of natural and human resources, contained in *Confidential Memoir on Social Control* (*Suitō hiroku*), seems frighteningly modern and yet owes much to Confucian social ideals and the already well-developed Chinese pattern of centralized government, with the Tang dynasty as his model. Here he extends and adapts it to the complex requirements of his own society in order to exploit the potentialities of technological development. Although Satō anticipated considerable innovation from the West, he characteristically regarded this political reform as the fulfillment of the ancient (Chinese) ideal of a rationally ordered society in a universe governed by natural law (also explained in his *Restoration of the Ancient Order* [*Fukko-hō*], 1846). That this would be in accord with divine law and providence, as understood through Shinto traditions, is made clear in other writings to follow.

This passage concerns the chief agencies of government that Satō would put in control of the nation's economic life. Because it would mean completely reorganizing the four-class system and military government of his day, Satō treated this plan as private and confidential rather than appear to be taking issue with established Tokugawa policy.

The six ministries should be the Ministry of Fundamental Affairs,[46] Ministry of Development, Ministry of Manufacture, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of the Army, and Ministry of the Navy. This system is similar to six offices of the Zhou government and the six departments of the Tang dynasty in China. However, the systems of the Zhou and Tang dynasties governed the people by dividing them into four classes: the rulers, the farmers, the artisans, and the merchants. After much thought, I decided that in a four-class system some matters do not come under the effective control of the government, and [so] the possibilities for developing industry cannot be exploited fully. For this reason, we are neglecting some of the great resources that nature has bestowed on us.

46. "Fundamental Affairs" signifies "agriculture," traditionally regarded as the mainstay of the state.

In order to promote government "in the service of Heaven,"[47] it should be based on the occupations of all the people, who should be classified into groups with similar functions. The country's industries should be divided into eight groups, namely, plant cultivation, forestry, mining, manufacturing, trading, unskilled occupations, shipping, and fishing. After being classified into these eight groups, the people would be assigned to one occupation and would attend diligently to their respective occupations. The law should strictly prohibit anyone from trying another occupation. Those who cultivate plants should be assigned to the Ministry of Fundamental Affairs, foresters and miners to the Ministry of Development, craftsmen to the Ministry of Manufacture, traders to the Ministry of Finance, unskilled labor to the Ministry of the Army, and boatmen and fisherman to the Ministry of the Navy. Thus, the six ministries will oversee the groups of people assigned to them, encouraging them to study their occupations and making them devote their time constantly and exclusively to performing their occupations without faltering or becoming negligent and to the fullest extent of their energies. In this way, as the months and years pass, each industry will become proficient and perfect itself, providing steadily more benefits for the greater wealth and prosperity of the state.

As in the systems of the Zhou and the Tang, if the people are divided into four classes for purposes of administration, although such a division may be clear and distinct in appearance, its practice will inevitably lead to confusion. This is because the ruling class concerns itself exclusively with the administration of government and national defense, paying no attention to the production of goods from land or sea, and placing the burden of production for the entire country on the other three groups: the farmers, craftsmen, and merchants. Because a small number of groups must encompass a large number of industries, the merchants must assume some of the functions of the farmers, foresters, artisans, and fishermen. Each trade is left largely uncontrolled and thus is unable to develop any skill and ingenuity. Profits dwindle from year to year, and some people have to turn over their businesses to others, also losing their house and home. The number of homeless people will gradually increase and eventually will lead to the decline of the nation itself. This is a matter of the greatest magnitude, requiring serious thought and investigation.

Moreover, when the people are divided into eight groups, each group should be segregated and not permitted to live together, as in the ancient rule of [the early Chinese statesman] Guan Zhong of Qi. If this system is followed, the people will learn their trades beginning in their adolescence, and even without being formally instructed they will become familiar with their roles. Thus, the number of specialists will naturally increase.

[Satō Nobuhiro, *Suitō hiroku*, in *Nihon keizai taiten*, vol. 18, pp. 635–36; RT, WTdB]

47. This means something much like "in accordance with natural law."

ESSAYS ON CREATION AND CULTIVATION (*YŌZŌ KAIKU RON*)

Satō pursued his economic and technological studies in a rationalistic and empirical spirit, focusing on increasing the production and utilization of goods. In his later years, under the influence of Hirata Atsutane, Satō's rationalism was joined to Shinto vitalism. He now saw productivity and the technological transformation of nature as implicit in the natural order. Indeed, to Satō, they had a metaphysical basis in the primordial gods, the Spirit of Vitality and Spirit of Fertility.

For rulers, to employ every means in their power for the sake of agriculture—including studying natural law[48] and astronomy, surveying land and sea, determining latitude and longitude, examining climate, distinguishing the nature of soils, reclaiming paddy fields and farms, rectifying boundaries, repairing irrigation ditches, building and repairing embankments, preparing for drought and rain, tilling and harrowing with infinite care, and cultivating with earnestness—is the way to carry out the divine will of creation and to help cultivate nature. These are what we call the thirteen principles of agricultural management.

If the thirteen principles of agricultural management are conscientiously followed, then all things will produce an abundant harvest. These products will then be controlled by a system of allocation and distribution. In this manner the goods and wealth of the land will accumulate, and the way will be opened for civilizing the countries of the world. If we strive to teach service to Heaven, all living people will enjoy the benefits of benevolent rule. To be well versed in agricultural management, to bring all products under a single control, and to endeavor to spread education are what we call the three essentials of economics.

When the head of a nation satisfactorily carries out these three essentials, production will increase greatly, money and wealth will flow, the whole country will prosper, all the people will be rich and happy, and suffering due to poverty will be unknown. Then what harm will there be in having a large family? Then and only then can the teaching of gratitude for divine favors be promoted and the foul practice of infanticide be eradicated. Only in this way can talents be developed, military defense be perfected, and laws be enforced. Therefore if the government is conscientious in this respect, the innate goodness of all men will assert itself. Acts of violence will decrease gradually, moral discipline will gradually improve, and the population will increase greatly. . . .

Let us respectfully examine the annals of the Divine Age. Before the creation of heaven and earth there were three godheads: the Lord of the Center of

48. Literally, "Heaven's principles."

Heaven, the Spirit of Vitality, and the Spirit of Fertility. These three together were the fountainhead of all creation.

Then, at the beginning of creation, one original energy was revealed in the midst of the great void of fusion and confusion. Because of the divine act of creation, what was heavy was separated from what was light, and what was clear was separated from what was foul. The ethereal essence was condensed in the center, and the upper heaven was completed.

[Satō Nobuhiro, *Yōzō kaiku ron*, in *Nihon keizai taiten*, vol. 18, pp. 106–8; RT, WTdB]

CONFIDENTIAL PLAN OF WORLD UNIFICATION (*KONDŌ HISAKU*)

As a prelude to his plan of world empire, Satō pursues further the preceding theme: the reconciliation of Shinto creation legends and the naturalistic cosmology of the Chinese, which had already been incorporated into the *Nihon shoki* (*Chronicle of Japan*). Here the pivotal concept is Heaven (*ten*), which embraces both nature and the divine, so that the will of the Shinto gods is readily identified with the natural law (Heaven's principles) of the Chinese and the West.

World rule by Japan would result from (1) divine favor, in the form of natural geographical advantages; (2) a capacity for rational organization of the world's resources; and (3) a divine spirit among the Japanese, such that their superior moral fiber would be sufficient to overcome all obstacles. Echoes of these arguments were heard in the twentieth century from Japanese militarists, who counted heavily on the Japanese "spirit" to offset the West's material superiority.

Our imperial land came into existence at the very beginning of the earth, and it is the root and basis of all other countries of the world. Thus if the root is attended to with proper care, the entire world will become its prefectures and counties,[49] and all the heads and rulers of the various countries will become its ministers and servants. According to the scriptures of the Divine Age, the imperial progenitors, Izanagi and Izanami, instructed Susanoo [the Impetuous Male Deity] that "our rule extends over the eight hundred folds of the blue immense." And thus we learn that to make clear the divine teaching of production and procreation and thereby to set the peoples of the entire world at peace was, from the very beginning, the principal and urgent mission of our heavenly country. My earlier works, the *Compendium of Economics* (*Keizai*

49. The process of empire building is described as it had taken place in China, where the feudal states of antiquity were absorbed into the Qin empire as centrally administered prefectures and counties.

taiten) and the *Outline of Heaven's Law* (*Tenkei yōroku*), examined the divine teaching of creation with the purpose of uniting the entire world in peace.

The salvation of the people of the world is an immense task that requires, first of all, a clear knowledge of geography and the state of affairs in the countries of the world. If measures are not taken to harmonize the actual state of affairs with Heaven's will, the principle and teaching of production and procreation cannot be realized. And therefore the study of geography is imperative.

Let us now examine the situation of our country in terms of the geography of the countries of the world. It extends from 30° N latitude to 45° N latitude. Its climate is temperate, its soil [is] fertile, and it has a variety of crops that produce abundant harvests. Facing the ocean on four sides, for convenience of ocean transportation it has no equal among the nations of the world. Its people, living on sacred land, are superior, excelling those of other countries for bravery and resoluteness. In truth they are fully capable of holding the reins of the world. From this position of strength they can majestically command the world in every direction, and by virtue of the awesome prestige of this imperial land they can readily subjugate the puny barbarians and unify the world under their control. Ah, how boundless have been the blessings of the creator on our imperial land!

However, even in our imperial land, since the descent from Heaven of the Imperial Grandson, rulers have disobeyed the laws and teachings of the Divine Age. They have squandered many years in pleasure, idleness, and unbridled dissipation, setting their hearts on beautiful women instead of heroic women, and thus shortening their own lives. They have also neglected their duties toward the industry and economy of the nation while they instead indulged in useless undertakings. There has been no harmony between husband and wife, and household management has suffered. Brothers have quarreled with one another, and relatives have killed one another, resulting in the decline of state and society. The ruler did not act like a ruler, nor the subject like a subject. The providential plan initiated by Ōnamochi and Sukuna-hikona was abandoned, and the national polity remained in a state of decline for a long time. Thus magic and Buddha's teachings came into vogue, and no one remained who knew the true teachings of old. The ignorant masses of this corrupt age, having been informed of the vastness of China and India on the one hand, while seeing the smallness of their Heavenly land and the weakness of its power on the other hand, convulsed with laughter when they heard my arguments for unifying the world, telling me that I lacked a sense of proportion. They are not aware that Heaven ordained our country to command all nations. . . .

In terms of world geography our imperial land appears to be the axis of the other countries of the world, as indeed it is. Natural circumstances favor launching an expedition from our country to conquer others, whereas they do not favor the conquest of our country by an expedition from abroad. The reason why an expedition from our country could be executed more easily than one

from abroad is as follows. Among the nations of the world today, no country compares with China in immensity of territorial domain, in richness of products, and in military prestige. Yet even though China is our neighbor and very close to us, there is no way that it can inflict harm on us, try as it might to conquer us with all the resources of its country. Should a reckless despot dare to send a great force against us, we in our Heavenly land need not have any fear. On the contrary, we would inflict great damage on China. It might make a second attempt but would be incapable of making any more. If our nation attempted to conquer China, however, with proper spirit and discipline on our part China would crumble and fall like a house of sand within five to seven years. This is because the cost to our country of dispatching a military expedition would be small, whereas for China it would be so great as to be prohibitive. Moreover, the people would be exhausted from ceaselessly running from one end of the country to the other. Thus, before Japan attempts to open other countries, it must first absorb China.

As we already noted, despite its great strength, China could not oppose our country. Needless to say, other countries likewise could not oppose us, for by the grace of nature Japan is situated as to be able to unify the other countries of the world. Therefore, I will explain in this work how China can be subjugated. After China is brought within our domain, the Central Asian countries, as well as Thailand, India, and other lands where different languages are spoken and curious costumes are worn, which yearn for our virtues and fear our power, will come to us with bowed heads and on hands and knees to serve us.

[Satō Nobuhiro, *Kondō hisaku*, in *Nihon keizai taiten*, vol. 18, pp. 567–69; RT, WTdB]

Chapter 36

THE DEBATE OVER SECLUSION AND RESTORATION

After 1739, Russian ships were seen in Japanese waters with increasing frequency. A report was brought home by castaways that the Russians had established a school of navigation at Irkutsk in 1764 and that a Japanese language department had been added in 1768. The Russian government was not alone in its persistent efforts to open Japan's closed door. In 1808 the English ship *Phaeton* humiliated the shogunate by forcing its way into the port of Nagasaki, and the commissioner of the port had to commit suicide as a result of the disgrace. The country was already in turmoil when Commodore Matthew Perry of the United States arrived in 1853 at Uraga Bay near the shogunal capital to demand that Japan be opened to navigation and trade. This was only five years after the United States had annexed California. Literally defenseless, the shogunate had no choice but to accept a treaty stipulating that two ports be opened. This was a complete reversal of the long-established shogunate policy of excluding foreigners and provoked an uproar from one end of the country to the other. The mounting discontent and agitation pointed unmistakably to the downfall of the tottering shogunate.

From the raging debate on the new open-door policy, three main points of view emerged. The Mito schoolmen, headed by Tokugawa Nariaki and eloquently articulated by Fujita Tōko and Aizawa Seishisai, came to be known as the group that advocated "reverence to [eventually meaning "restoration of"] the emperor and repulsion of foreigners" (*sonnō-jōi*). A more conciliatory group

advocated "union of the civil authority [Kyoto court] and military authority [Tokugawa shogunate]" (*kōbu gattai*) in order to unify and strengthen the nation politically. In the cultural sphere, it called for the adoption of Western science and art while preserving Eastern ethics. The most important spokesman for this view was Sakuma Shōzan (later assassinated by a political opponent), who proposed the shogunal policy of opening the country in order to learn Western techniques indispensable to the defense of the country. The third group believed that the salvation of the country would come not from the mere adoption of certain techniques or tactics but only from a complete renovation of national life through a system of education based on Western civilization and science. This group had as its predecessors such leaders as Sugita Genpaku and Takano Chōei. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, Fukuzawa Yukichi was its foremost leader and spokesman, with "independence and self-respect" (*dokuritsu jison*) as his slogan.

THE LATER MITO SCHOOL

The Mito school, as we have seen, was inaugurated in the seventeenth century by Tokugawa Mitsukuni, with one of its purposes being to compile an official history of Japan. This work, however, remained in preliminary draft during Mitsukuni's lifetime and was not put into final form until the early years of the twentieth century. Meanwhile, in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the influence of the Mito branch of the Tokugawa family rose steadily, partly owing to the great prestige acquired through its sponsorship of a project in which many illustrious scholars participated. Its political fortunes improved especially after Nariaki succeeded to leadership of the family and his son became a candidate for the office of shogun in the absence of an heir in the main Tokugawa line. But the rising political power of the Mito was also due in no small measure to the simple and forceful doctrines disseminated by its leading schoolmen. These were dramatized in the slogans "Civil and military [arts] go together" (*bunbu-fugi*) and "Loyalty and filiality are one in essence" (*chūkō-ippon*).

This was a program designed to conciliate and unite the country's principal religious, intellectual, and political elements against the threat from outside. But what answer did these men have to the great question of the moment: How are the foreigners to be dealt with? To understand their answer, we must review Japanese history as the Mito men themselves were doing in their compilation of the *History of Great Japan* (*Dai Nihon shi*). The office of shogun, which the Tokugawa held, had its inception in the subjugation of the Ainu, then known as the Northern Barbarians. Generals commissioned by the imperial court to lead campaigns of suppression were designated "barbarian-subjugating generalissimos" (*sei-i tai shōgun*), subsequently abbreviated to simply "generalissimo"

(*shōgun*). The original function of the shogunate therefore was to cope with "barbarians." But the Tokugawa were obviously unable to discharge this responsibility. By yielding to the demands of the barbarians from America, the shogunate had abandoned its trust and forfeited its authority to rule. In this predicament, the Mito branch of the Tokugawa, one of three specially appointed to guard the interests of the ruling house, was in a logical position to take the lead in salvaging the situation. Its solution, as set forth by Aizawa Seishisai and Fujita Tōko (1806–1855), was to deal with the new barbarians as vigorously and contemptuously as earlier barbarians had been dealt with.

AIZAWA SEISHISAI: "REVERE THE EMPEROR, REPEL THE BARBARIAN"

In his "New Theses" (Shinron), Aizawa Seishisai (1782–1863) explains the issue as follows:

> To defend the state by means of armed preparedness, a policy for peace or for war must be decided on before all else. If there is indecision on this point, the people will be apathetic, not knowing which way to turn. Morale will deteriorate while everyone hopes for a peace that cannot be obtained. The intelligent will be unable to plan; the brave will be unable to stir up their indignation. Thus day after day will be spent allowing the enemy to refine his plans. Waiting until defeat stares us in the face is caused by an inner sense of fear that prevents resolute action. In the days of old when the Mongols were insolent, Hōjō Tokimune stood resolute. Having beheaded the Mongol envoy, he ordered his generals to summon the army for war. Emperor Kameyama, majestic as he was, prayed at the Ise Shrine and offered his life for the salvation of the country. Thereupon the men who were called upon to sacrifice themselves responded by defying death in a body, as if the entire nation were of one mind. Their loyalty and patriotism were such as to bring forth a storm and hurricane that smashed the foe at sea. "Put a man in a position of inevitable death, and he will emerge unscathed," goes the saying. The ancients also said that the nation would be blessed if all in the land lived as if the enemy were right on the border. So, I say, let a policy for peace or for war be decided on first of all, thus putting the entire nation into the position of inevitable death. Then, and only then, can the defense problem be easily worked out.[1]

1. Takasu, *Shinron kōwa*, p. 253.

This is what came to be known as the policy of "repelling the barbarians" (*jōi*). But even though he could not openly declare it, Aizawa felt that the shogun lacked the authority to make a final decision in favor of such a policy. The historical studies of the Mito school had already established that the descendants of the Sun Goddess were the ordained rulers of the Land of the Rising Sun. So with Aizawa, as with Nariaki and Tōko, reverence for and loyalty to the sovereign (*sonnō*) had to be the rallying cry for the entire nation in putting up a unified front against the growing threat of the Western barbarians. On this point, the Mito spokesmen joined hands with the promoters of National Learning. Aizawa mentions the special features of Japanese geography and history: that the country was created by Heavenly forebears and was located at the center of the world; that ever since the descent of the Sun Goddess, the country had been ruled by a single line of her descendants; and that in Japan loyalty to the sovereign and filial piety to parents formed the basis of all morality, so that the people would live happily and die happily for the sake of the emperor and their parents.

In this process of joining loyalty and filiality, in that order, Mito spokesmen reversed the normal Neo-Confucian priority, which gave primacy to filiality as the genetic virtue. This was not new to Mito, or to Japanese Confucianism, but it marked a significant escalation of loyalty to the emperor as a component of the rising nationalist ideology identified with the concept of "national substance (both form and essence)" (*kokutai*) promoted by the Mito school.

Because of the introduction of Buddhism in earlier times, Aizawa argues, the people had lost sight of the basic truths of history and had become lax in their observance of the fundamental duties of loyalty and filial piety. Throughout the medieval period, confusion and disorder became almost the rule until Hideyoshi and Ieyasu pacified the country:

> Thus the whole land and the entire population came under a single control, and all as one paid respect to the benevolence of the Heavenly court while at the same time obeying the commands of the shogunate. Peace reigned supreme over the nation. Because of the prolonged peace, however, signs of weakness and sluggishness have appeared: the rulers of fiefs are easygoing; they make no provision for times of need and destitution; reckless people are left to themselves and go unpunished; foreign barbarians stand by off our coasts awaiting their chance. . . . But all the people, high and low, are intent only on their own selfish gain, with no concern for the security of the nation. This is not the way to preserve our national polity. When a great man assumes leadership, he is concerned only that the people be inactive. Mediocre leaders, thinking only of easy peace, are always afraid of the people's restlessness. They see to it that everything appears quiescent. But they let barbarians go unchecked under their very eyes, calling them just "fishing traders." They conspire together

> to hide realities, only to aggravate the situation through half-hearted inaction. Standing on high and surveying the scene in order to practice delaying tactics with an intelligent air seems to me a sure way of carrying us all to an inevitable catastrophe. . . . If instead the shogunate issues orders to the entire nation in unmistakable terms to smash the barbarians whenever they come into sight and to treat them openly as our nation's foes, then within one day after the order is issued, everyone high and low will push forward to enforce the order. . . . This is a great opportunity such as comes once in a thousand years. It must not be lost.[2]

Such was the clarion call of Aizawa's "New Theses," which before World War II was acclaimed as one of the two immortal essays on militant loyalty and patriotism, the other being Yamaga Sokō's "Historical Evidence of the Central Kingdom" (Chūchō jijitsu).

In reconciling native tradition with the Neo-Confucianism that had dominated intellectual life in the Tokugawa period, Aizawa took an expansive view of the Way, pursuing a theme of the original Mito school expressed in the name of its founding academy as an institute for the expanding of the Way through active human agency (*kōdōkan*). In Japan's golden age, the natural moral and spiritual values bequeathed by the native gods—implicit in the lives of the Japanese people but numinous and ineffable as befit their divine character—were consciously articulated in the rhetorical teaching and texts of the Way of Yao, Shun, and Confucius, needed to give civilizational values concrete, institutional embodiment through human effort to "expand the Way." Subsequently, these natural values were subverted by Buddhism, a foreign teaching that in its esoteric form had subordinated the gods to the buddhas and, in the Zen of the Five Monasteries, with its depreciation of textual discourse and education, had kept the people ignorant of the classic texts.

After the consequent disorder of the medieval age, it was the historic mission of the Tokugawa house to reunify the country and promote authentic education through Ieyasu's support of the Hayashi school and Mitsukuni's establishment of the Mito school, which recouped the original synthesis of divine rule and Confucian morality. To support this thesis, Aizawa offered a critique of the leading schools of the Tokugawa period, especially that of Ogyū Sorai, which, in its exaltation of Chinese antiquity, was, like Buddhism, Christianity, and "Dutch learning," too worshipful of things foreign. At the same time, Aizawa criticized the National Learning movement for failing to recognize the contribution of Confucian ethics to the national polity.

Thus Aizawa, speaking for the mission of the Mito school and calling for the reform of shogunal rule as led by Tokugawa Nariaki of the Mito house,

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2. Takasu, *Shinron kōwa*, pp. 71–72.

offered a revival of the ancient Way together with a rejoining of the military and civil cultures represented by the shogunate and imperial house.[3]

"NEW THESES" (SHINRON)

Aizawa Seishisai's "New Theses," written in 1825, represents the first declaration of the creed of the Mito school, which until that time had confined itself to writing history and avoiding political controversy. The crisis brought on by the appearance of Western ships in Japanese waters and, in particular, the detention of crewmen from a British whaler in the Mito domain (1824), prompted this explicit statement of doctrines that had a powerful impact on their time.

Preface

Our Divine Land is where the sun rises and where the primordial energy originates. The heirs of the Great Sun have occupied the imperial throne from generation to generation without change from time immemorial. Japan's position at the vertex of the earth makes it the standard for the nations of the world. Indeed, it casts its light over the world, and the distance that the resplendent imperial influence reaches knows no limit. Today, the alien barbarians of the West, the lowly organs of the legs and feet of the world, are dashing about across the seas, trampling other countries underfoot, and daring, with their squinting eyes and limping feet, to override the noble nations. What manner of arrogance is this!

The earth in the firmament appears to be perfectly round, without edges or corners. However, everything exists in its natural bodily form, and our Divine Land is situated at the top of the earth. Thus, although it is not an extensive country spatially, it reigns over all quarters of the world, for it has never once changed its dynasty or its form of sovereignty. The various countries of the West correspond to the feet and legs of the body. That is why their ships come from afar to visit Japan. The land amid the seas that the Western barbarians call America occupies the hindmost region of the earth; thus, its people are stupid and simple and are incapable of doing things. These all are according to the dispensation of nature. Thus, it stands to reason that by committing errors and overstepping their bounds, the Westerners are inviting their own eventual downfall. But the vital process of nature waxes and wanes, and Heaven may be overcome by the collective strength of men in great numbers.[4] Unless great

3. Aizawa, *Kōdōkanki*, *Taishoku kanwa*, in *NST*, vol. 53, pp. 230–57.

4. According to Confucian theory, Heaven, earth, and humankind form a harmonious triad, whose balance may be temporarily upset by the evil actions of men.

men appear who rally to the assistance of Heaven, the whole natural order will fall victim to the predatory barbarians, and that will be all.

If, today, we discussed a farsighted program in the public interest, the public would stare at one another in astonishment and suspicion, for they have been weakened by time-worn tales and become accustomed to outdated ideas. [Sunzi's] *Art of War* says: "Do not rely on their not coming to you; rely on your own preparedness for their coming. Do not depend on their not invading your land; rely on your own defense to forestall their invasion."

Therefore, let our rule extend to the length and breadth of the land, and let our people excel in manners and customs. Let the high as well as the low uphold righteousness [duty]; let the people prosper; and let military defense be adequate. If we proceed accordingly and without committing blunders, we shall fare well no matter how powerful the invasion of a strong enemy is. But if the situation were otherwise and we indulged in leisure and pleasure, then we would be placing our reliance where there is no reliance at all.

Some say that the Westerners are merely foreign barbarians, that their ships are trading vessels or fishing vessels, and that they are not people who would cause serious trouble or great harm. Such people are relying on the enemy's not coming and invading their land. They are relying on others, not on themselves. If I ask such people about the state of their preparedness, about their ability to forestall an invasion, they stare blankly at me and do not know what to say. How can we ever expect them to help save the natural order from subversion at the hands of the Western barbarians?

I have not been able to restrain my indignation and my grief over this state of affairs. Thus, I have dared to propose what the country should rely on. The first section deals with our national polity, in which connection I call attention to the establishment of our nation by the loyalty and filial piety of our divine forebears. I then emphasize the importance of military strength and the welfare of the people. The second section deals with the general situation, in which I discuss the trend in international affairs. The third is on the intentions of the barbarians, in which I describe the circumstances of their designs on us. The fourth is on defense, in which I talk about the essentials of a prosperous and militarily strong nation. The fifth presents a long-range plan in which I map out a method of educating the people and uplifting their customs. I wrote these five essays with the fervent prayer that in the end Heaven would triumph over man. They [the essays] represent the general principles to which I have pledged my life in the service of Heaven-and-earth.

[Takasu, *Shinron kōwa*, pp. 1–10; RT, WTdB]

The National Substance

Aizawa's "New Theses" opens with his central conception of the "national substance" (*kokutai*), probably the most potent concept in modern Japanese nationalism because

it so effectively brings together Shinto mythology and Confucian ethics of the *bushidō* variety. Note that from beginning to end, Aizawa identifies the Sun Goddess with Heaven, which presides over the moral order of the Confucian universe; attributes to her the promulgation of moral law and political order among men; and equates the Confucian virtues of loyalty and filial piety with Shinto worship and thanksgiving. For this reason, the "national substance" (*kokutai*) has simultaneous religious, moral, and political overtones. It embraces the "national structure," especially the imperial institution; the "national basis," as found in the divine origins of the country and the dynasty; and the "national character" or essence, as embodied in those moral principles and virtues that were considered indispensable to social unity and order.

The means by which a sovereign protects his empire, preserves peace and order, and keeps the land from unrest is not by holding the world in a tight grip or keeping the people in fearful subjection. His only sure reliance is that the people should be of one mind, that they should cherish their sovereign, and that they should be unable to bear being separated from him. Since Heaven and earth were divided and mankind first appeared, the imperial line has surveyed the Four Seas for generation after generation in the same dynasty. Never has any man dared to have designs on the imperial position. That this has been so right down to our own time could scarcely have been by mere chance.

The duty of subject[5] to sovereign is the supreme duty in Heaven-and-earth. The affection between parent and child is the quintessence of kindness (*on*)[6] in the land. The foremost of duties and the quintessence of kindness pervade everything between Heaven and earth, steadily permeating the hearts of men and enduring forever without change. These are what the sovereign relies on above all in regulating Heaven-and-earth and maintaining order among the people.

In olden times, when the heavenly progenetrix [Amaterasu] established the state on a foundation as broad as Heaven, her position was a heavenly position, and her virtues were heavenly virtues, and with them she accomplished the heavenly task of bringing order into the world. All things great and small were made to conform with Heaven. Her virtue was like that of the jewel; her brightness was like that of the mirror; and her awesome power was like that of the sword.[7] Embodying the benevolence of Heaven, reflecting the radiance of Heaven, and displaying the awesome power of Heaven, she beamed majestically over the whole realm. When she bequeathed the land to her imperial grandson

5. In the Confucian context, the word *shin* most often means "minister"; in the Japanese context, it often means "retainer" or "samurai." Here the samurai's extreme sense of duty is being generalized and attributed to all subjects.

6. Implying a strong sense of indebtedness.

7. These are the properties of the three imperial regalia: jewel, mirror, and sword.

and personally bestowed the three [imperial] regalia on him, these were taken to be symbols of the heavenly office, giving form to the heavenly virtue and taking the place of Heaven's own hand in the performance of the heavenly functions. Subsequently, they were handed down to unbroken generations; the sanctity of the imperial line being such that no one dared violate it. The status of sovereign and subject was clearly defined, and the supreme duty [of loyalty to the throne] was thereby made manifest.

When the heavenly progenetrix handed down the divine regalia, she took the treasured mirror and, giving her benediction, said: "Looking at this is like looking at me." Bearing this in mind, countless generations have revered the mirror as the divine embodiment of the heavenly progenetrix. Her holy son and divine grandson looked into the treasured mirror and saw in it a reflection. What they saw was the body bequeathed to them by the heavenly progenetrix, and looking at it was like looking at her. Thus, while reverently worshiping her, they could not help feeling an intimate communion between the gods and men. Consequently, how could they not but revere their ancestors, express their filial devotion, respect their own persons [as something held in trust], and cultivate their own virtue? Even so, as the love between parent and child deepens, the quintessence of kindness becomes fully manifest.

Having thus established human morality on these two principles, the heavenly progenetrix imparted her teachings to endless generations. The obligations of sovereign and subject, parent and child: these are the greatest of Heaven's moral obligations. If the quintessence of kindness is achieved within and the highest duty is manifest without, loyalty and filial piety will be established, and the great Way of Heaven and humankind will brilliantly show forth. By loyalty, honor is done to those worthy of honor; by filial piety, affection is shown to parents. It is truly by these means that the hearts of the people are made one, and high and low are made to cherish one another.

But how is it that these superlative teachings are preserved without being propagated in words, and how is it that the people practice them daily without being conscious of them?[8] Because the heavenly progenetrix resides in Heaven and beams majestically on the earth below, so Heaven's descendant below manifests to the utmost his sincerity and reverence in order to repay his debt to the heavenly ancestor. Religion and government being one,[9] all the heavenly functions that the sovereign undertakes and all the works that he performs as the representative of Heaven are means of serving the heavenly forebear. [By] re-

8. The question implies that these truths have a mysterious power so that they may be perpetuated in the life and experience of the people, even though they have not been committed to writing. The subsequent passage explains how this mysterious power operates.

9. The early Japanese word for "government" (*matsuri-goto*) is a compound based on the words for "religious rite" (*matsuri*) and "affairs" (*goto*), indicating a close association of political and religious functions.

vering the ancestor and reigning over the people, the sovereign becomes one with Heaven. Therefore, that his line should endure as long as Heaven endures is a natural consequence of the order of things. And thus, in expressing their supreme filial piety, successive sovereigns have maintained the imperial tombs and performed ceremonies of worship to their ancestors. They have manifested to the full their sincerity and reverence by observing the whole system of rites and have fulfilled their duty of repaying the debt to their progenetrix and of revering their ancestors by performing the Great Thanksgiving Ceremony. This ceremony consists of the first tasting of the new grain and the offering of it to the heavenly god[s].

[Takasu, *Shinron kōwa*, pp. 13–20; RT, WTdB]

The Danger from the West

The following excerpt from the "New Theses" is preceded by a discussion of the principle known as "retracing the descent and repaying the original debt" (*hanshi hōhon*), which affirms the divine descent of the imperial house and the gratitude of the Japanese people for the blessings of the gods. According to Aizawa, this principle was inculcated by the original Shinto teaching and reinforced by Confucianism from China. Later, however, it declined owing to the spread of superstitious beliefs identified with Shamanism, Buddhism, unorthodox Confucian teachings, and Christianity.

Thus, our ancestral teaching has been muddled by the shamans, altered by the Buddhists, and obscured by pseudo-Confucians and second-rate scholars who have, through their sophistries, confused the minds of men. Moreover, the duties of sovereign and minister and of parent and child have been neglected and left undefined in their teachings. The great Way of Heaven and man are nowhere to be found in them.

In the past, those who have attracted popular attention and confused the thinking of the populace with their improper teaching have been people only of our own realm. But now we must cope with the foreigners of the West, where every country upholds the law of Jesus and attempts therewith to subdue other countries. Everywhere they go, they set fire to shrines and temples, deceive and delude the people, and then invade and seize the country. Their purpose is not realized until the ruler of the land is made a subject and the people of the land [are] subservient. As they have gained momentum, they have attempted to foist themselves on our divine land, as they have already done in Luzon and Java. The damaging effects of their heresies go far beyond anything done by those who attack from within our own land. Fortunately, our rulers were wise and our ministers alert and thus were able to perceive their evil designs. The barbarians were killed and exterminated, and there has been no recurrence of this threat. Thus, for two hundred years, the designing and obstinate fellows have

been prevented from sowing their seeds in our soil. That the people have been free from the inflammatory teaching of the barbarians has been due to the great virtue of our government. . . .

Recently, there has appeared what is known as Dutch studies, which had its inception among our official interpreters [at Nagasaki]. It has been concerned primarily with reading and writing Dutch, and there is nothing harmful about it. However, these students, who make a living by passing on whatever they hear, have been taken in by the vaunted theories of the Western foreigners. They enthusiastically extol these theories, some going so far as to publish books about them in the hope of transforming our civilized way of life into that of the barbarians. And the weakness of some for novel gadgets and rare medicines, which delight the eye and enthrall the heart, have led many to admire foreign ways. If someday the treacherous foreigner should take advantage of this situation and lure ignorant people to his ways, our people will adopt such practices as eating dogs and sheep and wearing woolen clothing. And no one will be able to stop it. We must not permit the frost to turn to hard ice. We must become fully aware of its harmful and weakening effects and make an effort to check it. Now the Western foreigners, spurred by the desire to wreak havoc on us, are daily prying into our territorial waters. And within our own domain, evil teachings flourish in a hundred subtle ways. It is like nurturing barbarians within our own country.[10] If confusion reigns in the country, and depravity and obsequiousness among the people, could this land of ours still be called the Central Kingdom? Would it not be more like China, India, or the Occident? After all, what is the "basis" of our nation?[11]

[Takasu, *Shinron kōwa*, pp. 90–95; RT, WTdB]

The Source of Western Unity and Strength

As a Confucian, Aizawa believed that the moral unity of the people in support of the ruler, not coercive means, was the basis of true governance, and he saw the strength of the West as deriving more from its underlying Christian values than from its more apparent military might. Christianity, then, was the real threat from the West, and to counter it, Aizawa tried to rally Japan's religious and moral unity, advancing what became a new, synthetic national ideology, corresponding in many ways to the new nationalisms of Europe and America.

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10. Literally, the "Central Kingdom," the usual Chinese name for China. For its application to Japan, see chaps. 22 and 24.

11. Reference to the "national polity" (*kokutai*), especially as found in the divine origins of the country and the dynasty and as embodied in those moral values and virtues considered indispensable to social unity and order.

The Western barbarians have independent and mutually contending states, but they all follow the same God. When there is something to be gained by it, they get together in order to achieve their aims and share the benefits. But when trouble is brewing, each stays within his own boundaries for self-protection. So when there is trouble in the West, the East generally enjoys peace. But when the trouble has quieted down, they go out to ravage other lands in all directions, and then the East suffers. Russia, for instance, having subjugated the Western plains, turned eastward to take over Siberia and penetrate the Amur River region. But because the Manchus were still strong in China, the Russians could not attain their objectives and had to turn their aggressive designs toward the land of the Ainu. [p. 215]

As for the Western barbarians who have dominated the seas for nearly three centuries: Do they surpass others in intelligence and bravery? Does their benevolence and mercy overflow their own borders? Are their social institutions and administration of justice perfect in every detail? Or do they have supernatural powers enabling them to accomplish what other men cannot? Not so at all. All they have is Christianity to fall back on in the prosecution of their schemes. . . . When these barbarians plan to subdue a country not their own, they start by opening commerce and watch for a sign of weakness. If an opportunity is presented, they will preach their alien religion to captivate the people's hearts. Once the people's allegiance has been shifted, they can be manipulated, and nothing can be done to stop it. The people will be only too glad to die for the sake of the alien God. They have the courage to give battle; they offer all they own in adoration of the God and devote their resources to the cause of insurrection.[12] The subversion of the people and overthrow of the state are taught as being in accord with the God's will. So in the name of all-embracing love, the land is subjugated. Even though greed is the real motive, it masquerades as a righteous uprising. The absorption of the country and the conquest of its territories all are carried out in this fashion. [p. 198]

[Takasu, *Shinron kōwa*, pp. 198, 215; RT, WTdB]

THE OPENING OF JAPAN FROM WITHIN

In the atmosphere of impending crisis that pervaded Japan in the mid-nineteenth century, the Mito slogan "Revere the Emperor, Repel the Barbarian" proved to be remarkably effective in rallying nationalistic sentiment around a single center: the imperial house. Yet the very simplicity and generality of this appeal rendered it susceptible to conflicting interpretations and left many ques-

12. Reference to the uprising of Christians at Shimabara, near Nagasaki, in 1637/1638.

tions unanswered, which, as events brought nearer the final crisis in foreign relations, were to be resolved in an unexpected manner. Thus for some of the Mito leaders, themselves prominent members of the Tokugawa family and desirous of strengthening its position rather than abandoning it, the expression "Revere the Emperor" represented a call to national unity, and not what it later became to proponents of the imperial restoration: a call for surrender to the emperor of functions long performed by the shogunate. Similarly, the cry "Repel the Barbarian," which at first gave vent to a xenophobic rejection of all intercourse with the West, was in a few years sufficiently moderated to allow for "opening the country" as the only practicable way of building up Japan's strength against the West. In the rapid evolution of Japanese thinking about these questions, Sakuma Shōzan and his disciple Yoshida Shōin stood as important links between the old order and the new.

SAKUMA SHŌZAN: EASTERN ETHICS AND WESTERN SCIENCE

A samurai from mountainous Shinano Province, Sakuma Shōzan (Zōzan, 1811–1864) completed his Confucian classical studies in Edo under Satō Issai (see chap. 34), a noted scholar and literary stylist who taught under the aegis of the official Hayashi school but was also influenced by the intuitionist philosophy of Wang Yangming. Shōzan's own writings, and those of his disciple Yoshida Shōin, betray this influence in their emphasis on the inseparability of knowledge and action. Shōzan nonetheless felt that his master had gone too far in the direction of subjectivism, to the neglect of Zhu Xi's objective "investigation of things." That he subsequently became interested in Western science and technology, however, was not a purely logical development of this early concern for Zhu Xi's "investigation of things." He devoted himself mainly to teaching classical studies until suddenly thrust into a situation requiring much more practical knowledge than he possessed. In 1841 his lord, Sanada Yukitsura, who had considerable influence in shogunate circles by reason of both his family connections and his personal talents, was appointed to its highest council of advisers and put in charge of Japan's coastal defenses. As a trusted counselor of his lord, Shōzan found himself confronting the most difficult and fateful question of the day: how to deal with the threat of Western naval power in Japanese waters.

Despite being a believer in "revering the emperor and repelling the barbarian," Shōzan was not blinded by this antiforeignism to the realities of the situation but immediately began studying Western gunnery as it was taught by two Japanese pioneers in this field: Takashima Shūhan and Egawa Tan'an. The eight-point program that Shōzan subsequently submitted to Lord Sanada as the

basis for the shogunate's policy reveals both his firm adherence to the seclusion policy and his espousal of technical developments from the West:

1. Fortifications must be erected at all strategic points on the coast and equipped with adequate artillery.
2. The export of copper through the Dutch must be suspended, and the metal used for casting thousands of guns be distributed to all points.
3. Large merchant ships must be built so as to prevent the loss of rice through the wreck of small coastal vessels, which are all that the exclusion edicts allow.
4. Maritime trade must be supervised by capable officials.
5. Warships of foreign style must be constructed, and a force of trained naval officers be assembled.
6. Schools must be established throughout the country, and modern education provided, so that "even the most stupid men and women may understand loyalty, piety, and chastity."
7. Rewards and punishments must be made clear, and government must be conducted benevolently but firmly, so as to strengthen the popular mind.
8. A system of selecting and employing men of ability in official posts must be established.[13]

While noting Shōzan's bold advocacy of Western military methods, we must not regard his references to Confucian virtues and precepts as mere lip service to tradition. The emphasis in articles 6 and 8 on the need for universal schooling and meritocratic recruitment had been articles of Neo-Confucian reform since the Song period and were echoed frequently by Japanese scholars. Their advocacy in the late Tokugawa period produced an increasing restlessness and resistance to the feudal system of inherited aristocratic position. For Shōzan, at this critical stage, such reforms were urgently needed, since support for such a stupendous national undertaking as he called for could be guaranteed only by intensifying the moral indoctrination of the people and improving the quality of government so as to ensure popular backing.

Shōzan's proposals met with strong opposition, however, and when his lord was finally forced to relinquish his high place in the shogunate councils, Shōzan found himself free to devote his full energies to Western studies. This involved learning Dutch, in order to have direct access to sources of knowledge made available only through the Dutch trading mission at Deshima. For in-

13. As summarized in Sansom, *The Western World and Japan*, p. 254.

stance, by following an encyclopedia translated from Dutch, he experimented in making glass and refining certain chemicals. By 1848, he had become proficient enough to cast cannon and make small arms. These activities, and the steps he also took to improve animal husbandry in his native region, were supported by Lord Sanada to develop and strengthen his own fief of Matsushiro. They also served to make Shōzan more widely known as a leader in adopting Western methods.

Meanwhile, through his lord and others high in the Tokugawa government, Shōzan continued to press for building up land fortifications and a Western-type navy. Unsuccessful in this, he still had the satisfaction of seeing his hopes for a modern navy carried forward by one of his disciples, Katsu Awa (or Kaishū [Sea Vessel]), who later studied naval science and construction in the United States and, as the first minister of the navy in the Meiji regime, became known as "the father of the Japanese navy."

Another disciple of Shōzan during these years was the aforementioned Yoshida Shōin, who met a far different fate in his attempt earlier to go abroad for study. With the encouragement of his teacher, Shōin had tried to stow away on one of Matthew Perry's ships in 1854, only to be turned over to the shogunal authorities and imprisoned for violating the seclusion laws. Shōzan himself would probably have been punished far more severely for his part in this "crime" had not influential persons interceded to reverse the death penalty for both him and his disciple. After less than a year in jail, each was released in the custody of his home domain for domiciliary confinement.

Undeterred and irrepressible, Shōzan continued to take an active part in the debate on political and military questions. His prison diary ended with the following statement, echoing a famous utterance by Confucius:

> At twenty I realized I had a part to play in the life of my state.
> At thirty I realized I had a part to play in the life of the entire nation.
> At forty I realized I had a part to play in the life of the entire world.[14]

In this sequential development, Shōzan speaks as if one stage naturally evolved from the other, his horizons gradually extending outward like the *Great Learning*'s sequence of maturing from self to family to state to the world at large. He thought in this way not because the Neo-Confucian "investigation of things" necessarily led him to the kind of technical learning developed in the West—actually something forced on him by the advance of Western power—but because of his Neo-Confucian conviction that nothing lay beyond the scope of "the unity of principle and its diverse particularizations." In other words, Western technology and scientific principles could be only a particularized

14. *Analects* 2:4.

expression of underlying universal principles inherent in the Way. Neo-Confucian scholarly learning was limited in its own bookish way and did not exhaust all possible manifestations of principle.

Up to this time, Shōzan's advocacy of Western methods still did not imply that Japan itself should be opened to the West. In 1858, however, the signing of a commercial treaty with the United States ended the shogunate's seclusion policy. Accepting this state of affairs, Shōzan eventually became known as an active proponent of the new policy of "opening the country" (*kaikoku-ron*), to which the Tokugawa were now unavoidably committed. Meanwhile, opposition to the shogunate and to intercourse with the West centered increasingly on the emperor in Kyoto, and Shōzan, fearing the effects of this cleavage on Japan's capacity to resist Western encroachment, devoted his efforts to bridging the gulf between the two courts. In the early 1860s, a compromise party appeared in both Edo and Kyoto, calling for collaboration between the shogunate and the imperial court under the slogan "Union of Civil and Military [Government]" (*kōbu gattai*). The aim of this movement was, on the one hand, to uphold the policy of "opening the country" and, on the other, to grant a greater voice in government to the imperial court and its supporters among the so-called outer daimyo. In the interests of such a compromise, Shōzan offered his services as an emissary from the shogunate to the Kyoto court, convinced that he could persuade the emperor of the necessity of "opening the country." It was on this mission to Kyoto that Shōzan was murdered by assassins from the southwestern fief of Chōshū, who were bitterly opposed to the Tokugawa and any move toward reconciliation.

Besides being identified with the policy of "opening the country" to the West and the movement for "Union of Civil and Military Government," Shōzan's name is remembered especially in connection with a slogan he made famous: "Eastern ethics and Western science" (*tōyō no dōtoku, seiyō no gakugei*). In these few words, Shōzan summed up his belief in the need to defend Japan and preserve its "Eastern" (mainly Confucian) ethical heritage while adopting the new technical knowledge of the West. No doubt, in so acclaiming the respective virtues of East and West, Shōzan failed to anticipate many of the frictions that might develop between them and the difficulty of preserving traditional values in the midst of the technological revolution that lay ahead. Nevertheless, his simple formula was more than just a facile cosmopolitan gesture or the hasty contrivance of a desperate man, hoping, in the face of overwhelming Western superiority, to salvage something from the wreckage of his own civilization. It satisfied at least two of the basic conditions for Japan's survival in the modern world: the need for developing military power sufficient to hold off the West while preserving the unity of national purpose and action that, under the circumstances, could spring only from common and well-established traditions. Thus the formula proved workable enough to serve a whole generation of leaders during the Meiji Restoration and to provide the

basis for a modernization program of unparalleled magnitude in the late nineteenth century. What is noteworthy in this is not that the pursuit of these two aims brought them into continual conflict but that Japan's leaders and its people, adhering as much to received values as they were guided by the vision of a modernized nation, managed to limit these contradictions and conflicts sufficiently so as not to disrupt the whole enterprise.

Shōzan was not the only man of this era in world history to discover such an answer to the predicament of Asians suddenly confronted with the power and expanding energy of the West. In China, during the latter half of the nineteenth century, essentially the same solution was advanced under similar slogans, most prominently as "Chinese learning to provide the [moral] basis, Western learning to provide the [technical] means" (*Zhongxue wei ti, xixue wei yong*).[15] This is not the place to compare these two movements that encouraged the adoption of Western technology (especially the production of modern arms) while professing to uphold traditional moral teachings. Still we cannot fail to observe that the attempt made in China was far less successful in promoting rapid modernization than it was in Japan. Whatever the reasons for this, it is significant that in neither case do we find the claims to tradition so incompatible with the requirements of modernization that the one could be advanced only at the direct expense of the other. In China, although it is true that the weight of certain customs and traditions impeded reform, there is no evidence that the marked lag in modernization was linked to uncompromising resistance to it from native traditions in thought and conduct. On the contrary, Confucians exhibited a range of responses to the Western challenge similar in many ways to those of the Japanese. If the Japanese, however, were able to make more rapid strides toward Westernization, it was because, far from abandoning traditional values, they were successful in giving new meaning to them in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Reformulating their own past heritage, they extended in some ways its life among the people, employing for this purpose the very techniques of modern mass education and communication adopted from the West. For leaders such as these, who made a place in the modern world for the Land of the Rising Sun, there was probably no more striking example of this new claim to national virtue than Shōzan's pupil Yoshida Shōin.

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15. See de Bary and Bloom, eds., *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, chaps. 28 and 30. Wei Yuan (1794–1856) is probably the first exponent of this point of view in China. In *Reflections on My Errors* (*Seiken-roku*), Shōzan mentions having read a work of Wei's on China's defense policies in 1850/1851 and asserts that each of them had arrived at the same general conclusion independently. Sakuma's memorial on Japanese maritime defense was drawn up in the winter of 1842/1843, and Wei completed his *Record of Imperial Military Exploits of the Manchu Dynasty* (*Shengwu-ji*) in the summer of 1842.

REFLECTIONS ON MY ERRORS (*SEIKEN-ROKU*)

Reflections on My Errors seems to be a record of Sakuma Shōzan's reflections while in prison, although it was not actually written until after he was released. Ostensibly a piece of self-examination, the book is in fact a vigorous self-defense, dealing in turn with his fundamental Confucian beliefs, the need for pursuing Western studies, and the justification for his political activities. Because of his outspoken criticism of the existing regime, it was not published until after Shōzan's death and the fall of the shogunate.

In the summer of Kaei 7, the fourth month [May 1854], I, Taisei, because of an incident, went down into prison. During my seven months of imprisonment I pondered my errors, and as a result, there were things that I should have liked to say concerning them. However, brush and inkstone were forbidden in the prison, and I was therefore unable to keep a manuscript. Over that long period, then, I forgot much. Now that I have come out, I shall record what I remember, deposit the record in a cloth box, and bequeath it to my descendants. As for publicizing what I have to say, I dare do no such thing. [p. 239]

2. Take, for example, a man who is grieved by the illness of his lord or his father and who is seeking medicine to cure it. If he is fortunate enough to secure the medicine and is certain that it will be efficacious, then, certainly, without questioning either its cost or the quality of its name, he will beg his lord or father to take it. Should the latter refuse on the grounds that he dislikes the name, does the younger man make various schemes to give the medicine secretly, or does he simply sit by and wait for his master to die? There is no question about it: the feeling of genuine sincerity and heartfelt grief on the part of the subject or son makes it absolutely impossible for him to sit idly and watch his master's anguish; consequently, even if he knows that he will later have to face his master's anger, he cannot help but give the medicine secretly. [p. 239]

16. Although my family branch was poor, I grew up with plenty to eat and with warm clothing to wear. I never underwent the tempering of cold and hardship. I was therefore always afraid that in the event of a national emergency I would have difficulty bearing the attendant difficulties in everyday living, such as privations in food and drink. However, last summer, when the American ships suddenly arrived, and Edo was put on strict guard, I managed military affairs in the mansion belonging to my *han*, and although I got no sleep for seven days and nights, my spirits grew higher and higher. This year, I was condemned and sent to prison. For several weeks I have eaten meager food, licked salt, and received the same treatment as men under heavy punishment. However, I have kept calm and have managed to become content with my lot. Moreover, my spirit is active, and my body is healthy. To have tried myself

somewhat on these two points is of no small profit. My ordeal can thus be called a heavenly blessing. [p. 242]

20. The noble man has five pleasures, but wealth and rank are not among them. That his house understands decorum and rightness and remains free from family rifts—this is one pleasure. That exercising care in giving to and taking from others, he provides for himself honestly, free, internally, from shame before his wife and children, and externally, from disgrace before the public—this is the second pleasure. That he expounds and glorifies the learning of the sages, knows in his heart the great Way, and in all situations contents himself with his duty, in adversity as well as in prosperity—this is the third pleasure. That he is born after the opening of the vistas of science by the Westerners and can therefore understand principles not known to the sages and wise men of old—this is the fourth pleasure. That he employs the ethics of the East and the scientific technique of the West, neglecting neither the spiritual nor material aspects of life, combining subjective and objective and thus bringing benefit to the people and serving the nation—this is the fifth pleasure. [p. 244]

27. All learning is cumulative. It is not something that one comes to realize in a morning or an evening. Effective maritime defense is in itself a great field of study. Since no one has yet thoroughly studied its fundamentals, it is not easy to learn rapidly its essential points. Probably this fact explains why even if you take hold of a man's ear and explain these essential points to him, he does not understand. [pp. 245–46]

30. Of the men who now hold posts as commanders of the army, those who are not dukes or princes or men of noble rank are members of wealthy families. As such, they find their daily pleasure in drinking wine, singing, and dancing; and they are ignorant of military strategy and discipline. Should a national emergency arise, there is no one who could command the respect of the warriors and halt the enemy's attack. This is the great sorrow of our times. For this reason, I have wished to follow in substance the Western principles of armament and, by banding together loyal, valorous, strong men of old, established families not in the military class—men of whom one would be equal to ten ordinary men—to form a voluntary group that would be made to have as its sole aim that of guarding the nation and protecting the people. Anyone wishing to join the society would be tested and his merits examined; and if he did not shrink from hardship, he would then be permitted to join. Men of talent in military strategy, planning, and administration would be advanced to positions of leadership, and then if the day should come when the country must be defended, this group could be gathered together and organized into an army to await official commands. It is to be hoped that they could drive the enemy away and perform greater service than those who now form the military class. [pp. 246–47]

35. Mathematics is the basis for all learning. In the Western world after this science was discovered, military tactics advanced greatly, far outstripping that of former times. This development accords with the statement that "one ad-

vanced from basic studies to higher learning." In Sunzi's *Art of War*, the statement about "estimation, determination of quantity, calculation, judgment, and victory" refers to mathematics. However, since Sunzi's time, neither we nor the Chinese have ceased to read, study, and memorize his teachings, and our art of war remains exactly as it was then. It consequently cannot be compared with that of the West. There is no reason for this other than that we have not devoted ourselves to basic studies. At the present time, if we wish really to complete our military preparations, we must develop this branch of study. [p. 248]

40. What do the so-called Confucian scholars of today actually do? Do they clearly and tacitly understand the way in which the gods and sages established this nation, or the way in which Yao, Shun, and the divine emperors of the three dynasties governed? Do they, after having learned the rites and music, punishment and administration, the classics and governmental system, go on to discuss and learn the elements of the art of war, of military discipline, of the principles of machinery? Do they make exhaustive studies of conditions in foreign countries? Of effective defense methods? Of strategy in setting up strongholds, defense barriers, and reinforcements? Of the knowledge of computation, gravitation, geometry, and mathematics? If they do, I have not heard of it! Therefore I ask, What do the so-called scholars of today actually do? [p. 249]

42. Learning, the possession of which is of no assistance and the lack of which is of no harm, is useless learning. Useful learning, on the other hand, is as indispensable to the meeting of human needs as is the production of the light hemp-woven garment of summer and the heavy outer clothing of winter. [pp. 249–50]

44. We say that this nation has an abundance of gold, rice, and millet. However, our territory is not large, and after the country's internal needs have been met, there is hardly any surplus of the materials produced here. Such things as the need for coastal defense arise from without. To install several hundred defense barriers, to construct several hundred large warships, and to cast several thousand large artillery pieces call for vast expenditures. Again, all these things are not permanent: every ten or twenty years they must be repaired, reconstructed, or improved. Externally, we will need funds to carry on relations with foreign countries and, internally, [to cover] the expense of necessary food supplies for our own country. Where can the money for these sorts of things be obtained? If a family in financial distress receives many guests and frequently prepares feasts for them, its resources will be dissipated to the point that it no longer can continue to carry on these activities. How does the present position of the nation differ from the plight of this poor family? With what tactics can such a situation be overcome? Those who sincerely wish to conduct the affairs of state well must make careful plans in advance. [p. 250]

46. At the time when my former lord assumed office in the government, and later, when he took charge of coastal defense, the English barbarians were invading the Qing empire, and news of the war was sensational. I, greatly la-

menting the events of the day, submitted a plan in a memorial. That was, actually, in Tenpō 13, the eleventh month [December 1842–January 1843]. Later I saw the *Shengwu-ji* of the Chinese writer Wei Yuan [1784–1856].[16] Wei had also written out of sorrow over recent events. The preface to the book was composed in the seventh month of the same year [August–September 1842]; and although Wei thus wrote only four months before I submitted my memorial, the two of us, without having had any previous consultation, were often in complete agreement. Ah! Wei and I were born in different places and did not even know each other's name. Isn't it interesting that we both wrote lamenting the times during the same year and that our views were in accord without our having met? We really must be called comrades from separate lands. However, Wei says that from ancient times until the present, China has had a naval defense but has had no naval warfare; therefore as the method of defense against attacks from the sea, it should strengthen fortified towns and clear fields in order to be able to push back the landing invaders. I, on the other hand, wish to promote to the full the teaching of techniques for using armored warships and to form a plan of attack whereby an enemy could be intercepted and destroyed, in order that the death sentence may be given to the plunderers before they have reached the country's shores. That is the only point of difference between Wei and me. [p. 251]

47. In order to master the barbarians, there is nothing so effective as to ascertain in the beginning the conditions among them. To do this, there is no better first step than to be familiar with barbarian tongues. Thus, learning a barbarian language is not only a step toward knowing the barbarians but also the groundwork for mastering them. When the various nations on one pretext or another began sending ships frequently to the territory around Sagami and Awa, I thought it genuinely difficult to find out facts about them. As a result, I felt the desire to compile a lexicon in several volumes, translating other languages into Japanese, in order to teach the tongues of the various European countries. Also, since we have long had trade relations with Holland and since many of us already know how to read the books used in that country, I wished to publish the Dutch section first. Before this, the government had ordered to the effect that all books to be published must be officially inspected. Therefore, in the winter of Kaei 2 [1849–1850], I came to Edo, submitted my manuscript, and requested permission to publish it. The affair dragged on for a year, and I was ultimately unable to obtain permission. During the time I was in the capital,

16. Wei Yuan was a scholar and an associate of the commissioner Lin Zexu, whose attempt to suppress the opium trade at Canton led to the war with the British. Wei's book *Shengwu-ji* was finished just after the Treaty of Nanjing was signed, ending the Opium War. See de Bary and Bloom, eds., *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, pp. 207–9.

I first secured Wei's book and read it. He also wished to set up schools in his country primarily to translate foreign documents and to promote a clear understanding of conditions among the enemy nations, in order to further the cause of mastering the enemies. In this, too, his opinion concurred with mine. I do not know, however, whether or not his country has put his words into effect. [pp. 251–52]

48. The main requirement for maritime defense are guns and warships, but the more important item is guns. Wei included an article on guns in his *Haiguo tushi* [*sic*].[17] It is for the most part inaccurate and unfounded; it is like the doings of a child at play. No one can learn the essentials of a subject without engaging personally in the study of it. That a man of Wei's talent should fail to understand this is unfortunate. I deeply pity Wei that in the world of today, he, ignorant of artillery, should have unwittingly perpetrated these errors and foisted these mistakes on later generations. [p. 252]

49. Last summer the American barbarians arrived in the Bay of Uraga with four warships, bearing their president's message. Their deportment and manner of expression were exceedingly arrogant, and the resulting insult to our national dignity was not small. Those who heard could only gnash their teeth. A certain person on guard in Uraga suffered this insult in silence, and having been ultimately unable to do anything about it, after the barbarians had retired, he drew his knife and slashed to bits a portrait of their leader, which they had left as a gift. Thus, he gave vent to his rage. In former times Cao Wei of Song, having been demoted, was serving as an official in Shensi, and when he heard of the character of Zhao Yuanhao, he had a person skillful in drawing paint Zhao's image. Cao looked at this portrait and knew from its manly appearance that Zhao would doubtless make trouble on the border in the future. Therefore Wei wished to take steps toward preparing the border in advance and toward collecting together and examining men of ability. Afterward, everything turned out as he had predicted. Thus, by looking at the portrait of his enemy, he could see his enemy's abilities and thereby aid himself with his own preparations. It can only be regretted that the Japanese guard did not think of this. Instead of using the portrait, he tore it up. In both cases it was a barbarian; in both cases it was a portrait. But one man, lacking the portrait, sought to obtain it, while the other, having it, destroyed it. Their depth of knowledge and farsightedness in planning were vastly different. [pp. 252–53]

52. Formerly, with one or two friends, I took a trip to Kamakura; at length, we sailed over the sea past Arasaki to Jōgashima; we lodged at Misaki, continued

17. The correct title is *Haiguo tuzhi* (*Illustrated Gazetteer of the Maritime Countries*, 1841), compiled by Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan. See de Bary and Bloom, eds., *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, pp. 209–12.

on past Matsuwa, and stopped over at Miyata. Then, having stayed a time at Uraga, we went up to Sarujima, viewed Kanazawa, went out to Honmoku, and returned to Edo. In the course of this trip I stopped at about ten places where barricades had been set up in preparation against an invasion from the sea. However, the arrangement of them made no sense, and none of them could be depended on as a defense fortification. Upon discovering this, I unconsciously looked up to Heaven and sighed deeply; I struck my chest and wept for a long time. Edo is the throat of the nation, and while Futtsu, as its lip, may be called a natural barrier, the mouth opening into the sea is still broad. From the outset, it would be difficult without warships and naval troops to halt an enemy transgression or attack. Now, without any real effort, these foolish walls and mock parapets have been thrown up high above the surface of the sea, only to display to the foreign nations our lack of planning. If during these times the nations to east and west sent ships to pay us a visit, how could they take us seriously? There is no point in criticizing the mediocrity of the lower officials. But what is to be done if even those who ride on golden saddles with ornate saddle cloths, who wear brocade and feast on meat, and who call themselves high class, fail to recognize the great plan for the nation but instead use up the country's wealth on this useless construction work? If barbarian ships arrived in force, how could we either defend against them or defeat them? After my trip, I felt the urge to write a petition discussing the things that should and should not be done in maritime defense, with the hope that I might be of assistance in this time of emergency. I completed my manuscript and requested my former lord for permission to submit it. He refused, and I gave up my plan. This was in the early summer of Kaei 3 [1850]. Four years later, as I had predicted, the affair of the American barbarians arose. At the time my former lord stopped my memorial, he was probably acting out of the fear that I might be punished for impertinence. His benevolence in protecting me was truly great. If he were in the world today and were informed that I have been imprisoned, his grief would be profound! [pp. 257–58]

[*Seiken-roku*, in *NST*, vol. 55, pp. 239–60; trans. adapted from Terry, "Sakuma Shōzan," pp. 58–86]

YOKOI SHŌNAN: OPENING THE COUNTRY FOR THE COMMON GOOD

Yokoi Shōnan (1809–1869) illustrates, perhaps even more strikingly than Sakuma Shōzan does, the transition from a committed Confucianism to a wider world of intellectual engagement. From Kumamoto, Shōnan at an early age established himself as a scholar of exceptional brilliance and versatility in his home domain and then in Edo. Early on, he had been among the xenophobes calling for Japan to "repel the barbarians." But like Shōzan, his reading of Wei

Yuan,[18] the Chinese Confucian statecraft thinker who responded to the disaster of the Opium War, was a wake-up call.

Now he realized, as Wei had, that there was no way of "repelling the barbarian" without opening up to the West. Latter-day scholarship was inadequate—too much lost in metaphysical speculation, quiet contemplation, bookishness, or belles lettres—to deal with the realities of the threat from the West. Indeed, the more Shōnan studied the West, the more he became convinced that it embodied in many ways the humane values and activism of the early sage-kings Yao, Shun, and Yu, who were directly engaged in meeting the needs of the people rather than in lofty theorizing or in bookish scholarship. The latter vices had alienated both leaders and people from their natural (*shizen*) recognition of and response to the historical changes that had come about through the natural course of Heaven-and-earth (*tenchi no kiun*).

From this new standpoint, Shōnan could view a general like George Washington as more closely resembling the sages who served the common good than the decadent rulers of China who were limited by a narrow vision and corrupted by a self-centered, effete complacency. Even the Confucian value of public discussion, or discourse concerning the common good (*kōgi*), he came to believe, was better served by the political institutions of the United States and England.

By thus invoking the higher authority of the sages in favor of a universal standard transcending immediately received tradition, Shōnan engaged in a kind of Confucian revisionism similar to that of the Ancient Learning thinkers of the seventeenth century (especially Yamaga Sokō and Ogyū Sorai), who likewise emphasized the practical, social applications of early Confucianism. Even Zhu Xi had returned to the ancient sources of Confucianism in this way, so Shōnan was only learning and doing in his own time what Zhu had done in his. If one could call this reinventing tradition, then Confucianism itself was a tradition of continual reinvention in contemporary terms.

The same impulse to "restore the ancient order," however, had earlier inspired Song Neo-Confucian reformers to reject the anodyne, and amoral, influence of Buddhism in order to press for radical political change. Thus it is significant that at this time, Shōnan also was impressed by the strong moral stance and social teachings of Christianity, which he contrasted to Buddhist emptiness and antinomianism.

When Shōnan's views attracted the attention of Mito scholars and Matsudaira Shungaku (lord of the Fukui domain in Echizen), both Tokugawa related, he became associated with the movement to bring the shogunate and the imperial court together (*kōbu-gattai*) in a common cause and strategy for dealing with the West. Later, however, after imperialist forces succeeded with

18. See de Bary and Bloom, eds., *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, pp. 184, 206.

the Meiji Restoration in 1868, Shōnan, as an outspoken exponent of Westernization, met the same fate as Sakuma Shōzan: assassination by die-hard fanatics who still rejected all compromise with the West.

Along with his qualified advocacy of Westernization, Shōnan remained convinced that with its traditional values and native talents, Japan had enough resources to compete with and surpass other nations in the larger world—and even to dream of a world role for Japan. In the process, he formulated and articulated many of the aims that were espoused in the modernization process of the Meiji period. Thinkers in the next generation who were particularly inspired by Shōnan included Motoda Eifu, tutor to the Meiji emperor (see chap. 40), and Tokutomi Roka (1868–1927), an influential writer on liberal and humanitarian themes.

THREE THESES ON STATE POLICY (*KOKUZE SANRON*)

The following excerpts are from policy recommendations made to Matsudaira Shungaku, lord of Echizen, in 1860. The focus of the three theses is on economic and military reform and the cultivation of the samurai as a leadership class. Although his recommendations are nominally directed to his lord and local domain, when Yokoi Shōnan speaks of "Enriching the Country" (Fukoku-ron), his first thesis, he is addressing the needs of Japan as a whole. Hence "state" (*koku*) here means not just feudal state but "country," and he sees this in the context of the larger world, so that in the Neo-Confucian paradigm of self-family-state and "all under Heaven," instead of starting his presentation with self-cultivation (as one would with Zhu Xi's formula of "self-cultivation for the governance of men"), he reverses the order—establishing first a larger world context in which to define the state and self. Much of his theses is devoted to opening up this larger perspective, just as Wei Yuan had tried to expand Chinese horizons in the 1840s.

On this basis, Shōnan argues that the common good (the ultimate criterion of Neo-Confucian self-cultivation and governance) can be met only through a policy of "enriching the country" by opening it up to public discourse, to trade, and to economic growth for the benefit of the people as a whole, not just to serve the narrow "selfish" interests of the feudal family domain.

Having established this larger context of "all-under-Heaven," in which economics and military power now play so large a role, Shōnan then returns to the matter of the self-cultivation of the samurai. In the third of his theses, "The Way of the Samurai" (Shidō), he contends that self-cultivation of the mind-and-heart, as developed in Japan by the likes of Yamaga Sokō, combining the feudal military virtues with Confucian civil cultivation, is the key to human governance. Here, however, he emphasizes that they are not two separate Ways; they can be fulfilled only by a unified mind, achieved through moral discipline and practical arts. These enhance a natural human response to the unavoidable situations that arise in the natural course of things.

Enriching the Country

Under the feudal system during the period of national seclusion, the various daimyo isolated their own provinces or counties without considering the harm to others so long as there was gain for themselves. Even though there was not a single regime that did not seek its own profit, it was difficult to supplement the deficiencies for state expenditures. Hence, the stipends of the samurai were inevitably withheld in the form of forced loans; money was squeezed from rich farmers and merchants; and the lifeblood of the common people was sucked. Even with these measures the emergency of the present day could not be remedied. [p. 439]

Today, with all nations navigating freely and trading with one another like neighbors, if Japan alone holds on tightly to its seclusion law, it will be unable to escape the armed might of foreign enemies. When this happens, it is extremely doubtful that the state can be administered, let alone make adequate military preparations, with national power virtually lacking; nor can it rally the samurai and commoners—some resisting, others resentful—into setting up a policy of defense and driving out the foreigners.

These are the evils of seclusion.

The dangers of opening up trade are great, and likewise are those of seclusion. How can these two policies best meet the needs of our economy?

Since the natural course of Heaven-and-earth (*tenchi no kiun*) and the conditions in the various nations are not amenable to change through willful human action, for Japan alone to keep itself isolated is out of the question. Even if trade should be begun while retaining our seclusionist outlook, there are disadvantages to both intercourse and isolation, as shown above, and long-term security is difficult to attain. However, if we work in harmony with the natural course of Heaven-and-earth and adapt to conditions in the various nations, and if we administer the land in the interests of the common public good, the obstacles everywhere will disappear, and the distressful state of affairs of the present will no longer be a problem at all. [pp. 440–41]

We can rule Japan only if we have the ability to inform ourselves broadly about the various nations; only by knowing how to rule Japan can we administer a single province. And only by knowing how to administer a province can we manage one job. This accords with reason. In the pursuit of the common good, the empire and the province should not be treated separately, but if we start our discussion at the level of a province and enlarge it from there, we know it will extend to all-under-Heaven. [p. 441]

Now especially, if trade is opened up, our prestige among foreign countries will be preserved, and our obligations will be fulfilled. We can obtain the profits of trade, and through proper finances the ruler can bring about a humane government and the ministers [can] avoid injuring the people. The logic of this is roughly given below. [p. 442]

Many people wish to produce various goods or to increase their production but lack the resources to do so. If the government lent money and grain so that they could fulfill these wishes, and if it [the government] bought these goods, redeeming the loans but not looking for profit, then the people would greatly benefit. The original stock, food for peasants, fertilizer, and the like all should be bought with loans from the government on a nonprofit basis in order to eliminate the unnecessary expense of high interest rates. All loans from the government should be made without profit but without resulting in a net loss to the government. The government must secure its profit from foreign countries.

In fostering the production of various goods by the people, the government should first try them out to find the best methods and tools and then sympathetically guide the people in using them. A great deal of labor can be saved and conveniences obtained in various production methods, including sericulture, and in the use of various agricultural tools. These the government should try out, and after winning the confidence of the people, it should help them carry out these methods. However, when a new method, even though convenient, is forced on people, generally they will have no faith in it.

Artisans and merchants should be given comparable consideration. Rice and money should be lent and better methods should be taught them in order to ensure them their livelihood. [pp. 442–43]

Because it is important that we make our country economically and militarily strong (*fukoku-kyōhei*) and because each samurai should play his part, each should be paid a stipend in accordance with his ability so that he will not be pressed with immediate needs for food and clothing, and he should be given housing near his place of employment. For example, those who wish to take up seafaring should be permitted to live near the water and should be given the tools of seamanship. Those who desire to go into sericulture should be permitted to dwell near mulberry fields and should be given rooms for raising silkworm cocoons. Each should have his livelihood stabilized in the place he prefers, [and] he should be able to get married and rear children. Those near the sea would eventually be used in the navy. Those near the mulberry fields should be trained for service as soldier-peasants. The requests of all those who wish to serve their country in other capacities, as swordsmiths, gunsmiths, and the like, should be granted.

Governing a country means governing the people, and the samurai are the instruments for governing the people. Although teaching filial piety and brotherly love, trust, and loyalty to both samurai and commoners is the basis of rulership, the sages have explained that teaching these is not possible without material means. Therefore, all the more so in the present period of decline, we should give priority to gaining economic strength. [pp. 443–44]

In recent years because trade has been initiated by foreign countries, the average person believes that this was the start of commercial intercourse, but

this is by no means the truth. From the very beginning, commerce with foreign countries has been an important part of a country's trade, and its path has been firmly fixed by principles inherent in Heaven-and-earth. Those who govern others must be nourished by the latter, and those who nourish must be governed. This is the way of trade, and the same applies to government. Nourishing the people is the main work. . . . This is the natural principle (*shizen no jōri*). Yao and Shun's rule of all-under-Heaven was none other than this. [pp. 446–47]

In our country since the Middle Ages, wars have followed in succession; the imperial court has become weak; and various lords have parceled out groups of provinces, each defending his own territory while attacking others in turn. The people were regarded as so much waste, and the severity of forced labor and the arbitrary collection of military rations knew no bounds. Good government was swept away from the land; it was a period in which one who was skilled in warfare became a great lord and one who was clever in strategic planning became a renowned minister.

In the Keichō [1596–1615] and Genna [1615–1624] periods when a period of peace had come, these old ways remained. The great retainers on the war council, including Honda Sado-no-kami [1538–1616], all strove to make the foundation of the Tokugawa household supreme and firm, and not once was consideration given to the people of the realm. Although there are said to have been many outstanding rulers and ministers from that time to the present, all have continued the work of administering the private affairs of one household only. The various lords have followed this pattern, and according to the old ways handed down from their ancestors, they have planned with their ministers for the convenience and security of their own provinces with a barrier between neighboring provinces.

As a result, not all those known as great ministers in the shogunate and in each of the provinces have been able to disentangle themselves from the old ways of national seclusion. They have devoted themselves to their lords and their provinces, while their feelings of love and loyalty for the most part ignore the virtues of the good life and, on the contrary, invite the resentment of the people. All this leads to troubles in ruling the land. Japan has been split up accordingly and lacks a unified system. Therefore we must admit that Envoy Perry's observation in his *Expedition to Japan*[19] about the lack of governmental administration in Japan when he arrived here in 1855 was truly a discerning one. [pp. 447–48]

All systems, including currency, are transmitted and executed throughout the land by the power of the supreme government in the interest of the

19. *Nihon kikō*, the Japanese translation of *Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan Under the Command* of *Commodore M. C. Perry*.

Tokugawa household, without in any way benefiting the empire or the people. For Perry to call this "lack of government" was indeed correct.

Under the system of national seclusion, Japan sought safety in isolation. Hence it experienced no wars or defeats. However, the world situation has vastly changed. Each country has broadly developed enlightened government.

America has followed three major policies from Washington's presidency on: first, to stop wars in accordance with divine intentions, because nothing is worse than violence and killing among nations; second, to broaden enlightened government by learning from all the countries of the world; and, third, to work with complete devotion for the peace and welfare of the people by entrusting the power of the president of the whole country to the wisest person instead of transmitting it to the son of the president, and by not having ministers bound in service to the ruler, they endeavor to work together with one aim: to achieve peace and serve the common good. All methods of administrative laws and practices and all men who are known as good and wise throughout the world are put into the country's service, and a very beneficial administration—one not solely in the interest of the rulers—is developed. [p. 448]

In England the government is based entirely on the popular will, and all government actions—large and small—are always debated by the people. . . . Furthermore, all countries, including Russia, have established schools and military academies, hospitals, orphanages, and schools for the deaf and dumb. The governments are entirely based on moral principles, and they work hard for the benefit of the people, almost as was done in the three ancient periods of sage-rule in China.

Thus when the various countries attempt to open Japan's doors according to the way of international cooperation, who would not call Japan foolish for persisting in its old seclusionist views, for ruling for the benefit of private interests only, and for not knowing the principles of commercial intercourse? [pp. 448–49]

The present Manchu rulers of the Qing empire originated long ago from the northern barbarians, entered China as conquerors of the Ming empire, and changed their national customs. Their early emperors, like Kangxi and Qianlong, were wise and virtuous. Their rule was enlightened; they made innovations in culture and in teachings; and they brought about an effective peace. However during the Daoguang [1821–1851] and Xianfeng [1851–1862] eras, more than a hundred years after the opening of their country, China became weak with the corruption and extravagances of a long peace. It was unaware that countries beyond the seas had been expanding their knowledge by investigating science and logic, had been carrying out benevolent rule out of respect for justice, and had been strengthening their countries economically and militarily (*fukoku-kyōhei*); in other words, they were not like other foreign countries that had long since died out. China continued to hold the same views as it did in ancient days when it looked down with contempt on barbarian peoples.

As a result, during the latter years of the Daoguang era, China was badly defeated by England in the Opium War, which ended in the inevitable peace treaty. . . . Its humiliation was extreme.

Nevertheless the court, lacking men of ability and being refined and elegant but irresolute, did not have the least intention of learning from these costly experiences. [p. 449]

China and Japan are close neighbors. The results of China's debacle are right before our eyes, causing us to shudder so that we cannot calmly sit back and watch. Because of this, in accordance with divine virtue and sage teachings, we must observe today the conditions in all countries, greatly develop the system of our government in promoting the welfare of the people by innovating an enlightened rule, and earnestly make our country strong economically and militarily in order to avoid indignities from other countries. However, this does not mean that Western ways should necessarily be looked up to in all respects. [p. 450]

Military Reform: Strengthening the Military

In discussing arms for the present day, we can continue using the traditional hand-to-hand fighting, or we can stress the fierce Western rifle columns. What are their respective advantages and disadvantages?

In the old days, either way would do for Japan at home, but today we cannot refuse contacts with the overseas countries that have greatly developed their navigation. In the defense of an island country like ours, a navy is of prime importance in strengthening our military. In Japan up to the present, nothing had been heard concerning regulations for a navy. Furthermore, nothing had been observed about Western naval methods, so how could we know how to apply them? Navigation has progressed so much in the world today that we must start our discussion with the importance of a navy. Let us put aside for the time being the problem of Japan.

In Asia there is China, a great country facing the sea in the east. Early on, it developed a high material culture, and everything, including rice, wheat, millet and sorghum, has been plentiful for the livelihood of the people. In addition, there has been nothing lacking within its [China's] borders in regard to knowledge, skills, arts, goods of daily use, and entertainment. [But] from the imperial court down to the masses of the common people, extravagant habits have come to prevail. Although China permits foreigners to come and carry on trade, it has no intention of going out to seek goods. Moreover, it does not know how to obtain knowledge from others. For this reason, its arms are weak, and it must suffer indignities from various countries.

Europe is different from China. Its territory touches Asia on the east and is surrounded by seas on three sides. It is located in the northwest part of the earth, and compared with Asia it is small and is lacking in many things. Hence

it was inevitable that it [Europe] should go out in quest of things. It was natural that its nations should develop navigation to carry on trade, to fight one another with warships, and to attempt establishing possessions with monopoly controls. [p. 451]

This year [1860] English and French forces attacked the Manchu empire, taking Tientsin and threatening the capital at Beijing. Russia is watching from the sidelines to take advantage of a stalemate and is like a tiger waiting to pounce on its prey. If Russia has designs of dominating China, then a great force must be mustered to prevent this. England must also be feared.

With the situation beyond the seas like this and growing worse all the time, how can Japan arouse its martial vigor when it alone basks in peace and comfort and drills its indolent troops as though it were child's play? Because there is no navy, a defense policy simply does not exist. . . .

For several decades Russia had been requesting permission for trade in vain. England's requests also had been rejected. Therefore America laid out its plans long and carefully, and in 1853 its warships entered Uraga Bay, and bluffing with its armed might, it eventually unlocked our closed doors. Thereafter in succession, the Russians, English, and French came and instituted procedures for peaceful trade.

Japan has consequently learned some information about conditions beyond the seas. But we still cling to our antiquated views and depend on our skill in hand-to-hand fighting. Some believe that we can quickly learn to fire in rifle formations and thus avoid indignities. Indeed, our outmoded practices are pitiable. [pp. 453–54]

Consider England: it prevents indignities being committed by foreigners, and it rules possessions. . . . In 1848 there were 673 well-known English navy ships, of which 420 were operating. Steamboats are included in these figures. There were about 15,000 cannons, 29,500 sailors, 13,500 marines, and 900 officers. In wartime, France had 1,000 navy ships and 184,000 sailors. Today it has more than 700 steam naval vessels, 88,000 fighting men, and 240 armored warships. Compared with earlier times, it has twice as many fighting men. In 1856 it had more than 200,000 troops.

In our Bunroku era [1592–1595] during the Toyotomi campaign in Korea, Japan had 350,000 troops, not an inconsiderable figure when compared with England's. Moreover, the circumstances of Japan and England are very much alike, and therefore our militarization should be patterned after that of England, with 420 naval vessels ships, 15,000 cannons, 29,500 sailors, 13,500 fighting men, and 900 officers in the navy. Military camps must be set up in the vicinity of our open ports, and warships must be stationed there in preparation for emergencies. They can go to one another's assistance when circumstances require, and they should be adequate to forestall any indignities. England is situated in the northwest, and its land is not good. But with the advantages of

a maritime country, it has seized distant territories and today has become a great power.

Better yet, Japan lies in the central part of the earth, and we excel in the advantages of a sea environment. If the shogunate issued a new decree, aroused the characteristic vigor and bravery of the Japanese, and united the hearts of the entire nation with a firmly established military system based on clarified laws, not only would there be no need to fear foreign countries, but we could sail to various lands within a few years. And even if these lands should make armed attacks, we could, with our moral principles and courage, be looked up to for our benevolent ways.

Even though we need a navy, it cannot be built without an order from the shogunate. Nevertheless, if each province were to take action . . . we could, first of all, take those from the samurai class who have the desire to become apprentices in navigation and, in accordance with their ability, give them a moderate salary so that they could take care of their daily needs. They should live near the sea. At first they could sail fishing vessels and catch fish or sail to foreign lands in merchant vessels. Thus they would learn about the wind and waves while on the sea.

In addition, the shogunate should build two or three vessels of the cutter-schooner type. . . . According to this plan, each vessel would engage in trade, whaling, or the like. If it makes a profit from trade, it should be divided among the members of each ship. The original fund would again be put to use. With this experience in seeking profits according to man's normal impulses, impoverished samurai and others would greatly benefit. They could be trained in techniques while enjoying their work.

Furthermore, those with an interest could be taught the skills of surveying or astronomical observation. These can be learned in actual work in the field. The samurai who constantly go back and forth to foreign countries could broaden their knowledge through observation . . . Hence when the shogunate finally issues a new decree, they will most certainly be able to offer their services in the navy.

We have now discussed how navigation must be learned first and how this knowledge can eventually be put to naval use. But how can this [alone] be called strengthening the military (*kyōhei*)? It is said that no military reform surpasses the Way of the warrior (*bushidō*), which is to cultivate that spirit in actual practice. [pp. 454–56]

The Way of the Samurai

Shōnan was still teaching in Kumamoto when Matsudaira Yoshinobu (Shungaku) asked for his advice with regard to educational reform in 1853, a year of crisis with Perry's arrival. Shōnan responded at that time in writing, reviewing the history of

schooling in China and Japan and deploring the overemphasis on bookishness and literary skills.[20] This had been a major issue among Neo-Confucians from the Song on down, highlighted by Zhu Xi's advocacy of universal schooling in his preface to the *Great Learning* and Zhu's stress on moral action rather than belles lettres. Shōnan's distinctive synthesis of the civil and military (absent in Zhu Xi) was summed up seven years later in the third of his theses. Here he reaffirms the mental and spiritual discipline, the "method of the mind" (*shinpō*) central to Neo-Confucian cultivation, and decries the influence of Zen in divorcing military arts from moral cultivation. The issue is between *bun*, understood as civil (i.e., civilizing, humanizing) arts, and letters in the sense of belles lettres or proficiency in literary styles. Shōnan argues for "letters" and military arts that are joined as one in serving humane, civilizing purposes, rather than as separate, value-free specializations devoid of any moral value.

Although couched in terms of the familiar "Way of the samurai," Shōnan is defining a new leadership ideal of humane practical action for the world at large, beyond simply "enriching the country (state) and strengthening the military."

Everyone knows that as samurai functions, letters (*bun*) and military arts (*bu*) are essential to the way of rulership. However, today what is known as letters means familiarity with the classics and histories or entering into superficial discussions about the arts that have been passed down from ancient times, but it has turned out to be nothing more than memorizing texts and composing Chinese poetry. The military arts include horsemanship and swordplay, but in practice they are nothing more than discussing shades of meaning or lofty mysteries or else admiring the fierceness of swordplay or exaggerating the importance of beating others in combat. Therefore the scholar looks down on the warrior as being stupid, rough, and not of much use. Conversely, the warrior cannot stand the conceit and softness of the scholar. Both groups are unyielding in their disrespect for each other. Consequently a rift has opened up between the two avenues to rulership; this impasse is a general defect throughout Japan resulting from a failure to clarify the basis of the samurai way of life. [p. 458]

The original meaning of *bu* [warrior] lay in the realm of the mind-and-heart and not in techniques. Although we have not heard that the crossed lance (*daijūmonji*) of Lord Katō Kiyomasa [1559–1611] and the art of the spear (*tonbogiri*) of Lord Honda Tadakatsu [1568–1610][21] were transmitted and used in training, nevertheless they began with the disciplining of the whole mind-and-heart. [p. 459]

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20. Shōnan, *Questions and Answers on Schooling* (*Gakkō mondōsho*), in *NST*, vol. 55, pp. 428–33; for similar questions addressed in Kumamoto, see pp. 496–98.

21. Katō Kiyomasa added a short, slightly curved crosspiece about a foot from the tip of the lance, in order to make it easier to retract the lance after an enemy had been stabbed. *Tombogiri* originally was the name of Honda Tadakatsu's famous spear. He was one of Ieyasu's great generals.

In the [Tokugawa] period when commanders of the empire could not train in actual warfare, warriors had to find a teacher to obtain this training. But both teachers and pupils stressed the method of the mind-and-heart (*shinpō*) over skill and technique. Consequently, in the old days those who were skilled invariably were masters of the situation. . . . Miyamoto Musashi [1584–1645][22] was a guest teacher for the Hosokawa family and worked on plans for provincial affairs. . . . Musashi's military teachings were based on the principle of the one-directedness of the mind, but he constantly taught moral self-reflection, self-control, regulating the household, and ordering the state [from the *Great Learning*] as the basis of the Way of the samurai. Simply to talk about empty, bare-handed thrusts was too much like the emptiness of Zen meditation and would degenerate into the moral void of the Emptiness principle, to the neglect of practical judgments in both study and military combat. [p. 459]

Generally, it is difficult to rule a state, during peace or war, without the right men, and it is hard to find such men among those who have not mastered both the civil and the military arts. Although it has been known in both past and present that this mastery of civil and military arts is essential to the education of men of ability and character, it is not well understood that its basis rests on the method of the mind-and-heart, without which the attempt to obtain men of character through training in today's letters and today's military arts is like trying to cook sand into a meal. We know that as a result, it is difficult to obtain men of both character and ability and thus to rule the state properly. [pp. 460–61]

Through letters to clarify the principles of moral duty as an aid to good government and through the military arts to train for courageous combat so as to strengthen the body for any emergency—these are carried out in those feudal domains known for their realization of the Way, but when the basic meaning of the civil and military arts is lost, the effectiveness of schools in training men of ability and character is lost. [p. 461]

If a person wishes to learn the Way of the warrior based on moral principles, he must study the Way of serving his lord or father on down to the conduct of intercourse with his friends, and [he] must also study the Way of regulating his household and ordering the state. [p. 461]

As can be seen in [Zhu Xi's] preface to the *Great Learning*, the main idea of schools in the three ancient dynasties of China was to teach the Way of "self-discipline for the governance of men," which began with such household duties as "sprinkling and sweeping, and responding to others," all based on the individual's moral nature, with each person exerting himself to fulfill his

22. Miyamoto Musashi, or Niten, was a master of Zen-style monochrome painting as well as of swordsmanship.

proper function and without any compulsion whatever being exerted on the others.[23]

By contrast, in schools today the classics and histories are memorized and discussed, and the [separate] military arts are practiced. Rules and systems are established,[24] and all pupils are driven to acquire [the specialized] knowledge to be used in their occupation. Depending on their strong points, some go into letters, [and] some into military training; thus they become divided into opposing factions within the school. As a result, letters lack the [civilizing] function of letters, and the military arts lose their own substantial reality. [pp. 462–63]

All men have parents; all samurai have lords. To serve lords and parents with loyalty and filiality, to know the Way for humans to act like true human beings, is inherent in their Heaven-endowed moral nature and does not require formal instruction. To pursue the underlying principles of the moral nature and correct one's conduct in accordance with the Way is the civilizing function of letters; to control the mind-and-heart and discipline one's impetuosity, and to test these in skilled practice so as to perform worthy deeds, is the function of the military arts. Although the method of testing appears to be no different today, the attempt to control the mind through special techniques is indeed fundamentally different. . . . The method of mind control (*shinpō*) used earlier by persons [in Neo-Confucianism], practicing techniques for cleansing impurities from the mind [in quiet sitting] and engaging in lofty [philosophical] discourse about it, is nothing but empty talk. [p. 463]

Teachings on rulership should follow the example of the three ancient dynasties of China, during which there were great sages above and many wise men under them. As a result of these teachings, the school system also aided in rulership and produced men of character and ability. Even if the ability and virtues of rulers and ministers today do not equal those of these earlier dynasties, there is no alternative to using the teachings of the ancients as goals. Hence both rulers and ministers must realize that they cannot depart from the unified way of civil and military arts. The ruler must exercise affection, respect, modesty, justice, and frankness. He must study the practice of these among the ancient sages and worthies, and he must develop them in military exercises. In carrying out these sage teachings based on their natural sentiments and moral relations, he must lead his ministers with the greatest sincerity and compassion in ruling the people.

A high officer must conform to the mind-and-heart of the ruler and establish

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23. The first reference is to Zhu Xi, preface to the *Great Learning*; the second, to Zhu Xi, *Elementary Learning*. See de Bary and Bloom, eds., *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, pp. 722–24, 803–4. Shōnan does not disagree with Zhu Xi, but only with later Neo-Confucians who fail to fulfill these aims.

24. Contrary to Zhu Xi's recommendations in his postface to *Articles of the White Deer Grotto Academy*, which deplored the use of rules and regulations. See de Bary and Bloom, eds., *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, pp. 743–44.

the principle of concern for his country and love for his prince. He must overcome his own extravagances and practice the virtue of economy; he must strain his resolves and exert his body without yielding to hardships and without dreading dangers, thus building up his strength and perfecting his whole being. The fundamentals of the Way of the samurai are necessarily like these. A man must tread the footsteps of the sages without regret and make himself an example to the people. He must listen to the opinions of others with frankness and self-effacement. He must develop the good practice of taking ideas from the people. He must consult with the various officials in order to carry out the ruler's plans, promote the good, and teach those who are untrained.

The various officers also receive orders from their lord and absolutely must not inject their own wishes. They must perform their respective functions with fidelity and sincerity. They must follow the samurai's Way with disinterestedness and integrity, encourage their colleagues, and govern those below in the service of the common good. Also, they must enlighten those who teach the civil and military arts, thus dispelling ignorance. They must discard persistent and base, antiquated customs. With lord and minister having due regard for each other, and teachers and students listening to each other, the true civil and military arts together will benefit the teachings of rulership.

If it is so done, the teaching of the civil and military arts and the administration of schools will then serve as the foundation of government, and subordinates will naturally turn to the Way. They will naturally resolve to live up to the Way of the samurai. If all the people are of one mind with their lord and ministers, they will grasp the fundamentals of everything when they study the classics and histories and practice with sword and lance. Thus they will not be drawn into empty letters and one-sided military arts. They will be completely able to perform their duties. This is indeed the teaching of the true civil and military arts. Customs will become gentle and genuine. Then will there be any doubt that men of character and ability will arise? [pp. 464–65]

[Yokoi Shōnan, *Kokuze sanron*, in *NST*, vol. 55, pp. 439–65; trans. adapted from Miyauchi, "Kokuze sanron," pp. 156–86; WTdB]

YOSHIDA SHŌIN: DEATH-DEFYING HEROISM

Torajirō	Torajirō—
Nijū-ikkai mōshi	Twenty-one times a death-defier!

Yoshida Torajirō (better known by his pen name, Shōin, 1830–1859), whose heroism drew acclaim like this from young Japanese of the Meiji Restoration and even won admiration abroad through the writings of Robert Louis Stevenson, was born in the southwestern fief of Chōshū and adopted into the family of a samurai in rather humble circumstances. His father, a military instructor, found it necessary to divide his time between teaching and cultivating the soil

in order to earn a frugal living, and Shōin, who succeeded to the direction of his father's school at a very young age, always remained a peasant at heart—earnest, unsophisticated, and reflecting the raw energy of the earth. From his father, he also inherited a deep devotion to the precepts of Yamaga Sokō, whose teachings on the Way of the warrior (later known as *bushidō*) had been handed down in the family school. Shōin also acquired a close acquaintance with the principles of military science as explained in the ancient Chinese classic Sunzi's *Art of War*.[25] Perhaps an even more decisive influence on Shōin was the book of *Mencius*, whose idealism, assertion of the inherent worth of the individual, and opposition to arbitrary authority instilled in Shōin a sense of his own mission in the world and impatience with all external restraints.

An avid learner, and impressed by Sunzi's *Art of War* with the importance of military intelligence, Shōin traveled around, picking up what information he could about the West in Nagasaki and from such progressive teachers as Yokoi Shōnan and Sakuma Shōzan. On a trip to northern Japan, he also visited the school at Mito, which was proclaiming Japan's divine mission to turn back the West and to establish a world empire under the legitimate imperial dynasty. After the failure of his ill-planned attempt to stow away on one of Matthew Perry's ships, which ended in his being confined to his native fief, Shōin was permitted by his indulgent feudal lord to resume teaching. With *Mencius* as his main text, he stressed Mencius's implicit justification of redress against an unworthy and incompetent ruler and pointed to the shogun's failure to fulfill the function indicated by his title of "barbarian-subduing generalissimo" (*sei-i tai shōgun*). Throughout the ranks of the aristocracy, however, Shōin found a similar incapacity to assume the responsibilities of leadership in the crisis facing Japan. He became convinced that only among those close to the soil and untainted by the corruption of wealth and high office were there men selfless and fearless enough to overthrow the regime. To arouse these stalwarts of the countryside, only dedicated leadership and an inspiring example of the true warrior spirit were needed.

Shōin's call to action contained some of the ingredients of a modern revolution: the overthrow of the hereditary feudal aristocracy and the raising up of the Japanese common man to a role of importance. Here were the seeds of epochal changes that were realized by the Restoration—the abolition of feudalism, the emancipation of the peasants, and the arming of them in modernized forces—changes initiated by such youthful leaders and former disciples of Shōin as Kido Kōin, a key figure in the dismantling of feudalism; Itō Hirobumi, framer of the Meiji constitution; and Yamagata Aritomo, father of the modern Japanese army. But theirs was a revolution aimed more at revitalizing the national leadership than at completely overturning the social order. Shōin's dis-

25. See de Bary and Bloom, eds., *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, pp. 213–23.

satisfaction with the status quo was inspired not by class consciousness or a concern for the rights of any economic group but by disdain for the failure of the aristocracy, and especially the shogunate, to measure up to their responsibilities and a belief in the need for heroic individuals to stand up in their stead.

Typically, therefore, Shōin's mind was not on planning and organizing for political action but on some spectacular act of bravery that would dramatize the need for selfless leadership. Thus he conceived the idea of assassinating the shogun's emissary to the imperial court, whose mission was to secure the emperor's approval for a treaty with the United States. Considering his impetuosity and the previous failure of his ill-considered plans, it is not surprising that this daring plot was detected and quashed. Sent as a prisoner to the shogunate capital at Edo, Shōin was beheaded in 1859 at the age of thirty. But in death, his dreams were fulfilled: he became a hero to a whole generation, and his self-sacrifice was the spark that lit the minds and hearts of Japan's new revolutionary leaders. Reverently his patriotic disciples, including Itō and Kido, took home his remains, and with deep emotion, young Japanese of the new era recited the two poems that were his last testament in prison:

Oya wo omō	The son's solicitude for his mother
Kokoro ni masaru	Is surpassed by
Oyagokoro	Her solicitude for him
Kyō no otozure	When she hears what befell me today,
Ika ni kikuran?	How will she take it?
Kaku sureba	That such an act
Kaku naru mono to	Would have such a result
Shiri nagara	I knew well enough.
Yamu ni yamarenu	What made me do it anyhow
Yamato damashii	Was the spirit of Yamato.

But if this spirit was inspirational to Shōin's followers in the subsequent Restoration movement, it also left a less beneficial, longer-term legacy: the idea that spectacular examples of individual bravery and impetuous, direct action could change the course of history, as in the "government by assassination" of the 1930s.

ON LEADERSHIP

In these passages from Yoshida Shōin's writing, it is not difficult to see the same intense belief in the resoluteness of the individual will as the defining characteristic of the Confucian noble man—that is, in his self-sacrificing samurai incarnation—already noted in the later thinkers of the Zhu Xi, and especially Wang Yangming, schools in early-nineteenth-century Japan (see chaps. 33 and 34).

What is important in a leader is a resolute will and determination. A man may be versatile and learned, but if he lacks resoluteness and determination, of what use will he be? [vol. 8, p. 146]

Once the will is resolved, one's spirit is strengthened. Even a peasant's will is hard to deny, but a samurai of resolute will can sway ten thousand men. [vol. 5, p. 239]

He who aspires to greatness should read and study, pursuing the True Way with such a firm resolve that he is perfectly straightforward and open, rises above the superficialities of conventional behavior, and refuses to be satisfied with the petty or commonplace. [vol. 2, p. 26]

Once a man's will is set, he need no longer rely on others or expect anything from the world. His vision encompasses Heaven and earth, past and present, and the tranquillity of his heart is undisturbed. [vol. 3, p. 145]

Life and death, union and separation, follow closely after each other. Nothing is steadfast but the will; nothing endures but one's achievements. These alone count in life. [vol. 5, p. 334]

To consider oneself different from ordinary men is wrong, but it is right to hope that one will not be like ordinary men. [vol. 2, p. 25]

[*Yoshida Shōin zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 25–26; vol. 3, p. 145; vol. 5, pp. 239, 334; vol. 8, p. 146; RT, WTdB]

ON BEING DIRECT

In relations with others, one should express resentment and anger openly and straightforwardly. If one cannot express them openly and straightforwardly, the only thing to do is forget about them. To harbor grievances is to act like a weak and petty man—in truth, it can only be called cowardice. The mind of the noble man is like Heaven. When it is resentful or angry, it thunders forth its indignation. But once having loosed its feelings, it is like a sunny day with a clear sky: within the heart there remains not the trace of a cloud. Such is the beauty of true manliness.

[*Yoshida Shōin zenshū*, vol. 3, p. 239; WTdB]

ARMS AND LEARNING

These next excerpts mark two important stages in Shōin's intellectual development: first, when he was led by his studies in military science to seek a deeper knowledge of classical philosophy and, second, when he realized the importance of firsthand knowledge of the West. It was characteristic of him that he expressed this latter realization in typically Confucian terms.

Those who take up the science of war must not fail to master the [Confucian] classics. The reason is that arms are dangerous instruments and not necessarily

forces for good. How can we safely entrust them to any but those who have schooled themselves in the precepts of the classics and use these weapons for the realization of humanity and rightness? To quell violence and disorder, to repulse barbarians and brigands, to rescue living souls from agony and torture, to save the nation from imminent downfall—these are the true ends of humanity and rightness. If, on the contrary, arms are taken up in a selfish struggle to win land, goods, people, and the implements of war, is it not the worst of all evils, the most heinous of all offenses? If, further, the study of offensive and defensive warfare, of the way to certain victory in all encounters, is not based on those principles that should govern their employment, who can say that such a venture will not result in just such a misfortune? Therefore I say that those who take up the science of war must not fail to master the classics. [vol. 2, p. 145]

What I mean by the "pursuit of learning" is not the ability to read classical texts and study ancient history but to be fully acquainted with conditions all over the world and to have a keen awareness of what is going on abroad and around us. Now from what I can see, world trends and conditions are still unsettled, and as long as they remain unsettled, there is still a chance that something can be done. First, therefore, we must rectify conditions in our own domain, after which conditions in other domains can be rectified. This having been done, conditions at court can be rectified, and finally, conditions throughout the whole world can be rectified. First one must set an example oneself, and then it can be extended progressively to others.[26] This is what I mean by the "pursuit of learning." [vol. 4, p. 115]

[*Yoshida Shōin zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 145; vol. 4, p. 115; WTdB]

FACING DEATH

From the beginning of the year to the end, day and night, morning and evening, in action and repose, in speech and in silence, the warrior must keep death constantly before him and always have in mind that the one death [that he has to give] should not be suffered in vain. In other words, [he must have perfect control over his own death], just as if he were holding an intemperate steed in rein. Only he who truly keeps death in mind in this way can understand what is meant by [Yamaga Sokō's maxim of] "preparedness." [vol. 4, p. 238]

If the body dies, it does no harm to the mind, but if the mind dies, one can no longer act as a man, even though the body survives. [vol. 8, p. 299]

If a general and his men fear death and are apprehensive about possible defeat, then they will unavoidably suffer defeat and death. But if they make up

26. This type of reasoning follows the opening text attributed to Confucius in the *Great Learning* and echoed by Shōin's teacher, Sakuma Shōzan.

their minds, from the general down to the last foot soldier, not to think of living but only of standing in one place and facing death together, then, although they may have no other thought than meeting death, they will instead hold on to life and win victory. [vol. 1, p. 101]

[*Yoshida Shōin zenshū*, vol. 1, p. 101; vol. 4, p. 238; vol. 8, p. 299; WTdB]

SELFISHNESS AND HEROISM

A strong undercurrent of antagonism toward the idle rich, inspired by the traditional disapproval of self-indulgence found in Confucianism and Buddhism, runs through the following passages. Here Shōin stands as a link between the old samurai ideals of frugality and self-sacrificing service and the same virtues as exemplified by peasant soldiers in the service of twentieth-century Japanese nationalism.

The first passage is a commentary on a poem by the Chinese poet Li Bo, who points out that the most beautiful things in the world, the beauties of nature, are no one's private possession and may be enjoyed by all, free of charge.

Nowadays all people live selfishly and seek only the leisure in which to indulge their own desires. They look on all the beauties of nature—the rivers and mountains, the breeze and the moon—as their own to enjoy, forgetting what the shrine of the Sun Goddess stands for [i.e., that everything is held in trust from Heaven]. The common man thinks of his life as his own and refuses to perform his duty to his lord. The samurai regards his household as his own private possession and refuses to sacrifice his life for his state. The feudal lords regard their domains as their own and refuse to serve king and country. Unwilling to serve king and country, at home they cherish only the objects of desire, and abroad they willingly yield to the foreign barbarians, inviting defeat and destruction. Thus the scenic beauties they enjoy will not long remain in their possession. [vol. 4, p. 175]

As things stand now, the feudal lords are content to look on while the shogunate carries on in a high-handed manner. Neither the lords nor the shogun can be depended on [to save the country], and so our only hope lies in grassroots heroes.[27] [vol. 5, p. 315]

When I consider the state of things in our fief, I find that those who hold official positions and receive official stipends are incapable of the utmost in loyalty and patriotic service. Loyalty of the usual sort, perhaps, but if it is true loyalty and service you seek, then you must abandon this fief and plan a grassroots uprising. [vol. 9, p. 239]

It seems hopeless, hopeless. Those who eat meat [at public expense] are a

27. *Sōmō eiyū* means, literally, "Grass-clump heroes."

mean, selfish lot, and so the country is doomed. Our only hope lies in the grassroots folk who eat our traditional food [i.e., rice]. [vol. 6, p. 164]

If Heaven does not completely abandon this land of the gods, there must be an uprising of grassroots heroes. [vol. 9, p. 297]

If the plan [to intercept the shogunate emissary to the Kyoto court] is to be carried out, it can be done only with men from the grass roots. Wearing silk brocades, eating dainty food, hugging beautiful women, and fondling darling children are the only things hereditary officials care about. To revere the emperor and expel the barbarian is no concern of theirs. If this time it is my misfortune to die, may my death inspire at least one or two men of steadfast will to rise up and uphold this principle after my death. [vol. 9, p. 286]

[*Yoshida Shōin zenshū*, vol. 4, p. 175; vol. 5, p. 315; vol. 6, p. 164; vol. 9, pp. 239, 286, 297; RT, WTdB]

FUKUZAWA YUKICHI: PIONEER OF WESTERNIZATION

"Here lies," the epitaph on a monument to Fukuzawa reads, "a man of self-reliance and self-respect with a worldwide vision." It is probably safe to say that no other Japanese in those turbulent pre-Restoration days had such wide vision as Fukuzawa Yukichi (1834–1901), nor in the reconstruction period that followed did any Japanese of his renown and ability live the life of an independent commoner with such native dignity.

Born in the Kyushu province of Bungo, which had produced such progressive thinkers as Miura Baien and Hoashi Banri, Fukuzawa came from the lower levels of the feudal aristocracy. Always alert and energetic, he began studying Dutch very early in life and then became a pioneer student of English. As early as 1860, he took advantage of an opportunity to visit America with a shogunate mission, made a return visit in 1867, and in between traveled to European countries, especially England. When he finally started writing and lecturing about Western civilization and its achievements, it was on the basis of a wider firsthand knowledge of the West than any other Japanese of his time could boast. Hale, handsome, and of a sanguine nature, Fukuzawa radiated a lively enthusiasm that helped convey his ideas to others. Around him in his little school of Keiō, he drew ambitious young Japanese in growing numbers, men who became leaders of the new Japan in its political, economic, and social reconstruction. As a writer, he probably surpassed all his contemporaries in versatility and persuasiveness. His books sold millions of copies, bringing him a fortune and giving him the financial independence that enabled him to live the life of a commoner without having to accept a position in the government. It also provided him with the means to establish a newspaper through which he could freely voice his opinions on current questions.

Because of the practical and popular character of his writings, Fukuzawa's

influence was widely felt. He aimed less at converting the scholarly elite to a new philosophy than at conveying to great numbers of Japanese his enthusiasm for the tangible advantages of life in the West. Not all these advantages were of a material sort. Fukuzawa's appreciation of Western civilization was surprisingly broad, and while he lacked any deep knowledge of its background or traditions, he sensed that the meaning of the West was to be found as much in the moral tales told to its children or in the procedure for running meetings as in treatises on natural or political science. If there is any single influence from the West that Fukuzawa most clearly exemplified and fostered, it is British utilitarianism and liberalism, a trend especially strong in the early decades of the Restoration. Linked closely to this was his prevailing belief in human progress through the wider application of the methods of the natural sciences. Increasingly toward the end of his life, however, Fukuzawa expressed the conviction that the moral and religious regeneration of the Japanese was indispensable to their future progress.

Fukuzawa's abilities as a writer, a publicist, and an educator gave him great prominence in Japan's public life in the late nineteenth century. The following excerpts reveal his early reactions to the West and Japan's reactions to him as a proponent of things Western. In subsequent chapters, he also is represented as an advocate of "civilization and enlightenment" (chap. 38) and educational modernization (chap. 40).

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF FUKUZAWA YUKICHI

This book was dictated in 1898 shortly before Fukuzawa's death and was later translated into English by a grandson, Kiyooka Eiichi, under the title *The Autobiography of Fukuzawa Yukichi* (1934). These selections pertain to his first visits to America and Europe and to his founding of a private school for Western studies and of a private newspaper.

I am willing to admit my pride in Japan's accomplishments [in rapid modernization]. The facts are these: It was not until the sixth year of Kaei (1853) that a steamship was seen for the first time; it was only in the second year of Ansei (1855) that we began to study navigation from the Dutch in Nagasaki; by 1860, the science was sufficiently understood to enable us to sail a ship across the Pacific. This means that about seven years after the first sight of a steam ship, after only about five years of practice, the Japanese people made a trans-Pacific crossing without help from foreign experts. I think we can without undue pride boast before the world of this courage and skill. As I have shown, the Japanese officers were to receive no aid from Captain Brooke throughout the voyage. Even in taking observations, our officers and the Americans made them independently of each other. Sometimes they compared their results, but we were never in the least dependent on the Americans.

As I consider all the other peoples of the Orient as they exist today, I feel convinced that there is no other nation which has the ability or the courage to navigate a steamship across the Pacific after a period of five years of experience in navigation and engineering. Not only in the Orient would this feat stand as an act of unprecedented skill and daring. Even Peter the Great of Russia, who went to Holland to study navigation, with all his attainments in the science could not have equaled this feat of the Japanese. Without doubt, the famous Emperor of Russia was a man of exceptional genius, but his people did not respond to his leadership in the practice of science as did our Japanese in this great adventure. [pp. 118–19]

On our part there were many confusing and embarrassing moments [in our travels abroad], for we were quite ignorant of the customs and habits of American life. . . . Things social, political, and economic proved most inexplicable. One day, on a sudden thought, I asked a gentleman where the descendants of George Washington might be. He replied, "I think there is a woman who is directly descended from Washington. I don't know where she is now, but I think I have heard she is married." His answer was so very casual that it shocked me.

Of course, I knew that America was a republic with a new president every four years, but I could not help feeling that the family of Washington should be regarded as apart from all other families. My reasoning was based on the reverence in Japan for the founders of the great lines of rulers—like that for Ieyasu of the Tokugawa family of shoguns, really deified in the popular mind. So I remember the intense astonishment I felt at receiving this indifferent answer about the Washington family. As for scientific inventions and industrial machinery, there was no great novelty in them for me. It was more in matters of life and conventions of social custom and ways of thinking that I found myself at a loss in America. [pp. 121–25]

While we were in London, a certain member of the Parliament sent us a copy of a bill which he said he had proposed in the House under the name of the party to which he belonged. The bill was a protest against the arrogant attitude of the British minister to Japan, Alcock, who had at times acted as if Japan were a country conquered by military force. One of the instances mentioned in the bill was that of Alcock's riding his horse into the sacred temple grounds of Shiba, an unpardonable insult to the Japanese.

On reading the copy of this bill, I felt as if "a load had been lifted from my chest." After all, the foreigners were not all "devils." I had felt that Japan was enduring some pointed affronts on the part of the foreign ministers who presumed on the ignorance of our government. But now that I had actually come to the minister's native land, I found that there were among them some truly impartial and warmhearted human beings. So after this I grew even more determined in my doctrine of free intercourse with the rest of the world. [pp. 138–39]

During this mission in Europe I tried to learn some of the most common-

place details of foreign culture. I did not care to study scientific or technical subjects while on the journey, because I could study them as well from books after I had returned home. But I felt that I had to learn the more common matters of daily life directly from the people, because the Europeans would not describe them in books as being too obvious. Yet to us those common matters were the most difficult to comprehend.

For instance, when I saw a hospital, I wanted to know how it was run—who paid the running expenses; when I visited a bank, I wished to learn how the money was deposited and paid out. By similar firsthand queries, I learned something of the postal system and the military conscription then in force in France but not in England. A perplexing institution was representative government.

When I asked a gentleman what the "election law" was and what kind of institution the Parliament really was, he simply replied with a smile, meaning I suppose that no intelligent person was expected to ask such a question. But these were the things most difficult of all for me to understand. In this connection, I learned that there were different political parties—the Liberal and the Conservative—who were always "fighting" against each other in the government.

For some time it was beyond my comprehension to understand what they were "fighting" for, and what was meant, anyway, by "fighting" in peace time. "This man and that man are 'enemies' in the House," they would tell me. But these "enemies" were to be seen at the same table, eating and drinking with each other. I felt as if I could not make much out of this. It took me a long time, with some tedious thinking, before I could gather a general notion of these separate mysterious facts. In some of the more complicated matters, I might achieve an understanding five or ten days after they were explained to me. But all in all, I learned much from this initial tour of Europe. [pp. 142–44]

In the beginning my reputation in my lord's household was very bad, for I was simply an upstart samurai who had studied some foreign sciences, traveled in strange lands, and was now writing books to advocate very unconventional ideas; moreover I was finding fault with the venerable Chinese culture—a very dangerous heretic. I can imagine the kind of reports made about me to the inner household.

But when years passed and times had changed, the whole country turning inevitably toward the new culture, my class came to find that this Fukuzawa was not so spiteful a person as was thought and that he might really prove useful in some way. A certain chancellor named Shimazu Yutarō was the first to see the situation and speak well of me in the feudal household.

At that time there was a certain lady dowager in the household whom people called Horen-in Sama. She was of very noble lineage, having come from the great house of Hitotsu-bashi, and now at her advanced age she was held in particular respect by the whole household.

In conversing with this lady, Shimazu described much of the medicine and

navigation and other sciences of the Western lands; also the customs which were very different from our own. The most remarkable of all the Western customs, he told her, was the relation between men and women; there men and women had equal rights, and monogamy was the strict rule in any class of people—this, at least, might be a merit of the Western customs.

The lady dowager could not help being moved by this conversation, for she had had some unhappy trials in earlier days. As if her eyes were suddenly opened to something new, she expressed a desire to make the acquaintance of Fukuzawa. When I was admitted to her presence, she found that I was quite an ordinary man—though often called a heretic, I had no horns on my head nor tail beneath my formal skirt. So she gradually began to place confidence in me. Many years later Shimazu told me all about this, and then I learned how I was first admitted to the inner household of the lord. [pp. 326–27]

[*The Autobiography of Fukuzawa Yukichi*, trans. Kiyooka, pp. 118–44, 326–27]

REFORM PROPOSALS OF SAKAMOTO RYŌMA, SAIGŌ TAKAMORI, AND ŌKUBO TOSHIMICHI

In the events leading up to the Restoration, negotiations were conducted among the principal proponents of imperial restoration as to what steps should be taken to replace the Tokugawa shogunate and inaugurate imperial rule. Two proposals by leading players in the process outlined programs on whose basis the transition could be made from shogunal to imperial rule.

One was offered by Sakamoto Ryōma (1835–1867), a Tosa samurai and imperial loyalist, who facilitated a united front between the powerful Satsuma and Chōshū domains. The other was drawn up by Satsuma leaders, including Saigō Takamori (1828–1877) and Ōkubo Toshimichi (1830–1878), who became prominent figures in the early Meiji scene (see chap. 37).

These proposals reflect a shift in emphasis from Sakamoto's moderate stance, emphasizing cooperation between the shogunate and the court to achieve national unity, to the outright replacement of the shogunate by a new political process. Likewise, the early emphasis in the first proposal on the importance of "public consultation" (*kōgi*) or public opinion (*kōron*), assuming a broad consensus among the participants on the basis of which problems could be resolved, gives way in the second document to a call for decisive leadership and direct action, taking the place of what is impatiently dismissed as endless debate on the matter.

SAKAMOTO RYŌMA: EIGHT-POINT PROPOSAL, 1867

1. Political power of the entire country should be returned to the Imperial Court, and all decrees should be issued by the Court.

2. There should be established an Upper and a Lower Legislative House which should participate in making decisions pertaining to all governmental policies. All governmental policies should be decided on the basis of deliberation openly arrived at (*kōgi*).
3. Men of ability among the court nobles, daimyo, and people at large should be appointed as councillors and receive appropriate offices and titles. Those sinecure positions of the past should be abolished.
4. In dealing with foreign countries, appropriate regulations should be newly established which would take into account broadly the deliberation openly arrived at.
5. The laws and regulations (*ritsu-ryō*) of earlier times should be scrutinized [to preserve only those provisions that still are applicable], and a great new code to last forever should be promulgated.
6. The navy should be properly expanded.
7. An Imperial Guard [directly controlled by the imperial court and not dependent on the *bakufu* or various *han*] should be set up to defend the capital.
8. There should be a law established to equalize the value of gold, silver, and goods with those of foreign countries.

The above eight-point program is proposed after due consideration of the present state of affairs in the nation. When this is proclaimed both internally and externally to all the countries, it becomes inconceivable to think of engaging in the urgent talk of alleviating the current crisis outside of this program. If with determination these policies are carried out, the fortunes of His Majesty will be restored, national strength will increase, and it will not be difficult to attain the position of equality with all other nations. We pray that based on the enlightened and righteous reason (*dōri*), the Imperial Government will act decisively to undertake the path of renewal and reform of the country.

[Lu, ed., *Japan*, pp. 301–2]

LETTER FROM SAIGŌ TAKAMORI AND ŌKUBO TOSHIMICHI ON THE IMPERIAL RESTORATION, 1867

This letter is addressed to Iwakura Tomomi, a leading figure at the Kyoto court.

When with great resolve, a policy of establishing the foundation for the imperial restoration is proclaimed, there is bound to be a great deal of confusion. People have been contaminated by the old habit of settling down into the more than two hundred years of peace. If we decide to resort to arms, it can conversely have the salutary effect of renewing the spirit of all people under Heaven, and

pacifying the central regions of the country. Therefore we deem it the most urgent task to decide for war, and to find victory in the most difficult situation.

It is a well-established principle that one must not take up arms because one loves warfare. However, if everything is allowed to proceed as it is, and the great issue of how to govern the country is delegated merely to the hard work of the Imperial Court and to the consensus (*kōron*) reached by the three highest positions within the Council of State (Dajōkan), then war is to be preferred. In the olden days, when great works were begun, how to conserve such great works was hardly decided by debates. Even those [debaters] who were exceptionally well endowed did not escape criticism from later generations of scholars. The situation is even more critical today with the deteriorating conditions. We urge you to think through the matter carefully and consider all the alternatives. It is most important that the first step in the new government is not a mistaken one.

On the important matter of how to deal with the Tokugawa family, we have been informed of the outline of a secret decision. We heartily concur with your decision through a secret edict to order the [former] Lords of Owari (Tokugawa Yoshikatsu, 1824–1883) and Echizen (Matsudaira Yoshinaga, 1828–1890) to become intermediaries in arranging for the shogun's immediate repentance and restitution. This is indeed an appropriate and magnanimous gesture.

The danger which has befallen our imperial country today is due to the great crime committed by the *bakufu*. This fact is very well established, and two months earlier, on the thirteenth day, you did reach a decision to impose certain penalties. At the present time, regardless of whatever arguments may be advanced, it is necessary to demote the shogun to the position of a mere daimyo, reduce his official rank by one degree, let him return his domains, and let him ask for pardon of his sins.[28] Unless these measures are followed, whatever we do will be contrary to the consensus [*kōron* or, broadly, "public opinion"] and there is no way the public can be satisfied. These secret understandings which we reached previously must not be changed in any manner.

If the mediation through the Lords of Owari and Echizen does not succeed, it shows very clearly that the shogun fails to appreciate the magnanimity of the Imperial Court, works against the consensus, and is not truly penitent. In that event an imperial command must be given immediately and resolutely to implement the above measure. . . .

If we fail to take these appropriate measures, we will be acting contrary to principle and to the consensus at the initial phase of the imperial restoration. Then the fortunes of the imperial power will suffer, and the great ills of the

28. Saigō originally favored death for Yoshinobu, but British minister Harry Parkes advised Saigō that in such an event, all foreign powers might side with the *bakufu*.

past years will resurface. . . . May we beg you to consider the matter carefully, and also consult with the three ministers to arrive at a resolute decision. . . .

Eighth day of the twelfth month, 1867
Iwashita Sajiuemon
Saigō Kichinosuke (Takamori)
Ōkubo Ichizō (Toshimichi)

[Lu, ed., *Japan*, pp. 302–3]

PART V

Japan, Asia, and the West

Part V, covering the period from 1868 to 1945, begins with the so-called Restoration (*ishin*) of 1868 and ends with the devastation and surrender of Japan at the end of World War II in 1945. The Japanese term *ishin* has connotations of both "restoration" and "renovation." As the restoration of imperial rule, the events of 1868 marked the end of the military regimes that had dominated Japan since the twelfth century. This outcome, however, left an open question of whether the military might still play as great a role in the expected "Renovation" as it did in the Restoration itself. For much of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, that role was still a major one. Yet after the military's eclipse in 1945, the civil (*bun*) aspects of the Renovation, starting with the Meiji "enlightenment," emerged from the shadow of the military (*bu*) with greater significance for Japan's future.

In historical perspective, the "civilizing" aspects of the Renovation had already begun with the spread of Neo-Confucianism under the Tokugawa, especially with the increasing propagation of meritocratic values through the extension of schooling, literacy, and a literate culture that was already, from the seventeenth century, beginning to assimilate Western learning in the form of "Dutch learning" (*rangaku*).

As a long-term trend, the aims of this civilizing process were expressed in the Meiji emperor's Charter Oath of 1868, which, in sum, set as its goals:

1. Deliberative assemblies to decide all matters by means of public discussion.
2. The participation of all classes in government.
3. The abolition of hereditary status and occupation.
4. The discarding of past evil customs.
5. A search for knowledge throughout the world to strengthen the foundations of imperial rule.

The following chapters illustrate the ways in which these civilizational goals were to be pursued: by sending cultural missions abroad; establishing a new, Westernized education and national school system, new state and private universities, and new publication media to disseminate information and promote public discussion; creating new cultural associations and political parties to advocate liberal and even radical causes; drawing up a constitution to provide for parliamentary rule; and making the most of the economic and social developments that accompanied these political and cultural changes.

Many of these developments are recognizable as characteristic of a modern civil society and arguably can be seen as extending the original consensus-building consultation processes envisaged in Prince Shōtoku's early Seventeen-Article Constitution of the seventh century C.E. But the Meiji constitution of 1889 (like Shōtoku's) also incorporated authoritarian elements that could be used by a ruling oligarchy to strengthen its hold on power. Moreover, a strong undercurrent of radical nationalism, agitating against parliamentarism and party politics, used violence and terror to pressure the political process in a rightward direction and toward a policy that asserted Japan's own economic growth as inseparable from, and indeed demanding, military expansion in Asia.

The idea that Japan could assume the leadership of a resurgent Asia gained some plausibility from the rapid advances it had made in many aspects of modernization, compared with the seeming backwardness or fractiousness of other Asian countries unable to cope with the challenge from the West. Thus the ideology of the national polity or essence (*kokutai*), combining imperial rule with a new state-centered version of popular loyalty, aspired to more than just the conversion of local, feudal loyalties into a powerful state nationalism and even threatened to become charged with a world imperialistic (though ostensibly modernizing, civilizing) mission.

In the disastrous outcome of this ambition, there was plenty of complicity and blame among Japanese elites of all kinds. The national habit of consensus formation and feeling for solidarity tended toward political conformity, which obviated the more intense repression and liquidation of all opposition characteristic of the Nazis and Communists in Europe. But historically there had always been strong individuals who resisted the consensus, and after the war,

some leadership groups survived, relatively unscathed from the ordeal, to carry on. Thus, despite the disaster of war and the unprecedented destruction it brought to Japan, the period from 1868 to 1945 should be seen as a time of lively, spirited activity on many levels of Japanese society and substantial advances made, despite their sometimes high cost and great setbacks.

Chapter 37

THE MEIJI RESTORATION

The Meiji Restoration, like the Taika Reform of the mid-sixth century, was a major turning point in Japanese history. Just as the Taika Reform opened Japan to the incorporation of new ideas and institutions from China, which led to a profound restructuring of the Japanese polity and society, so the Meiji Restoration opened Japan to similar influences from the West. While most scholars agree that the Meiji Restoration ushered in Japan's modern age by creating the political, economic, and social institutions that governed Japanese lives until World War II, both the nature and the interpretation of this event remain controversial. Was the Restoration a simple coup d'état in which one part of Japan's feudal elite replaced another? Was it a revolution? If a revolution, what kind of a revolution was it? Did the Restoration reflect class interests or ideology? Did the Restoration leaders have clear plans? Was the Restoration the product of internal changes that reflected the social and economic transformation of late Tokugawa Japan? Or was it largely foreign induced? Such questions continue to be debated by students of modern Japan and are still of great interest to historians. What is generally agreed, however, is that in its broad sense, the Meiji Restoration transformed Japan in less than forty years from a backward feudal nation into one of the world's great powers.

EDICT TO SUBJUGATE THE SHOGUN TOKUGAWA YOSHINOBU

In a narrow sense, the Meiji Restoration consisted of a coup d'état that was announced on January 3, 1868, when troops from Satsuma and Chōshū seized the Imperial Palace in Kyoto and declared an "imperial restoration." Two months earlier, on November 9, 1867, in response to a request made by Ōkubo Toshimichi, Satsuma and Chōshū had obtained a secret imperial rescript to overthrow the shogunate. Its harsh language leaves it open to question, although it appears that Iwakura Tomomi vouched for its veracity.

Minamoto Yoshinobu [Tokugawa Yoshinobu, the last shogun], borrowing the authority of successive generations and depending on the strength of his pack of bandits, has wantonly impaired the loyal and the good, and has frequently disobeyed imperial commands. In the end, not fearing to distort the edicts of the late emperor, and not caring that he has plunged the populace into an abyss, his all-pervasive evil threatens to overturn the Land of the Gods. We are father and mother of the people. If We fail to strike down this traitor, what excuse shall We have to offer to the spirit of the late emperor? How shall We make Our profound amends to the people? This is the cause of Our grief and indignation. It is unavoidable that the period of mourning be disregarded. Implement the wishes of Our heart by slaughtering the traitorous subject Yoshinobu. When you have speedily accomplished this great deed to save the nation, you will enable the people to enjoy the lasting peace of the mountains. This is Our wish. See to it that you are prompt in carrying it out.

[Ishii, *Boshin sensō ron*, pp. 66–67; trans. in Keene, *Emperor of Japan*, p. 115]

LETTER OF RESIGNATION OF THE LAST SHOGUN

Despite Yoshinobu's decision to restore political rule to the emperor on the same day (November 9, 1867), thereby formally terminating the Tokugawa shogunate, and despite efforts by moderates from Tosa such as Sakamoto Ryōma and Gotō Shōjirō to create a plan of government that would have included the Tokugawa in a new shared administration with other domains, the Satsuma and Chōshū loyalists decided to pursue the subjugation order and plunged the nation into the Boshin civil war, which lasted until the summer of 1869. Yoshinobu's willingness to submit to imperial authority and to surrender Edo Castle with minimal resistance can be attributed in part to his consciousness that in the background stood the aggressive Western powers that had already pressured Japan into signing the unequal treaties and appeared to be seeking further concessions. Even the last shogun was fully aware that Japan would have to become a centralized state in order to defend itself against the outside world, as his letter of resignation notes.

My ancestor [Tokugawa Ieyasu] received more confidence and favor from the Court than any of his predecessors, and his descendants have succeeded him for more than two hundred years. Though I fill the same office, almost all the acts of the administration are far from perfect, and I confess it with shame that the present unsatisfactory condition of affairs is due to my shortcomings and incompetence. Now that foreign intercourse becomes daily more extensive, unless the government is directed from one central authority, the foundations of the state will fall to pieces. If, however, the old order of things be changed, and the administrative authority be restored to the Imperial Court, and if national deliberations be conducted on an extensive scale, and the Imperial decision be secured, and if the empire be supported by the efforts of the whole people, then the empire will be able to maintain its rank and dignity among the nations of the earth.

[*Hōrei zensho*, 1867, p. 1; McLaren, *Japanese Government Documents*, pp. 2–3]

EDICT TO FOREIGN DIPLOMATS

While the legitimacy of the new government was being contested on the battlefield, the Meiji leaders were quick to indicate to both domestic and foreign audiences the role and position of the emperor, Mutsuhito, who was still only a boy of sixteen. On February 3, 1868, the emperor issued the following edict.

The Emperor of Japan announces to the sovereigns of all Foreign countries and to their subjects that permission has been granted to the Shogun Tokugawa Yoshinobu to return the governing power in accordance with his own request. We shall henceforward exercise supreme authority in all the internal and external affairs of the country. Consequently the title of Emperor must be substituted for that of Tycoon, in which the treaties have been made. Officers are being appointed by us to the conduct of foreign affairs. It is desirable that the representatives of the treaty powers recognize this announcement.

[Satow, *Diplomat in Japan*, p. 324]

THE CHARTER OATH

Placing the emperor squarely at the heart of the new polity, the Meiji leaders acted quickly to consolidate their rule. The Charter Oath of April 1868 is one of the most important and intriguing documents that was issued in the name of the young Meiji emperor by the men who carried out the Restoration. The oath is usually viewed as expressing the progressive side of the Restoration. It also has been interpreted as underscoring the generally hostile attitudes of the samurai from the western clans toward

the old order and their eagerness to make room for a new leadership group. While many historians have seen the Restoration as a top–down event in which one segment of the samurai class replaced another segment of that class in what T. C. Smith labeled "Japan's aristocratic revolution," more recent scholarship has come to view the Restoration not simply as a narrow political event and internal power shift but as a broader change in which new intellectual, economic, and social forces were at work in a way that included considerable bottom–up participation. The ferment of late Tokugawa society is now perceived not only through the lenses of the discontented samurai who, in the name of loyalty to the throne and antiforeignism, wanted to create a new Japan but also through the social strife, discontent, and disorder expressed in new religions, millenarian movements, mass pilgrimages, urban riots, and peasant uprisings. As George Wilson noted, "The samurai elite and the popular movements were simultaneously groping for a new and stable order in Japan."[1] There can be no question that the Charter Oath was designed as a general policy pronouncement intended to rally the greatest degree of popular support behind the Restoration. Its vagueness allowed it to be interpreted later along diverse lines, but it was equally difficult to overlook the strong focus on the public and popular concerns. This indicates that the new administration was not unaware of the broader changes apparent in late Tokugawa socioeconomic life.

By this oath, we set up as our aim the establishment of the national weal on a broad basis and the framing of a constitution and laws.

1. Deliberative assemblies shall be widely established and all matters decided by public discussion.
2. All classes, high and low, shall unite in vigorously carrying out the administration of affairs of state.
3. The common people, no less than the civil and military officials, shall each be allowed to pursue his own calling so that there may be no discontent.
4. Evil customs of the past shall be broken off and everything based upon the just laws of Nature.
5. Knowledge shall be sought throughout the world so as to strengthen the foundations of imperial rule.

[*Meiji boshin*, pp. 81–82; McLaren, *Japanese Government Documents*, p. 8]

THE CONSTITUTION OF 1868

The constitution of June 1868 was promulgated in the emperor's name to confirm the original intentions of the Restoration leadership. Article I of the constitution reiterates

1. Wilson, *Patriots and Redeemers in Japan*, p. 80.

the Charter Oath, and the rest of the document was designed to flesh out the original policy lines outlined in the earlier document. Articles II, III, V, and IX indicate that the writers of this document were influenced by Western concepts of representative government and attempted to implement the idea of the separation of powers. At the same time, the constitution shows that the Restoration leaders had to walk a fine line between asserting new prerogatives for the throne and court and avoiding an open attack on established feudal authority. The document provides further insights into the dual nature of the Restoration. It clearly shows the Meiji leaders considering Western constitutional ideas and democratic principles while simultaneously implementing a system of formal government structures based on the earlier centralized system borrowed from China in the seventh century. The administrative structure spelled out in the appendices of this document, which are not reproduced here, reveal that the Restoration leaders sought from the outset a strong government that would be administered by a ruling oligarchy. At the same time, they also felt compelled to cater to the new political forces that wanted greater public participation in government and a more popular system that might implement such participation. These elements, the search for top–down control and the desire for bottom–up participation in government, constituted the fundamental and often contradictory forces that shaped Japanese politics well into the twentieth century.

I. (Restates the Charter Oath)

II. All power and authority in the empire shall be vested in a Council of State, and thus the grievances of divided government shall be done away with. The power and authority of the Council of State shall be threefold, legislative, executive, and judicial. Thus the imbalance of authority among the different branches of government shall be avoided.

III. The legislative organ shall not be permitted to perform executive functions, nor shall the executive organ be permitted to perform legislative functions. However, on extraordinary occasions the legislative organ may still perform such functions as tours of inspection of cities and the conduct of foreign affairs.

IV. Attainment to offices of the first rank shall be limited to princes of the blood, court nobles, and territorial lords, and shall be by virtue of [the sovereign's] intimate trust in the great ministers of state. A law governing ministers summoned from the provinces (*chōshi*) shall be adopted, clan officials of whatever status may attain offices of the second rank on the basis of worth and talent.

V. Each great city, clan, and imperial prefecture shall furnish qualified men to be members of the Assembly. A deliberative body shall be instituted so that the views of the people may be discussed openly.

VI. A system of official ranks shall be instituted so that each [official] may know the importance of his office and not dare to hold it in contempt.

VII. Princes of the blood, court nobles, and territorial lords shall be accompanied by [no more than] six two-sworded men and three commoners, and

persons of lower rank by [no more than] two two-sworded men and one commoner, so that the appearance of pomp and grandeur may be done away with and the evils of class barriers may be avoided.

VIII. Officers shall not discuss the affairs of the government in their own houses with unofficial persons. If any person desire interviews with them for the purpose of giving expression to their own opinions, they shall be sent to the office of the appropriate department and the matter shall be discussed openly.

IX. All officials shall be changed after four years' service. They shall be selected by means of public balloting. However, at the first expiration of terms hereafter, half of the officials shall retain office for two additional years, after which their terms shall expire, so that [the government] may be caused to continue without interruption. Those whose relief is undesirable because they enjoy the approval of the people may be retained for an additional period of years.

X. A system shall be established for levying taxes on territorial lords, farmers, artisans, and merchants, so that government revenue may be supplemented, military installations strengthened, and public security maintained. For this purpose, even persons with rank or office shall have taxes levied upon them equivalent to one-thirtieth of their income or salaries.

XI. Each large city, clan, and imperial prefecture shall promulgate regulations, and these shall comply with the Charter Oath. The laws peculiar to one locality shall not be generalized to apply to other localities. There shall be no private conferral of titles or rank, no private coinage, no private employment of foreigners, and no conclusion of alliances with neighboring clans or with foreign countries, lest inferior authorities be confounded with superior and the government be thrown into confusion.

[*Meiji boshin*, pp. 87–89; McLaren, *Japanese Government Documents*, pp. 8–10]

THE ABOLITION OF FEUDALISM AND THE CENTRALIZATION OF THE MEIJI STATE

The Restoration leaders were fully conscious of the need to create a newly centralized nation-state that could compete with the Western powers. To achieve this end, they realized that Japan would have to move beyond the decentralized feudal system, with its more than 250 separate feudal domains that had marked the Tokugawa age. Several crucial steps were taken to move ahead with the abolition of feudalism.

MEMORIAL ON THE PROPOSAL TO RETURN THE REGISTERS

In 1869 the lords of four of the most important feudal domains—Chōshū, Satsuma, Hizen, and Tosa—agreed to return their lands to the emperor and sent a memorial to

the throne to that effect. The Return of the Domain Registers, as this act was called, was followed by new administrative regulations to govern the *fu* (urban districts) and *ken* (prefectures).

Your servants again venture to address Your Majesty with profound reverence. Two things are essential to the Imperial administration. There must be one central body of government, and one sovereign authority which must be preserved intact. Since the time when your Majesty's ancestors founded this country and established a basis of government, all things in the wide expanse of heaven and all things on earth to its furthest limits, have belonged to the Emperor from generation to generation. This is what is known as "one central government." And the sole power of giving and of taking away, which renders it impossible for the nobles to hold the people in subjection in virtue of their land, or to deal with the smallest piece of ground at their pleasure, or to seize and treat despotically any individual of the humbler classes, this is what is understood by the term "one sovereign authority."

The administration of the Emperors was conducted entirely on this principle. They conducted the government in their own persons, the name and reality of power were combined, and consequently the nation was tranquil and contented. But from the time of the middle ages the administration became lax, and the authority of the Emperors came to be a plaything. . . . Everywhere men of influence, but of unprincipled character, took advantage of the existing disorder to promote their own interests, and the weak became food for the strong. . . . Finally the Mikado's [emperor's] government lost all real authority and was entirely dependent upon the will of the shogunate. The boundless despotism of the shogunate lasted for over six hundred years, and during this interval violent dealings with land and with the people were carried out by stealth under pretense of the Imperial authority. . . .

When the Tokugawa family rose to power, half the country was held by them and their relatives. In addition new families rose up. These houses took no heed of the question of whether their lands and subjects had been received in grant from the Imperial court. It was commonly said by members of these houses: "Our possessions were gained by the military power of our ancestors." But there is little doubt that those ancestors had originally raised forces, plundered the Imperial storehouses, and laid forcible hands on the treasures they contained and had braved the penalty of death in the execution of their designs. Those who break into storehouses are commonly termed robbers, but no suspicion was attached by the nation to those who seized upon the land and people. This confusion between right and wrong is terrible indeed.

Now that we seek to establish an entirely new form of government, it is incumbent on us to take care to preserve intact both one central body of government and one sovereign authority. The land in which your servants live is the land of the Emperor, and the people whom they govern are his subjects.

Neither the one, nor the other can belong to us. We entreat Your Majesty to issue such Imperial Decrees as may be deemed necessary to deal with the lands and the people of the four clans represented in this memorial, and to make such changes as Your Majesty may think proper. We also beg that all laws, decrees, and military regulations, extending even to military dress and accouterments, may be issued by the Central government, so that all matters of state may be decided by one and the same authority. In this way both name and reality will be secured, and this country will be placed upon a footing of equality with foreign powers. . . .

[*Hōrei zensho*, 1869, p. 42; McLaren, *Japanese Government Documents*, pp. 29–32]

IMPERIAL RESCRIPT ON THE ABOLITION OF THE *HAN*

On August 29, 1871, an imperial rescript formally disbanded the feudal domains (*han*) and promulgated the prefectural system across the nation. In effect, this spelled the end of feudalism in Japan.

We are of the opinion that in a time of radical reform like the present, if We desire by its means to give protection and tranquillity to the people at home and to maintain equality with foreign powers abroad, words must be made to mean in reality what they claim to signify, and the government of the country must center in a single authority.

Some time ago We gave Our sanction to the scheme by which all the clans restored to Us their registers; We appointed governors for the first time, each to perform the duties of his office.

But owing to the lengthened endurance of the old system during several hundred years, there have been cases where the word only was pronounced and the reality not performed. How is it possible for Us, under such circumstances, to give protection and tranquillity to the people, and to maintain equality with foreign nations?

Profoundly regretting this condition of affairs, We now completely abolish the Clans (*han*) and convert them into Prefectures (*ken*), with the object of diligently retrenching expenditure and of arriving at convenience of working, or getting rid of the unreality of names and of abolishing the disease of government proceeding from multiple centers.

Do ye, Our assembled servants, take well to heart this Our will.

[*Hōrei zensho*, 1871, p. 283; McLaren, *Japanese Government Documents*, pp. 32–33]

THE LEADERS AND THEIR VISION

The leaders of the Restoration who came to power in 1868 were largely young and low- to middle-ranking samurai from the four domains of Satsuma, Chōshū,

Tosa, and Hizen, plus a few courtiers, like Iwakura Tomomi, who surrounded the emperor. Most of these men initially harbored strong antiforeign biases that emerged from the combination of loyalism and xenophobia that had fueled the Restoration. But in the early Meiji years, such sentiments were quickly jettisoned. Talented, young, and ambitious, they were determined to create a new, viable Japan. With few ties to the past, they were prepared to move in new directions. The abolition of feudalism and the centralization of the new Meiji state were among their highest priorities. At the same time imbued with a strong nationalistic sentiment, they were equally concerned with maintaining sovereignty against the threat of the Western powers. As the foregoing documents show, the men who were directing the transformation of Japan were less concerned with protecting tradition than with learning the secrets of Western wealth and power in order to strengthen Japan. The goal that most of these men agreed on was that Japan had to penetrate the opponents' camp, master the West's civilization, including its weapons, and use them to protect the national interest. While the West played an important role in this process, it was never an end in itself. As the Charter Oath noted, Japan would seek knowledge from around the world, but the goal was to shore up the foundations of imperial rule. Although the ends were clear, the means to those ends often elicited serious debate. What kind of culture should Japan develop? What should lie at the core of that culture? How were Japanese peasants to be transformed into citizens of the modern state?

In the 1870s, such debates raged both inside and outside government circles. At the same time, a group of reform bureaucrats consolidated their position within the administration. They included men like Ōkubo Toshimichi from Satsuma and Kido Takayoshi and Itō Hirobumi from Chōshū. Their priority was to preserve stability and order within Japan while maintaining national sovereignty abroad. For leaders such as Kido, Ōkubo, and Itō, the main question remained how to steer a middle course between the liberal influences of Western political structures and the essential despotism of the Japanese emperor system, which they identified with the Japanese national polity. What they searched for was a way to "civilize" and "Westernize" Japan without harming the prerogatives of the throne.

THE IWAKURA MISSION

The Iwakura Mission (1871–1873) played a key role in shaping the views of the Restoration leaders. The mission took half the leadership group—including Ōkubo Toshimichi, Kido Takayoshi, and Itō Hirobumi—as well as fifty students, to the United States and Europe for two years. This sojourn abroad played a crucial part in transforming the vision of the men who created modern Japan. Ostensibly, it was a mission designed to renegotiate the unequal treaties and

was led by the court noble Iwakura Tomomi. But it served as an eye-opening experience for most of its members. Faced with Western wealth and power, these men realized that Japan would require significant reforms in its economy, social system, and political institutions before it could achieve equality with the West. In the process, Westernization became a central theme of the Restoration.

KIDO TAKAYOSHI'S OBSERVATIONS OF EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

Although in historical perspective, the Meiji leaders are often regarded as conservative, they also were quite innovative. As we can see in the following letter written by Kido Takayoshi from the United States, they were concerned not only with shoring up their own and the emperor's authority but also with dealing with broader issues such as education and the need to transform Japan socially and culturally to meet the demands of modernity. Clearly, the issue for Kido was that Japan could not become a modern state if it did not have an educated and enlightened citizenry. While education could serve as a means of control, it also retained, as men like Fukuzawa Yukichi recognized, the potential for liberating the citizens from state authority.

When it comes to things like schools and factories, it is impossible to tell you everything, for it defies description. From now on, unless we pay a great deal of attention to the children, the preservation of order in our country in the future will be impossible. . . . Maintaining a stable state will be difficult unless we consider social conditions and pay attention to social evils. Nothing is more important than schools for improving social conditions and uprooting social evils. The civilization we have in our country today is not a true civilization, and our enlightenment is not true enlightenment. To prevent trouble ten years from now, there is only one thing to do, and that is to establish schools worthy of the name. A long-range program for the stability of our country will never be carried out if we have only a small number of able people; we have to have universal adherence to the moral principles of loyalty, justice, humanity, and decorum. Unless we establish an unshakable national foundation, we will not be able to elevate our country's prestige in a thousand years. The creation of such public morals and the establishment of such a national foundation depend entirely on people. And the supply of such people in endless numbers over a long period of time clearly depends on education, and on education alone. Our people are no different from Americans or Europeans of today: it is all a matter of education or the lack of education.

[Kido Takayoshi to Sugiyama Takatoshi, January 26, 1872, in *Kido Takayoshi monjo*, vol. 4, p. 320; trans. adapted from Irokawa, *The Culture of the Meiji Period*, pp. 54–55]

KIDO ON THE NEED FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

As one of the drafters of the Charter Oath, Kido is said to have insisted on Article IV: "Evil customs of the past shall be broken off and everything based upon the just laws of Nature." While on the Iwakura Mission, he became an early supporter of constitutional government for Japan. On March 1, 1872, he wrote the following.

In the first year of the Restoration, we worked out the five-article Charter Oath hastily and had it accepted by the leaders, daimyo, and court nobles, setting out the direction for the people's future. But now it is time for us to have an unshakable fundamental law. Therefore, from now on I want to concentrate my attention on matters such as the basic laws and governmental structures of other countries.

[*Kido Takayoshi nikki*, vol. 2, p. 142; Irokawa, *The Culture of the Meiji Period*, p. 56]

KUME KUNITAKE'S ASSESSMENT OF EUROPEAN WEALTH AND POWER

The official chronicle of the Iwakura Mission was produced by Kume Kunitake, Iwakura's chief secretary. Like the other members of the embassy, Kume was a careful observer. As the following suggests, he, too, believed that through cautious planning, Japan could catch up with the West. Impressed by the European nations' wealth and power, he noted that much of this was the product of recent history. After going to an exposition in London, Kume wrote the following, whose implications for further reforms in Japan are obvious.

Most of the countries in Europe shine with the light of civilization and abound in wealth and power. Their trade is prosperous, their technology is superior, and they greatly enjoy the pleasures and comforts of life. When one observes such conditions, one is apt to think that these countries have always been like this, but this is not the case—the wealth and prosperity one sees now in Europe dates to an appreciable degree from the period after 1800. It has taken scarcely forty years to produce such conditions. . . . How different the Europe of today is from the Europe of forty years ago can be imagined easily. There were no trains running on the land; there were no steamships operating on the water. There was no transmission of news by telegraph. Small ships plied navigable rivers; sailing ships crossed the high seas, horse-drawn carriages trod the roads, letter carriers ran between stations. Soldiers, using copper cannon or flint rifles, fought within a restricted battle area. Woolen cloth was the finery of the wealthy. Cotton was a rare good from across the seas. . . . Although the fashions of France were the shining example for all of Europe, England was the first to

break away and create out of its traditions the crafts and customs appropriate to itself. England had gradually stimulated other nations to produce what they can do best. At present, the crafts of Europe vie in beauty with each other. It is just as if a variety of trees and flowers were growing profusely giving off a fragrance. These were our thoughts after seeing the Kensington Exposition. Those who read this record should reflect upon the lesson to be drawn for Japan.

[Kume Kunitake, *Tokumei*, vol. 2, pp. 58–59; MM]

KIDO'S OBSERVATIONS ON RETURNING FROM THE WEST

The following statement by Kido shows the evolution of his ideas after returning to Japan from the United States and Europe in 1873. Like other Meiji leaders, he was concerned about the institutionalization of authority, which was initially exercised by individuals under the emperor. As Kido saw it, such an arbitrary exercise of power should be replaced by the rule of law. In this sense, he remained true to the progressive impulses of the Restoration and was a herald of the constitutional movement that blossomed in the late 1870s and 1880s. What struck Kido most about the West were the constitutional processes limiting those in power and providing a sound basis for orderly change. Indeed, in a long preamble to the passage quoted here, he asserts as a universal law of history that the rise and fall of nations are determined by their fidelity to constitutional order. Kido praised the so-called constitution established under the Charter Oath but expanded the need for a more popularly based governmental structure. His analysis confirms at the same time both his firm commitment to greater popular participation in government and the gradualist approach toward change that marked the nature of early Meiji reforms. The heart of his argument reads as follows.

In enlightened countries, though there may be a sovereign, still he does not hold sway in an arbitrary fashion. The people of the whole country give expression to their united and harmonious wishes, and the business of the State is arranged accordingly, a department (styled the government) being charged with the execution of their judgments, and officials appointed to transact business. For this reason all who hold office respect the wishes of the whole nation and serve their country under a deep sense of responsibility, so that even in extraordinary crises, they take no arbitrary step contrary to the people's will. The strictness [of the constitution] of these governments is such as I have just described, but as [an] additional check upon illegal acts, the people have parliamentary representatives whose duty it is to inspect everything that is done and to check arbitrary proceedings on the part of officials. Herein lies the best quality of these governments. But if the people are not yet sufficiently enlightened, it becomes necessary, at least for a time, that the Sovereign should by his superior discernment anticipate their unanimous wishes and act for them in arranging the affairs of State and in entrusting to officials the execution of their wishes. By this means he will gradually lead them forward in the path of en-

lightenment. Such a course is consonant with natural principles, and I am inclined to believe that the thought of the Emperor when he inaugurated by an oath his energetic policy was based on this idea. My belief is that although Japan is not yet ready for parliamentary inspection of the affairs of state, in the importance of its laws and the magnitude of its affairs it is no different from those countries of Europe and America the conduct of whose governments embodies the will of the people. It is important that our officials should not be forgetful of their responsibility and should take as their model our five-clause Constitution. . . .

Every citizen's object in life is to preserve his natural liberty by exercising his rights, and to assist in carrying on the government by sharing its obligations. Therefore, [these rights and obligations] are specified exactly in writing and men bind themselves by a solemn promise to permit no infringement of them, but to act as mutual checks on each other in maintaining them. These writings are what we call laws. The laws grow out of the Constitution, for the Constitution is the root of every part of the government, and there is nothing which does not branch out from it. For this reason, every country, when the time comes for changing its constitution, bestows on it the greatest care and the ripest consideration and ascertains to the full the general wishes. No new measures are put in force unless they are imperatively called for by the circumstances, [nor are any adopted] lightly or hastily. In a country whose sovereign generously decides to meet the wishes of the people the greatest care must be taken to ascertain them with accuracy, the internal conditions of the country must be profoundly studied, what the people produce must be taken into account, and, most important of all, policies must be suited to the degree of civilization of the people.

Again, in ordering the affairs of a nation, its strength must be taken into account. If not, one good will be converted into a hundred evils. The poor man's son who tries to rival the son of the rich man ruins his property and his house, and in the end does not make a show equal to his rival. Those who order the affairs of a nation should remember before taking action, to consider the due sequence of measures, and should proceed by gradual steps in nourishing its strength, for no nation ever attained to a perfect state of civilization in a single morning.

[Kido Takayoshi, *Shōgiku Kido-kō den*, vol. 2, pp. 1563–68; McLaren, *Japanese Government Documents*, pp. 571–75]

CONSEQUENCES OF THE IWAKURA MISSION: SAIGŌ AND ŌKUBO ON KOREA

The Iwakura Mission determined the course of the Restoration. The leaders who had gone abroad came back convinced not only that the political reno-

vation of Japan would have to advance and move in the direction of a constitutional system but also that national education, large-scale factories and industrialization, and the development of a modern military system should be Japan's highest priorities. There were additional implications. The first was that Westernization would be needed to achieve these goals. The second was that Japan was still a weak and backward nation and that any aggressive military adventures should be curtailed until further reforms were carried out at home.

Kido Takayoshi and Ōkubo Toshimichi, who along with Saigō Takamori, represented the three leading figures of the Meiji government in the 1870s, came home impressed by the scope of Western wealth and power. Their experiences confirmed their conviction that Japan's future, including its military potential, depended on its successful renovation. At the same time, they continued to be committed to a program of gradualist reforms that sought change while preserving social stability and the imperial prerogative. In this, they faced considerable challenges. More than ever convinced that wealth and power were linked, they faced the need to industrialize Japan. They also realized that a new military structure based on conscription would have to be implemented. The last vestiges of feudal privileges would also have to be eliminated, and a new tax structure established to provide state revenues. Finally, both education and information would be needed to prepare the Japanese citizens for an expanded role in government and the establishment of a future constitutional order.

The initial challenge that Ōkubo rushed home to meet, however, was more immediate and pressing. It stemmed from a proposed expedition against Korea that was being spearheaded by Saigō Takamori. A samurai and military leader from Satsuma, Saigō had long been closely allied with Kido and Ōkubo. Perhaps the most charismatic figure of the Restoration, he was a giant of a Japanese, almost six feet tall and weighing two hundred pounds. He had enormous shoulders, a bull neck with a collar size of nineteen and a half, and large piercing eyes under big bushy eyebrows. So commanding was he in appearance that it is said almost everyone introduced to him "bowed his head in spite of himself." But he was known less for his fearsome appearance than for his heartiness, which attracted young men to him in great numbers, and for his magnanimity and forbearance, which, when he was chief of staff of the imperial armies at Edo, caused him to spare the shogunal capital from the final ravages of war. The quintessential samurai, Saigō's charisma was clearly attached to the old order, and he was one of the few Meiji leaders who never visited the West.

By the early 1870s, Saigō enjoyed great popularity and the unique rank of field marshal, but he proved to have less influence in government councils than did those who urged rapid changes in Japanese society, to which he was opposed. Especially disturbed by the treatment of the old warrior class and by the process of Westernization, which he felt would undermine traditional values, he wished to strengthen the position and spirit of the samurai by employing them to improve Japan's military situation. Japan could not resist the West, he

was convinced, unless it had Korea and China at its side. Fearing Russia particularly, he believed that Korea had to be won over quickly, by force if necessary. In the face of obvious hostility from the Korean government, however, Saigō favored first sending an ambassador whose certain execution by the contemptuous Koreans would provide ample pretext for war. As the emissary who would thus meet death, he offered himself.

When his plan was rejected in favor of Ōkubo's policy of peace and internal reform, Saigō withdrew from the government along with other prominent Restoration leaders, such as Itagaki Taisuke, Gotō Shōjirō, and Etō Shinpei. Having earlier suffered patiently in exile for his loyalist convictions and activities, he was prepared to retire quietly to Satsuma and bide his time. Nevertheless, when his more hot-blooded followers openly resisted government forces, his sense of loyalty and comradeship impelled him to join them in the Satsuma Rebellion. When the rebellion was crushed in 1877, the life that Saigō was prepared to offer his country was lost for his friends. But his death, like that of Yoshida Shōin, made him a hero to future generations of Japanese patriots. Moreover, the failure of his rebellion marked the last stand of feudal opposition to the Restoration and confirmed the path of modernization that Kido and the others had adopted.

LETTERS FROM SAIGŌ TAKAMORI TO ITAGAKI TAISUKE ON THE KOREAN QUESTION

In the summer of 1873, Saigō wrote eight letters to his friend Itagaki Taisuke on the Korean question. Three of these follow. All show Saigō's sincerity and straightforward simplicity.

July 29 [1873]

Thank you so much for coming all the way to visit me the other day.

Has any decision been made on Korea, now that Soejima is back? If the meeting has yet to take place, I should like to be present despite my illness if I am informed of what day I may attend. Please let me know.

When a decision is at last reached, what will it involve if we send troops first? The Koreans will unquestionably demand their withdrawal, and a refusal on our part will lead to war. We shall then have fomented a war in a manner very different from the one you originally had in mind. Wouldn't it be better therefore to send an envoy first? It is clear that if we did so, the Koreans would resort to violence and would certainly give us an excuse for attacking them.

In the event that it is decided to send troops first, difficulties may arise in the future [elsewhere]. Russia has fortified Sakhalin and other islands, and there have already been frequent incidents of violence. I am convinced that we should send troops to defend these places before we send them to Korea.

If it is decided to send an envoy officially, I feel sure that he will be murdered.

I therefore beseech you to send me. I cannot claim to make as splendid an envoy as Soejima, but if it is a question of dying, that, I assure you, I am prepared to do.

August 14 [1873]

Should there be any hesitation at your place with reference to my being sent, it will mean further and further delays. I ask you therefore please to cut short the deliberations and to speak out in favor of my being sent. If we fail to seize this chance to bring us into war, it will be very difficult to find another. By enticing the Koreans with such a gentle approach, we will certainly cause them to give us an opportunity for war. But this plan is doomed to fail if you feel it would be unfortunate for me to die before the war or if you have any thoughts of temporizing. The only difference is whether [my death comes] before or after the event. I shall be deeply grateful to you, even after death, if you exert yourself now on my behalf with the warm friendship you have always shown me.

August 17 [1873]

Last evening I visited the prime minister's residence and discussed my plan with him in great detail. . . . However, I could not help feeling uneasy when he said that he would wait until the return of the [Iwakura] mission. I have never meant to suggest an immediate outbreak of hostilities. War is the second step. Even under the present circumstances, grounds for starting a conflict might be found from an examination of international law, but they would be entirely a pretext, and the people of the nation would not accept them. But if we sent an envoy to tell the Koreans that we have never to this day harbored hostile intentions and to reproach them for weakening the relations between our countries, at the same time asking them to correct their arrogance of the past and strive for improved relations in the future, I am sure that the contemptuous attitude of the Koreans will reveal itself. They are absolutely certain, moreover, to kill the envoy. This will bring home to the entire nation the necessity of punishing their crimes. This is the situation that we must bring to pass if our plan is to succeed. I need hardly say that it is, at the same time, a far-reaching scheme that will divert abroad the attention of those who desire civil strife and thereby benefit the country. The [adherents of the] former government will lose the opportunity to act and, having to refrain from creating any internal disturbance, will lose the country once and for all.

[*Dai Saigō zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 736–38, 751–52, 754–56; FN]

ŌKUBO TOSHIMICHI'S REASONS FOR OPPOSING THE KOREAN EXPEDITION

Although he had been a boyhood friend of Saigō Takamori, Ōkubo Toshimichi was less devoted to upholding the former samurai values and preserving the old system.

He was also more a politician than a military figure and thus saw the threat to Japan in terms different from Saigō's. If Saigō was the quintessential samurai, Ōkubo, by comparison, can be seen as the quintessential bureaucrat. Ōkubo's consuming passion was internal order and systematic progress, which contrasted with Saigō's more immediate concerns for directing Japanese energies abroad. Ōkubo shared Kido Takayoshi's long-range vision and possessed a tenacity to pursue that vision over time. He also was capable of transcending domain loyalties and attracted to his side talented young men from other domains, such as Itō Hirobumi from Chōshū and Ōkuma Shigenobu from Hizen. Although he was the chief architect and driving force behind the transformation of Japan along modern lines in the 1870s, Ōkubo's bold rejection of Saigō's planned Korean expedition and firm commitment to eliminate all feudal privileges, both of which led to the Satsuma Rebellion, ultimately cost him his life. In 1878, with the course of the Restoration clearly established, Ōkubo was assassinated by six former samurai. Indeed, all three of the major Restoration leaders—Ōkubo, Kido, and Saigō—died within a year of one another in 1877/1878, leaving the completion of the Restoration to their understudies, like Itō and Ōkuma. In 1873 it was Ōkubo's cold, clear logic that won the day in the council of state over Saigō's impetuous and dramatic appeal for a war with Korea.

The most mature consideration and forethought are essential to govern the nation and to protect the land and the people. Every action, whether progressive or conservative, should be taken in response to the occasion and, if it develops unfavorably, should be abandoned. This may entail shame, but it is to be endured; justice may be with us, but we are not to choose that course. We must act as our greatest needs dictate, taking into account the importance of any problem and examining the exigencies. We have here the problem of dispatching an envoy to Korea. The reasons why I am in no great haste to subscribe to the proposal come from much careful and earnest reflection on the problem. The gist of my arguments is as follows:

1. Because of His Majesty's supreme virtue, sovereignty has been restored, and extraordinary achievements have been made to bring about today's prosperity. However, His Majesty's reign is still young, and its foundations are not yet firmly laid. The sudden abolition of feudal fiefs and the establishment of prefectures are indeed a drastic change unusual in history. A look at the situation in the capital seems to indicate that the change has been accomplished. But in the remote sections of the country there are not a few who have lost their homes and property and who are extremely bitter and restless because of this measure. . . . Within the last two years, how many scenes of bloodshed have taken place unavoidably? Owing to their misunderstanding of public proclamations or their misgivings about rising taxes, the ignorant, uninformed people of the remote areas have become easy victims of agitation and have started riots. A careful consideration of these facts is the first argument against any hasty action regarding Korea.

2. Government expenditure today is already tremendous, and there is the difficulty of matching the annual revenues with the annual expenditures. To start a war and to send tens of thousands of troops abroad would raise expenditures by the day to colossal figures; and should war be prolonged, expenditures would continue to soar so as to necessitate heavy taxes or a foreign loan, with no prospect of repayment, or the issuance of paper notes with no hope of redemption. . . . Our loans from foreign countries now exceed 5 million [yen], but we have no definite plan for their repayment. Even if a definite plan is evolved, the undertaking of the Korean venture would, in all likelihood, lead to a considerable deviation from our plans. It would be so disastrous as to preclude any chance of salvation. This is my second reason against any hasty action regarding Korea.

3. The government's present undertakings intended to enrich and strengthen the country must await many years for their fulfillment. These projects, in the areas of the army, navy, education, justice, industry, and colonization, are matters that cannot be expected to produce results overnight. To launch a meaningless war now and waste the government's efforts and attention needlessly, increase annual expenditures to enormous figures, suffer the loss of countless lives, and add to the suffering of the people so as to allow no time for other matters will lead to the abandonment of the government's undertakings before their completion. In order to resume these undertakings, they would have to be started anew. . . . This is the third reason against the hasty commencement of a Korean war.

4. In looking at the sum total of our country's exports and imports, there is an annual shortage of exports of approximately 1 million [yen]. This deficit must be made up in gold. If gold in such quantity leaves the country, there will be a corresponding decrease in the country's gold reserves. At the present time the currency in use in the country consists of gold and paper. If gold is reduced, it will, in itself, impair the credit of the government, reduce the value of the paper notes, and cause considerable hardship to the people. It will produce a situation for which there may be no remedy later. . . . Now, without examining the wealth or poverty of our country or without clarifying the strength or weakness of our army, if we should hastily launch a war, our able-bodied youths would be subjected to hardships both at home and abroad, and their parents, out of worry and trouble, would lose their will to be thrifty or to work hard. . . . It would inevitably lead to the impoverishment of our country. Such a state of affairs would be a matter of serious concern, which is the fourth reason against any hasty venture in Korea.

5. Turning to foreign relations, we note that for our country, Russia and England occupy the position of foremost and greatest importance. Russia, situated in the north, could send its troops southward to Sakhalin and could, with one blow, strike south. . . . Thus, if we crossed arms with Korea and became like the two water birds fighting over a fish, Russia would be the fisherman

standing by to snare the fish. This is a matter of constant vigilance and is the fifth reason against a hasty venture in Korea.

6. England's influence is particularly strong in Asia. It has occupied land everywhere and has settled its people and stationed its troops [in those places]. Its warships are poised for any emergency, keeping a silent, vigilant watch, and are ready to jump at a moment's notice. However, our country has been largely dependent on England for its foreign loans. If our country becomes involved in an unexpected misfortune, causing our stores to be depleted and our people reduced to poverty, our inability to repay our debts to England will become its pretext for interfering in our internal affairs, which would lead to baneful consequences beyond description. . . . This is the sixth reason against hasty action in Korea.

7. The treaties that our country has concluded with the countries of Europe and America are not equal, as they contain many terms that impair the dignity of an independent nation. The restraints they impose may bring some benefit, but these treaties also contain harmful elements. England and France, for example, on the pretext that our country's internal administration is not yet in order and that it cannot protect their subjects, have built barracks and stationed troops in our land as if our country were a territory of theirs. Externally, from the standpoint of foreign relations, is this not as much a disgrace as it is internally, from the standpoint of our nation's sovereignty? The time to revise the treaties is close at hand. The ministers in the current government, through their zealous and thorough attention, must find a way to rid the country of its bondage and to secure for our country the dignity of an independent nation. This is an urgent matter of the moment which provides the seventh reason why a hasty venture in Korea should not be undertaken.

I have argued in the foregoing paragraphs that a hasty Korean war should not be precipitated. . . . Before dispatching an envoy, the question of whether or not to embark on a war should be settled. Should the decision be to wage war, then more than a hundred thousand men for the campaign abroad and for the defense of the country should be raised. Moreover, additional tens of thousands of men should be called to escort the envoy. Although it is difficult to estimate in advance the enormous cost of ammunition, weapons, warships, transports, and other expenses, it may well reach into tens of thousands daily. Even if the campaign makes a favorable start, it is unlikely that the gains made will ever pay for the losses incurred. What would happen if the campaign dragged on for months and years? Suppose total victory is gained, the entire country occupied, and the Koreans permitted to sue for peace and to indemnify us. Still, for many years, we would have to man garrisons to defend vital areas and to prevent any breach of the treaty's terms. When the entire country is occupied, it is certain that there will be many discontented people who will cause disturbances everywhere, making it almost impossible for us to hold the country. In considering the cost of the campaign, and the occupation and de-

fense of Korea, it is unlikely that it could be met by the products of the entire country of Korea. Then there is Russia, and there is China. Although it is argued, on the basis of one or two conversations among officials or on the tacit understanding of officials, that Russia and China would not interfere in the Korean affair, there is no actual document to confirm it. Even if such a document existed, who can say that the governments of these two countries would not plot and take advantage of the opportunity to bring about a sudden and unexpected calamity? It is certainly not difficult to find an excuse to break an earlier promise. If we permit the initiation of such a great venture, blithely and with no consideration for such an eventuality, we shall in all probability have cause for much regret in the future. . . .

Some argue that Korea's arrogance toward our country is intolerable. But as far as I can see, the reasons for sending an envoy extraordinary seem to be to look for a positive excuse for war by having him treated arrogantly and discourteously. We would then dispatch troops to punish them. If this is the case, it is clear that this venture is to be undertaken, not because the situation makes it unavoidable or because there is no other way, but rather because the honor of the country will have been sullied and our sovereignty humiliated. I consider such a venture entirely beyond comprehension, as it completely disregards the safety of our nation and ignores the interest of the people. It would be an incident occasioned by the whims of individuals who have not seriously evaluated the eventualities or implications. These are the reasons why I cannot accept the arguments for undertaking this venture.

[Kiyosawa, *Gaiseika to shite Ōkubo Toshimichi*, pp. 28–31; FN]

THE MEIJI EMPEROR

The Restoration was carried out in the name of the Meiji emperor, Mutsuhito, who in 1868 was a mere boy of sixteen. With time, he grew into a formidable figure, perhaps one of the greatest individuals to occupy the Japanese throne since Emperor Tenchi, who was responsible for the Taika Reform of 645. Asukai Masamichi, a late-twentieth-century biographer of the emperor, referred to him as "Meiji the Great," in the way that Peter the Great and Frederick the Great were seen in Russia and Germany. And yet unlike Queen Victoria, who was his contemporary, Meiji never kept a diary and wrote almost no letters. As Donald Keene noted in his biography of the Meiji emperor, there is hardly anything now extant in the emperor's handwriting. Even very few photographs, perhaps no more than three, exist of him in an age when most Meiji leaders were widely photographed. Instead, what knowledge we have of the emperor comes largely from the men who worked with him and who venerated him as the leader of the circle dedicated to transforming the country into a modern state. With time, the emperor became increasingly shrouded in mystery as the

Meiji leaders used him to structure the ideology of the imperial state. This was particularly true after the 1890s, but earlier he seems to have functioned more as part of the group that set Japan on its new course. He worked closely with Kido Takayoshi, Ōkubo Toshimichi, and Saigō Takamori. His respect for Saigō was such that even after his death as a "rebel" in 1877, the emperor subsequently pardoned him in view of his earlier contributions to the Restoration. Many of the edicts issued in the Meiji emperor's name—such as the Charter Oath, the Imperial Rescript to Soldiers and Sailors, and the Imperial Rescript on Education—were composed by his advisers, but it seems unlikely that they could have been issued without his sanction. Keene also noted that the one remaining clue to the emperor's personal feelings can be found in the more than 100,000 poems he composed during his lifetime. But here, too, the majority were transcribed by others. In short, the Meiji emperor remains largely an enigmatic figure; his official presence was clearly larger than life, and for many Japanese he came to symbolize the whole era of renovation and reform that covered his lengthy reign from 1868 to 1912.

LETTER FROM THE MEIJI EMPEROR TO HIS PEOPLE, APRIL 7, 1868

On the day the Charter Oath was promulgated, another letter was presented by the emperor to his subjects. The content of this letter suggests that the court realized that in creating the modern state, the relationship of the emperor to his people was of paramount importance. At the same time, few Japanese had any notion of who the emperor was. When peasants were asked whether they knew of the emperor's existence, they replied in the negative and shrewdly added that if there was such a being, their taxes would be higher. The task of the emperor's advisers, therefore, was to make him known to the public through the imperial "progresses," which took the emperor to virtually every part of Japan in the first half of the Meiji period. As the following letter suggests, the emperor was himself concerned about the gap that had grown between the court and the public and hoped to remedy the situation.

Ever since, quite unexpectedly, We succeeded to the throne, young and weak though We are, We have been unable to control Our apprehension, day and night, over how We are to remain faithful to Our ancestors when dealing with foreign countries. It is Our belief that when the authority of the court declined in the middle ages and the military seized power, they maintained on the surface worshipful respect of the court, but in reality their respect intentionally isolated the court, making it impossible for the court, as the father and mother of the entire people, to know the people's feelings. In the end, the emperor became the sovereign of the multitude in name only. This is how it happens that although awe of the court today is greater than ever before, the prestige of the court has diminished correspondingly, and the separation between those

above and those below is as great as that between heaven and earth. Under these conditions, how are We to reign over the country? Now, at a time of renovation of rule of the country, if even one of the millions of people in this country is unable to find his place in society, this will be entirely Our fault. Accordingly, We have personally exerted Our physical and spiritual powers to confront the crisis. It is only by stepping into the shoes Our ancestors wore in ancient times and throwing Ourself into governing the country that We fulfill Our Heaven-sent mission and do not violate Our duty as the ruler of the hundred millions.

In ancient times Our ancestors personally disposed of all state affairs. If anyone behaved in a manner inappropriate in a subject, they themselves would punish the guilty. The administration of the court was simple in every respect, and because the emperor was not held in awe, as he is today, emperor and subjects were close; those above and those below loved each other; the blessings of heaven pervaded the land; and the majesty of the country shone brightly abroad. In recent times the world has become much more civilized. At a time when every other country is progressing in all directions, only our country, being unfamiliar with the situation prevailing in the world, stubbornly maintains old customs and does not seek the fruits of change. It fills Us with dread to think that if We were idly to spend a peaceful existence in the palace, enjoying the tranquillity of each day and forgetful of the hundred years of grief, Our country would in the end be subject to the contempt of all others, bringing shame to Our ancestors and hardship to the people. For this reason We have sworn, along with many officials and daimyos, to continue the glorious work of Our ancestors. Regardless of the pain and suffering it may entail, We intend personally to rule over the entire country, to comfort you, the numberless people, and in the end to open up the ten thousand leagues of ocean waves, to proclaim the glory of our country to the world and bring to the land the unshakable security of Mount Fuji. You of countless numbers have become accustomed to the evils inherited from the past and to think of the court only as a place to be held in awe. Not knowing the acute danger threatening the Land of the Gods, you manifest extreme surprise when We bestir Us, and this has given rise to doubts of every kind. The people are confused, but if a time should come when they prevent Us from carrying out Our plans, this would mean not only that We had wandered from the Way of the ruler but that they had caused Us to lose Our ancestral patrimony. You of countless numbers give due consideration to Our aspirations and join with Us. Cast away private thoughts and choose the general good. Help Us in Our work and ensure the safety of the Land of the Gods. If We can comfort the spirits of my ancestors, this will be the greatest happiness of Our life.

[*Meiji tennō ki*, vol. 1, pp. 649–52; trans. in Keene, *Emperor of Japan*, pp. 140–41]

COMMENTS FROM THE IMPERIAL PROGRESS OF 1878

The imperial progresses were important in two respects. On the one hand, they provided the emperor with a better idea of the condition of his people. On the other, it gave his subjects a chance to observe their ruler. Often these trips were less than pleasant for the sovereign, but he faithfully followed the course laid out for him by his advisers. The progress of 1878 was particularly difficult for the emperor. The route took him to Urawa, Maebashi, and then through Nagano Prefecture to the Japan Sea coast. Day after day, it rained and the roads were deep in mud. Often the emperor had to get out and walk because the paths were too clogged and impassable for his palanquin. His accommodations were also surprisingly rustic. When he spent the night at Izumozaki, his quarters were not only cramped but also invaded by swarms of mosquitoes. When his chamberlains tried to persuade him to take refuge under a mosquito net they had set up for him, he replied:

The whole purpose of this journey is to observe the suffering of the people. If I did not myself experience their pains, how could I understand their condition? I do not in the least mind the mosquitoes. . . . Years later (in 1899) the emperor recalled the journey in this *tanka* [poem]:

natsu samuki	It's now long ago
Koshi no yamaji wo	Since I traveled mountain roads
samidare ni	Soaked by the spring rains
nurete koeshi mo	In Koshi, where it is cold
mukashi narikeri	Even in the summertime.

[*Meiji tennō ki*, vol. 4, pp. 490, 528; trans. in Keene, *Emperor of Japan*, pp. 300–301]

A GLIMPSE OF THE MEIJI EMPEROR IN 1872 BY TAKASHIMA TOMONOSUKE

While we know little about the Meiji emperor's personal feelings and attitudes from his own hand, occasionally we are given glimpses of his more human side by those who worked with him. We know, for example, that he was a formidable drinker, although he rarely drank to excess. At the same time, he was thoroughly dedicated to his official duties. The following portrait of the emperor, composed by his chamberlain Takashima Tomonosuke in 1872, gives such a view.

He was a heavy drinker, and sometimes he would assemble his favorites among the chamberlains to have a drinking party. (I can't take much saké, so I generally escaped.) Men like Yamaoka Tesshō and Major Counselor Nakayama [Tadasu] were heavy drinkers who never refused saké, no matter how huge the quantities.

They were his drinking partners. The saké cup His Majesty used at that time was not the usual small size but a big cup, as big as the cups from which the lower classes drink tea, and he would have it filled to the brim before he drank.

His diligence was extraordinary. Every morning he would rise early and go to his office, not retiring to his private quarters until five or six in the afternoon. Sometimes he did not leave even then but would command, "This evening let's have a party in my office." He would talk for hours, until late at night. Then, when it was time for His Majesty to go to bed, people would at once bring bedding from the back palace. It was by no means unusual for us chamberlains to spend the night in the corridors on night duty.

[Asukai, *Meiji taitei*, p. 148; trans. in Keene, *Emperor of Japan*, p. 174]

CHARLES LANMAN'S DESCRIPTION OF THE MEIJI EMPEROR IN 1882

Foreign diplomats and dignitaries also were able to interact with the emperor and empress, and some commented on the emperor as they saw him in comparison with other sovereigns they had met. Charles Lanman, who served as secretary to the Japanese legation in Washington, provides us with the following assessment.

Unlike many of the princes and royal personages of Europe, he is not addicted to self-indulgence, but takes delight in cultivating his mind; sparing no pains nor personal inconvenience to acquire knowledge. Although still young he frequently presides at the meetings of his Privy Councillors. . . . He often visits his executive departments, and attends at all the public services where the Imperial presence is desirable. While prosecuting his literary as well as scientific pursuits, he subjects himself to the strictest rules, having certain hours for special studies, to which he rigidly conforms. In his character he is said to be sagacious, determined, progressive and aspiring; and from the beginning of his reign he has carefully surrounded himself with the wisest statesmen in his Empire, and these have naturally assisted in his own development; so that it is almost certain that the crown of Japan has been worn in this century by one who was worthy of the great honor.

[Lanman, *Leading Men of Japan*, p. 18]

THE MEIJI EMPEROR'S CONVERSATION WITH HIJIKATA HISAMOTO ON THE OUTBREAK OF THE SINO-JAPANESE WAR

Although Japan fought two major foreign wars, the Sino-Japanese War (1894/1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904/1905), during the Meiji emperor's reign, he seems to have been reluctant to go to war in both instances. In 1894, asked by the imperial household minister, Hijikata Hisamoto, whom to send as an envoy to report the outbreak of war to the Ise Shrines and the tomb of his father, Emperor Kōmei, he is

reported to have replied in the following outspoken manner that shows he did not always agree with his ministers (although he later did send the requested envoy).

Imperial Household Minister Hijikata Hisamoto visited the emperor to ask which envoys he wished sent to Ise and the tomb of Emperor Kōmei [his father]. The emperor answered, "Don't send anybody. I have not been in favor of this war from the start. It was only because cabinet ministers informed me that war was inevitable that I permitted it. It is very painful for me to report what has happened to the Ise Shrine and the tomb of the previous emperor." Hijikata, astonished by these remarks, admonished the emperor, "But Your Majesty has already issued a declaration of war. I wonder if Your Majesty might not be mistaken in giving me such a command." The emperor flew into a rage and said, "Not another word out of you. I don't wish to see you again." Hijikata withdrew in fear and trepidation.

[*Meiji tennō ki*, vol. 8, p. 481; trans. in Keene, *Emperor of Japan*, pp. 482–83]

A POEM BY THE MEIJI EMPEROR ON THE EVE OF THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR

The emperor's ambivalence about going to war was also suggested at the time of the Russo-Japanese conflict. Despite the immense public outcry for war with Russia, the emperor left behind a poem that suggests he felt troubled about going to war. This poem was later read by his grandson, Hirohito, before the policy conference that led to the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941. One of the great ironies of the Meiji period can be seen in the emperor's personal commitment to peace and the expansive imperialist policies pursued by his advisers, who on several occasions took the country to war in his name.

Yomo no umi	On all four seas
Mina harakara to	I thought all men were brothers
Omou yo ni	Yet in this world
Nado namikaze no	Why do winds and waves
Tachisawaguran	Now rise and stir?

[*Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan*, vol. 5, p. 153]

Chapter 38

CIVILIZATION AND ENLIGHTENMENT

The Civilization and Enlightenment movement, which began during the late 1860s and continued into the early 1880s, was composed of samurai "intellectuals" who advocated the introduction of Western ideas, values, and institutions into Japan. Many were government officials. As perceived by its members, its goal was to raise Japan to the level of wealth and power that had been attained in the United States and the advanced nations of Europe. To reach this goal, they called for sweeping reforms in education as well as fundamental changes in many areas of government and society.

The movement was partly an offshoot of the new Meiji government's program of Westernizing reforms, which provided Western-style weapons and uniforms for its soldiers; adopted the Gregorian calendar; promoted the consumption of Western foods; and encouraged samurai to cut their topknots, abandon their swords, and wear Western clothing. It also established telegraph and postal services; began the construction of railways, ports, and bridges; inaugurated a new educational system; and implemented a multitude of other Westernizing reforms. But the movement went beyond the government's actions in its consideration and even advocacy of such issues as the natural rights of freedom and equality, popularly elected representative bodies, and radical reforms of marriage and family.

The movement was notable for the breadth of its influence. While it would

be a mistake to say that there had been no public opinion in the Tokugawa era, the movement shaped a nationwide public opinion for the first time after the 1868 Meiji Restoration. Although the core of the movement may have been samurai thinkers living in Tokyo, the ideas it espoused reached the educated in other cities and castle towns and penetrated social strata that hitherto had been almost entirely isolated from questions of national politics.

Since the ideas of the Civilization and Enlightenment movement differed so markedly from those that had prevailed in Japan only a few years earlier, some consideration of its origins will help explain why it emerged so suddenly. One background factor was Japan's confrontation with Western powers during the 1850s and the political turbulence that ensued. Japanese already knew something about Europe and had learned about China's defeat in the Opium War. Still, the arrival of Commodore Matthew Perry and his ships in 1853 and 1854 was a rude shock. In the face of steam-powered warships with cannon vastly superior to their own, the Japanese were forced to abandon their hallowed policy of seclusion and sign a treaty of friendship in 1854 and a commercial treaty in 1858. The shock was all the greater since during the preceding centuries of seclusion the Japanese had regarded themselves, along with the Chinese and Koreans, as civilized and the world beyond, as barbarian. The weakness of the *bakufu* vis-à-vis the foreigners led to criticism and to the movement to "revere the emperor and repel the barbarian." Although the politics of the pre-Restoration era were exceedingly complex, in the end a handful of domains overthrew the *bakufu* and established a new government. One reason they could do so was their purchase of weapons from foreign merchants and the formation of "Western-style" rifle companies, which set a precedent for the far-ranging Westernizing reforms of the Meiji era.

Another background element was Dutch studies, which had developed to the point that by the early nineteenth century, schools of Dutch language and medicine had opened in several domains and large cities. Dutch studies was a small current within an educational establishment predominantly oriented toward Chinese learning, but it had produced a few dozen scholars who could read a Western language.

The incursion of the Western powers during the 1850s led to a demand for scholars knowledgeable about the West. Some Dutch studies graduates, who earlier would have become doctors, were now hired by the *bakufu* or the domains as Western specialists. As the new career path opened up, Dutch studies changed in two important respects. First, the emphasis shifted from Dutch to other Western languages, especially English. For example, in 1858 or 1859, Fukuzawa Yukichi, who had studied Dutch since 1855, visited the treaty port of Yokohama and was chagrined to find that he could neither read the signs nor understand a word that was spoken. He thereupon dropped Dutch and began to study English. The second change was a shift in content from medicine and

its associated natural sciences to history, politics, economics, and geography. With these developments, *rangaku*, or "Dutch studies," gradually became *yōgaku*, or "Western studies."

Many of the scholars who were proficient in Western languages were hired by two *bakufu* offices: the Gaikokugata, a foreign ministry of sorts, and the Bansho shirabesho (Office for the Study of Barbarian Books), which in 1862 became the Yōsho shirabesho (Office for the Study of Western Books). Those hired were almost entirely domain samurai, not *bakufu* retainers. Among them were Fukuzawa Yukichi, Mori Arinori, Katō Hiroyuki, Nishi Amane, Mitsukuri Genpo, Tsuda Mamichi, and Nakamura Masanao. After the Restoration, they went on to become translators of Western books and the principal pamphleteers of the Civilization and Enlightenment movement.

FUKUZAWA YUKICHI

Foremost among these scholars in terms of his contribution to the movement was Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835–1901). A samurai from a minor, middle-size domain, he studied Dutch at the Ogata school in Osaka and in 1860 was hired as a translator by the Gaikokugata. He excelled at his official duties of translating diplomatic correspondence and foreign newspapers but apparently was not overworked, for he also found time to read English and American histories, geographies, gazetteers, biographies, and entries in various reference works. As a student of Dutch in Osaka, he had become convinced of the greater efficacy of Western medicine and of the truth of Western science. Now, as a scholar-translator in Edo, he became convinced of the truth of Western views of human nature and society.

A part of this newly discovered "truth" was a view of human progress almost universally accepted in the mid-nineteenth-century West, which regarded history as a gradual progression from savagery, the rudest human condition. According to this schema, many backward areas of the world were still mired in savagery or barbarism, whereas others, including Japan, had advanced to a half-barbarous and half-civilized condition. Only western Europe and the United States had become fully civilized or, beyond that, "enlightened," in the eighteenth-century sense of the term.

Fukuzawa presented these and other ideas in his most influential works of translation: *Conditions in the West* (*Seiyō jijō*), published in three volumes in 1866, 1868, and 1870, and *All the Countries of the World* (*Sekai kunizukushi*), published in 1869. He further refined these ideas and explicated their meaning for Japan in his earliest original works: *An Encouragement of Learning* (*Gakumon no susume*), published from 1872 to 1876, and *An Outline of a Theory of Civilization* (*Bunmeiron no gairyaku*), published in 1875. The Civilization and

Enlightenment movement took its name from the term (*bunmei kaika*) that Fukuzawa used to denote this highest stage of human advance.

During the 1870s, the Civilization and Enlightenment movement was propelled by a variety of developments. Sweeping government reforms contributed to what some Japanese writers referred to as the "spirit of the age." New schools taught Western languages, geography, and science. Newspapers appeared. Books were translated and brought out by newly established publishing houses. Several became best-sellers, such as those by Fukuzawa and Nakamura Masanao's 1871 translation of Samuel Smiles's *Self-Help*.

One important center of intellectual activity was the Meiji Six Society (Meirokusha). Proposed in 1873 (the sixth year of the Meiji era) by Mori Arinori, a Satsuma samurai, diplomat, and later minister of education, the society formally began in 1874. Its purpose was to promote civilization and enlightenment through public lectures and a journal: *Meiji Six Magazine* (*Meiroku zasshi*). Members met regularly, presented papers, and debated a wide range of the topics of the day. Some of the issues treated were the role of scholars, freedom and human rights, religion, wives and concubines, national finance, currency and specie, the trade balance, the nature of society, the national character, types of political systems, rewards and punishments, torture, and the death penalty. Most members of the society were officials in the new government; a few, most notably Fukuzawa, remained outside. The magazine ceased publication in November 1875 after the government passed its Press Ordinance and Libel Laws, but the society continued to meet until the end of the century.

Members of the Meiji Six Society had much in common. They all agreed on the validity of science and the need for a new system of education based on Western learning. Most accepted some version of natural rights, at least during the early 1870s. Most felt that Japan would eventually have a constitution and a popularly elected national assembly. But from the start, there were differences of approach and temperament among the members. For instance, Nakamura emphasized the spiritual and moral underpinnings of the Western nations' economic and military strength. Besides Smiles, he translated John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty*, and he became a Christian in 1874. Fukuzawa, in contrast, saw Christianity much as he saw Buddhism, as a source of morality for those unable to comprehend philosophy. He advocated freedom, equality, and other natural rights but felt that Japan was not ready for an elected national assembly. During the late 1870s, he gradually shifted to a more tough-minded position on rights but also came to favor a national assembly. Katō Hiroyuki was an early advocate of natural rights and eventual constitutional government. But after reading Herbert Spencer, Ernst Haeckel, Henry Buckle, and Charles Darwin, he repudiated his earlier thought in 1882 and argued in his *New Theory of Human Rights* (*Jinken shinsetsu*) that rights did not exist in nature but rested on the civil law of an organically evolving state. Katō introduced German studies in

Japan, served twice as the president of Tokyo Imperial University, and became a member of the House of Peers.

These small differences of position within the movement became more pronounced in the late 1870s and early 1880s as its adherents arrived at a better understanding of the different strands within Western thought. As a result, the movement broke up into several schools of thought supported by separate interest groups. In some measure, it was a victim of its own success. The Freedom and People's Rights (*jiyū minken*) movement, for example, had formed during the mid-1870s, based on one set of ideas within the Civilization and Enlightenment movement. By the late 1870s, it had become a separate, organized political movement. Some of its leaders were influenced by Fukuzawa's moderate, British-style constitutionalism, and they welcomed to their ranks graduates of Fukuzawa's school, Keiō gijuku. Other thinkers in the movement were influenced by newer currents of thought. Nakae Chōmin (1857–1901), for example, was never a member of the Meiji Six Society. He studied French in Nagasaki, became an interpreter for the French minister Léon Roches in Edo, and, after the Restoration, studied for three years in France. After returning to Japan, he opened a private academy, helped found a newspaper, translated Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Social Contract* in 1882, and became a spokesman for the radical wing of the Freedom and People's Rights movement. To counter such ideas, the government commissioned a translation of the conservative writings of Edmund Burke.

FUKUZAWA YUKICHI'S VIEW OF CIVILIZATION

Throughout the Tokugawa era, Japanese accepted a Confucian view of civilization—that China, Japan, and Korea were civilized and the rest of the world was barbarian. Fukuzawa took in Western ideas that stood this Confucian view on its head, and in two highly influential works of the mid-1870s, *An Outline of a Theory of Civilization* and *An Encouragement of Learning*, he applied the ideas to fit Japanese circumstances.

AN OUTLINE OF A THEORY OF CIVILIZATION (*BUNMEIRON NO GAIRYAKU*)

Early in this work, Fukuzawa Yukichi asks about the role of thinkers in society. He defines them as persons who challenge orthodox thought and holds that such challenges lead to advances in knowledge. His answer is that these thinkers are responsible for advances in knowledge.

Consider if you will how, since ancient times, progressive steps in civilization were always unorthodox at the time they were first proposed. When Adam

Smith first expounded his economic theory, did not everyone condemn it as heresy? Was not Galileo punished as a heretic when he articulated his theory of the earth's rotation? Yet with the passage of time the mass of "common men," guided by the intellectuals, were, before they knew it, drawn over to the side of these "heresies"; as a result, at our present stage of civilization even schoolchildren entertain no doubts about the theories of modern economics and the earth's revolution. Doubt these theories? We have reached a point where anyone who questioned them would be regarded as a fool! To take a more proximate example: just ten years ago our solidly entrenched feudal system, in which three hundred daimyo each governed independently and held the power of life and death over his subjects by reason of a clear distinction between lord and vassal, high and low, was thought to be a thing that would endure forever. Yet in an instant it crumbled and was replaced by the present imperial system. Today no one considers this new system strange, but if ten years ago a warrior within a *han* had proposed such measures as the abolition of the *han* and the establishment of prefectures, do you think for an instant the *han* would have debated the matter? Why, the man's very life would have been in immediate jeopardy!

Thus the unorthodox theories of the past become the commonly accepted ideas of the present; yesterday's eccentric notions become today's common knowledge. Therefore the unorthodox views of today will most certainly become the common ideas and theories of the future. Without fear of public opinion or charges of heresy, scholars should boldly espouse what they believe. Even when another's thesis does not square with your own, try to understand his intention and accept those points which can be accepted. Let those points which do not merit acceptance run their course, and wait for the day when both positions can be reconciled, the day when the basis of argumentation will be the same. Do not try to pressure others into your own way of thinking, nor try to induce conformity in every discussion, everywhere. [pp. 10–11]

Fukuzawa next discusses world history and the lessons it provides for the Japan of his day. His didactic conclusion, modified only slightly by the notion that even Western civilization is less than perfect, is that Japan must learn from the West. Note in the following passage that "semideveloped" refers to the stage of society that is half-civilized and half-barbarous.

In the preceding chapter I argued that such designations as light and heavy and good and bad are relative. Now, the concept of "civilization and enlightenment" (*bunmei kaika*) is also a relative one. When we are talking about civilization in the world today, the nations of Europe and the United States of America are the most highly civilized, while the Asian countries, such as Turkey, China, and Japan, may be called semideveloped countries, and Africa and Australia are to be counted as still primitive lands. These designations are common currency all over the world. While the citizens of the nations of the West

are the only ones to boast of civilization, the citizens of the semideveloped and primitive lands submit to being designated as such. They rest content with being branded semideveloped or primitive, and there is not one who would take pride in his own country or consider it on a par with nations of the West. This attitude is bad enough. What is worse, though, those with some intelligence start to realize, the more they find out what is happening, the true condition of their native lands; the more they come to realize this, the more they awaken to the distance separating them from the nations of the West. They groan, they grieve; some are for learning from the West and imitating it, others are for going it alone and opposing the West. The overriding anxiety of Asian intellectuals today is this one problem to the exclusion of all others. At any rate, the designations "civilized," "semideveloped," and "primitive" have been universally accepted by people all over the globe. Why does everybody accept them? Clearly because the facts are demonstrable and irrefutable. I shall explain this point further below. For there are stages through which mankind must pass. These may be termed the stages of civilization.

First, there is the stage in which neither dwellings nor supplies of food are stable. Men form communal groups as temporary convenience demands; when that convenience ceases, they pull up stakes and scatter to the four winds. Or even if they settle in a certain region and engage in farming and fishing, they may have enough food and clothing, but they do not yet know how to make tools. And though they are not without writing, they produce no literature. At this stage man is still unable to be master of his own situation; he cowers before the forces of nature and is dependent upon arbitrary human favor or accidental blessings. This is called the stage of primitive man. It is still far from civilization.

Secondly, there is the stage of civilization wherein daily necessities are not lacking, since agriculture has been started on a large scale. Men build houses, form communities, and create the outward semblance of a state. But within this facade there remain very many defects. Though literature flourishes, there are few who devote themselves to practical studies. Though in human relations sentiments of suspicion and jealousy run deep, when it comes to discussing the nature of things men lack the courage to raise doubts and ask questions. Men are adept at imitative craftsmanship, but there is a dearth of original production. They know how to cultivate the old, but not how to improve it. There are accepted rules governing human intercourse, and slaves of custom that they are, they never alter those rules. This is called the semideveloped stage. It is not yet civilization in the full sense.

Thirdly, there is the stage in which men subsume the things of the universe within a general structure, but the structure does not bind them. Their spirits enjoy free play and do not adhere to old customs blindly. They act autonomously and do not have to depend upon the arbitrary favors of others. They cultivate their own virtue and refine their own knowledge. They neither yearn

for the old nor become complacent about the new. Not resting with small gains, they plan great accomplishments for the future and commit themselves wholeheartedly to their realization. Their path of learning is not vacuous; it has, indeed, invented the principle of invention itself. Their business ventures prosper day by day to increase the sources of human welfare. Today's wisdom overflows to create the plans of tomorrow. This is what is meant by modern civilization. It has been a leap far beyond the primitive or semideveloped stages.

Now, if we make the above threefold distinction, the differences between civilization, semidevelopment, and the primitive stage should be clear. However, since these designations are essentially relative, there is nothing to prevent someone who has not seen civilization from thinking that semidevelopment is the summit of man's development. And while civilization is civilization relative to the semideveloped stage, the latter, in its turn, can be called civilization relative to the primitive stage. Thus, for example, present-day China has to be called semideveloped in comparison with Western countries. But if we compare China with countries of South Africa, or, to take an example more at hand, if we compare the Japanese people with the Ezo, then both China and Japan can be called civilized. Moreover, although we call the nations of the West civilized, they can correctly be honored with this designation only in modern history. And many of them, if we were to be more precise, would fall well short of this designation.

For example, there is no greater calamity in the world than war, and yet the nations of the West are always at war. Robbery and murder are the worst of human crimes; but in the West there are robbers and murderers. There are those who form cliques to vie for the reins of power and who, when deprived of that power, decry the injustice of it all. Even worse, international diplomacy is really based on the art of deception. Surveying the situation as a whole, all we can say is that there is a general prevalence of good over bad, but we can hardly call the situation perfect. When, several thousand years hence, the levels of knowledge and virtue of the peoples of the world will have made great progress (to the point of becoming utopian), the present condition of the nations of the West will surely seem a pitifully primitive stage. Seen in this light, civilization is an open-ended process. We cannot be satisfied with the present level of attainment of the West.

Yes, we cannot be satisfied with the level of civilization attained by the West. But shall we therefore conclude that Japan should reject it? If we did, what other criterion would we have? We cannot rest content with the stage of semidevelopment; even less can the primitive stage suffice. Since these latter alternatives are to be rejected, we must look elsewhere. But to look to some far-off utopian world thousands of years hence is mere daydreaming. Besides, civilization is not a dead thing; it is something vital and moving. As such, it must pass through sequences and stages; primitive people advance to semideveloped

forms, the semideveloped advance to civilization, and civilization itself is even now in the process of advancing forward. Europe also had to pass through these phases in its evolution to its present level. Hence present-day Europe can only be called the highest level that human intelligence has been able to attain at this juncture in history. Since this is true, in all countries of the world, be they primitive or semideveloped, those who are to give thought to their country's progress in civilization must necessarily take European civilization as the basis of discussion and must weigh the pros and cons of the problem in the light of it. My own criterion throughout this book will be that of Western civilization, and it will be in terms of it that I describe something as good or bad, in terms of it that I find things beneficial or harmful. Therefore let scholars make no mistake about my orientation. [pp. 13–15]

After describing the several stages of human progress, Fukuzawa attempts to define more precisely the nature of civilization. In the end, he resorts to metaphor.

Now civilization is a relative thing, and it has no limits. It is a gradual progression from the primitive level. Man is by nature a social animal. A man in isolation cannot develop his innate talents and intelligence. The community of the family does not exhaust the possibilities of human intercourse. The more social intercourse there is, the more citizens of a nation meet one another; the more human relationships broaden and their patterns evolve, so much the more will human nature become civilized and human intelligence develop. Hence the term "civilization" in English. It derives from the Latin *civitas*, which means "nation." "Civilization" thus describes the process by which human relations gradually change for the better and take on a definite shape. It is a concept of a unified nation in contrast to a state of primitive isolation and lawlessness.

Civilization is all-important; it is the goal of all human endeavors. We can discuss civilization in terms of its various aspects, such as institutions, literature, commerce, industry, war, government, and law; but when taking all of these together and discussing their relative values, what criteria are we to use? The only criterion we have is that what advances civilization is beneficial and what retards it is harmful. Civilization is like a great stage; the institutions, laws, commerce, and so forth are the actors. These actors each play their specialized roles and thus contribute to the sentiment which the whole play attempts to express. If each plays his role effectively, the play receives the plaudits of the spectators, and the actors are considered good. But if the actors err in the timing of their entrances and exits or miss their cues, or if they are not convincing in their portrayal of emotion, the play as a whole will not hang together, and the performance of the actors will be branded as clumsy. Although they may be subtle and convincing in their portrayal of emotions, if they laugh when they are supposed to cry and cry when they are supposed to laugh, their performance will still be branded as clumsy. [pp. 35–36]

As Fukuzawa sees it, on the great stage of civilization, all members of a society are actors, and accordingly, the stage of any civilization reflects the level of knowledge and virtue of an entire people. It cannot be discussed in terms of a handful of leaders.

Though we here describe the Western nations as civilized and Asian countries as only semicivilized, if we were to take only two or three individuals as samples, then there would be boorish and stupid people in the West, too, and outstandingly wise and virtuous men in Asia, too. To say that the West is civilized and Asia uncivilized means that in the West the very stupid cannot give free rein to their stupidity and that in Asia the very outstanding cannot give free rein to their knowledge and virtue. This is because civilization is not a matter of the knowledge or ignorance of individuals but of the spirit of entire nations. Thus we can only judge a nation civilized by considering the spirit which pervades the whole land. This "spirit" is a manifestation of the knowledge and virtue of the entire population. It goes through cycles of change and is the source of national vitality at any given moment. Once we have been able to determine the presence of this spirit, the degree of civilization of the whole nation will become clear, and it will be easy to evaluate and discuss its merits and demerits, easier even than fishing a thing from one's pocket. [p. 47]

Since it is the spirit of an entire nation that counts, Fukuzawa downplays the role of great men in history.

The independence of the United States of America was not achieved in the eighteenth century as a result of anything done by the forty-eight leaders, nor was it due to the victories of Washington. The forty-eight leaders merely gave expression to the spirit of independence spread among the people in the thirteen colonies, and Washington only channeled that spirit onto the battlefield. American independence, therefore, was not some miraculous, "once in a thousand years" event. Even had the American people been defeated and temporarily set back, they would have produced 480 great leaders and ten George Washingtons. Eventually they would have been sure to win their independence.

More recently, some say that the defeat of France in the Franco-Prussian War four years ago was due to poor strategy on the part of Napoleon III, and the victory of Prussia was due to the skill of Bismarck. But this is not true. It was not due to any difference in intelligence between Napoleon and Bismarck. The final result was the outcome of the trend of the times, according to which the Prussian people were united and strong while the French were fragmented and weak. Bismarck was able to channel the valor of the Prussian people, whereas Napoleon went against the direction in which the hearts of the French people were moving.

Let me put this more clearly. Suppose Washington were made the emperor of China, with Wellington as his general, and he were to lead the armies of

China against the British troops; what would the outcome be? Even if China had warships and modern cannons, these would be destroyed by British matchlocks and schooners. For the outcome of a war does not depend on generals or weaponry but entirely on the spirit of a people. If a defeat is suffered by a large army of valiant warriors, the fault does not lie with the troops in the field but in the lack of expertise of the officers, who have interfered with the troops' own momentum and been unable to channel their fighting spirit properly.

Let me give another example. The present Meiji government thinks it is not being entirely successful because the various head officials are not able men; even with a great deal of shuffling of offices and functions the results always end up the same. Because of the dearth of personnel, foreigners are being employed as teachers or advisers, but the affairs of government still show no improvement. It would seem from the lack of improvement that the officials are all incompetent, and the foreigners hired as teachers and advisers are all fools. Yet the present government officials are among the most talented men in the country, and the foreigners selected are no fools. There must, then, be another reason for the failure of the government to improve, something that makes it impossible for government policies to be implemented.

That something is extremely hard to describe, but as the saying goes, "The feeble few are no match for the mighty many." The reason why government policies fail is that the feeble few are always being hindered by the mighty many. Government heads are not unaware of the failure of their policies, but what can they do about it? They are the feeble few; public opinion is the mighty many; and the few are helpless. Try to trace the origins of public opinion and you will find it an impossible task; it seems to come out of nowhere, yet it has the power to control the affairs of government. The reason the government cannot handle its affairs is not some fault of a handful of officials, but this public opinion. When the mass of society is in error, one should not put the blame on the policies of officials. The ancients felt the necessity of first rectifying the ruler's mind, but my idea is different. The most urgent national task is to rectify the ills of public opinion. Since officials are the ones who have closest contact with national problems, they should naturally have the strongest concern for the country and be sufficiently worried about public opinion to seek ways to rectify this opinion. This is not what happens, however. Instead, officials sometimes themselves become proponents of these popular ideas or at least become enamored of them and tend to favor them. These men are in a position where they are supposed to worry about the people under them, but instead they do things which cause people to worry about them. The blunders of government, which often seem as if the very same people are tearing down what they built up, are the doings of such people.

Under such distressing circumstances, it is imperative that scholars who are concerned about the state of the country advocate a theory of civilization, try to rescue all men, both in government and in private circles, who are subject

to blind attachment to false ideas, and correct the flow of public opinion. The tide of public opinion sweeps everything before it. Why should scholars pick on the government? Why should they find fault with every little act of officials? Of its very nature, government will change its course in line with public opinion. Therefore, I say, the scholars should not blame the government but should be concerned about the errant ways of public opinion. [pp. 60–61]

A nation's civilization thus is determined by the level of virtue and knowledge it has attained. But which of these is more important? In which area is Japan deficient? Fukuzawa discusses the question in terms of cows and cats.

Though it is not my purpose here to reopen the discussion on the relative merits of introducing some religion, since the subject has been touched on, I should like to say a few words about it in passing. When we are looking for something, we are trying to get something we lack entirely or something we need more of. If one is looking for two things and has to determine which of the two is more urgently needed, he must first take stock of what he already possesses and then see what he completely lacks or, if the second type, which he has the less of. It is not a question of seeking the one and considering the other unnecessary, for they both are necessary; but there is a question here of which is more urgent. I have already said that civilization is the external sign of the knowledge and virtue of a whole nation. Everyone will grant that Japan's civilization is not equal to that of the countries of the West. If this is so, it means that here people are deficient in knowledge and virtue; these are the two things Japan must seek in order to attain civilization. Hence, unless scholars of civilization survey the entire national scene and measure the amount of both items already present, so that they can tell which is more plentiful at the moment, which not, they will not be able to judge which is more urgently needed.

Now, a person does not have to be very smart to see that in Japan there is no dearth of morality, whereas there is no surplus of intelligence, either. Any number of instances could be adduced to prove this, but there is no need to list them all here. Let me give just one or two by way of illustration.

The moral teaching current in Japan derives from Shintoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism, whereas in the West it derives from Christianity. All of these do not teach exactly the same thing, yet they are not all that different in their general definitions of good and evil. East or West, snow is white, and coal is black. Also, in matters of moral teaching, scholars from both East and West fervently propose their own teachings, sometimes writing books, sometimes attacking other teachings in ceaseless polemics. Merely from the content of these polemics, we can see that there is not a great deal of difference between the teachings of East and West. Polemics arise, really, only between evenly matched opponents. You never see a fight between a cow and a cat; you never hear of a contest between a wrestler and a little boy. When battles start, they

generally start between parties whose strength is even. Now, Christianity is a religion which Westerners adorn and sustain by means of intelligence. Its subtlety and elaborateness cannot be matched by Shinto, Confucianism, or Buddhism. However, the Western missionaries come to Japan; fervently propose their own teachings; reject Shinto, Confucianism, and Buddhism; and try to carve out a position for themselves. This just stirs up counterattacks from Shinto, Confucian, and Buddhist scholars. What makes this quibbling and arguing possible, if not the fact that the West's moral teaching is no cow, no wrestler, and Japan's teachings are no cats, no little boys? In other words, the moral teachings of both East and West are really evenly matched.

My main concern here is not to discuss which side is better, but I might point out that we Japanese also have ethical values we live by. Hence, when discussing the question of who has how much private virtue, no one should conclude that we are necessarily second to the West. For if we go from theory to reality, we might find more morally superior individuals among us unenlightened Japanese than we should find in the West. Therefore, though a survey of the amount of virtue in our country as a whole may show we are relatively deficient in it, the deficiency clearly has not reached crisis proportions.

The question of intelligence, however, is something completely different. If we compare the levels of intelligence of Japanese and Westerners, in literature, the arts, commerce, or industry, from the biggest things to the least, in a thousand cases or in one, there is not a single area in which the other side is not superior to us. We can compete with the West in nothing, and no one even thinks about competing with the West. Only the most ignorant thinks that Japan's learning, arts, commerce, or industry is on a par with that of the West. Who would compare a man-drawn cart with a steam engine or a Japanese sword with a rifle? While we are expounding on yin and yang and the Five Elements, they are discovering the sixty-element atomic chart. While we are divining lucky and unlucky days by astrology, they have charted the courses of comets and are studying the constitution of the sun and the moon. While we think that we live on a flat, immobile earth, they know that it is round and in motion. While we regard Japan as the sacrosanct islands of the gods, they have raced around the world, discovering new lands and founding new nations. Many of their political, commercial, and legal institutions are more admirable than anything we have. In all these things there is nothing about our present situation that we can be proud of before them. The only things we Japanese boast of are our natural products or our scenic landscapes, but we never talk about anything made by man. We feel no urge to compete with them, nor they with us. Foreigners often brag about conditions in their own lands, true, but you do not hear them talking about the superiority of steam engines over man-drawn carts. In the final analysis, the difference between our respective levels of intelligence is like the difference between the cow and cat, mentioned above. No argument is possible in such circumstances. In view of this fact, then, if Japan's most urgent

need today is not intelligence, what is it? Let scholars ponder this question. [pp. 98–99]

[Fukuzawa, *An Outline of a Theory of Civilization*, trans. Dilworth and Hurst, pp. 10–11, 13–15, 35–36, 47, 60–61, 98–99]

AN ENCOURAGEMENT OF LEARNING (*GAKUMON NO SUSUME*)

Fukuzawa was a patriot. In writing *An Outline of a Theory of Civilization*, his goal was to strengthen Japan and preserve its independence. Nonetheless, he was attacked for his uncompromising advocacy of Westernization. Perhaps to defend himself against these charges, the following year (1876) he wrote a satirical passage in *An Encouragement of Learning* about those "masters of enlightenment" who praised even the defects of the West and criticized even the virtues of Japan. The following is from a section entitled "Methodic Doubt and Selective Judgment."

"Methodic Doubt and Selective Judgment"

Now, the superiority of Western over Japanese civilization is certainly very great, but Western civilization is hardly perfect. I could never begin to enumerate all its defects. Its ways and customs are not all beautiful and believable; our customs are not all ugly and open to question. Let us take the example of a young man who becomes a great admirer of a teacher. Wanting to emulate his teacher's manners, he quickly reforms his own mind, buys books and writing materials, and works hard day and night at his desk. This is, of course, commendable. But if he excessively imitates his teacher's ways, even the latter's bad habit of talking late into the night and rising late in the morning, thus ruining his own health in the bargain, shall we still call him intelligent? For this youth regards his teacher as the complete scholar. Therefore regardless of his good and bad points, he imitates them all, and thereby brings himself to grief. There is an ancient Chinese proverb about imitating the eyebrows of Sei-shi. The knitted brows of Sei-shi were attractive in themselves; therefore, it may still not be blameworthy to imitate her. But what good can there be in the late rising of the old scholar? Late rising is what it is, the vice of laziness and the neglect of health. To imitate another even to the point of his vices is surely the height of folly. Yet not a few of the proponents of enlightenment nowadays are like this young scholar. Let me try to imagine the arguments of these teachers of enlightenment together with the different customs and practices of East and West.

Let us imagine that Westerners bathed every day, while the Japanese barely once or twice a month; the teachers of enlightenment would exclaim that the people who are civilized and enlightened are always clean, stimulate their skin, maintain the laws of hygiene, etc., but the uncivilized Japanese do not understand these principles! If the Japanese kept a small chamber pot in their bed-

rooms at night or did not wash after going to the bathroom, while the Westerners rose even in the middle of the night to go to the toilet and each time washed their hands, the proponents of enlightenment would declare that the enlightened Westerners place a high value on cleanliness, while the unenlightened Japanese do not know the meaning of the word, that they are like infants who are still too immature to distinguish cleanliness from filth. They will declare that the Japanese will imitate the beautiful customs of the West once they advance to the level of modern Western civilization. Or suppose that it was the Westerners who had the practice of using disposable paper handkerchiefs, while the Japanese used cloth ones which they used again after washing them. The proponents of enlightenment would exercise their wits and contrive clever sophistries about the great principles of economics, saying that in a country whose capital is low, the people naturally and unconsciously follow the principle of frugality. They would say that if the Japanese imitated the Western practice of using paper handkerchiefs to blow their nose, it would be wasting the country's resources. Therefore they endure this uncleanliness of using cloth handkerchiefs to be frugal, since they are pressed for lack of capital. Or if Japanese women hung gold rings from their ears, wore girdles, and had jewelry on their dresses, the proponents of enlightenment would cite a bit of biological theory and raise serious objections about the terrible unenlightenment of the Japanese. They would say that not only do Japanese women not distinguish principles and follow nature, they are even damaging their health by hanging luggage from their ears. They would say that Japanese women are torturing their waists, which is the most important part of a woman's body, by making it like the waist of a wasp. They would further say that this prevents the chance of pregnancy and increases the dangers of childbirth, the calamity of which brings sorrow to a family on a small scale, and damages the sources of population of the nation on a large scale. And although Westerners barely use locks within and without the house, and although when they go on trips they hire porters to carry their luggage, which, while never locked, is never robbed, or although they order carpenters and plasterers to repair their homes without need of detailed contracts, but rarely go to court concerning breach of contract on a later day—if the Japanese on the other hand locked every room within the house, and put locks even on small chests by their side, and if they disputed and recorded every word on a contract, and yet things were still robbed and there were many cases of broken contracts brought to trial—the proponents of enlightenment would again sigh, saying how wonderful the holy teaching of Jesus Christ, and how pitiable the pagans outside of the Christian faith! It would look as if we Japanese lived in a den of thieves! Certainly Japan cannot hold a candle in comparison with the customs of freedom and honesty in the West! Indeed, the countries in which the Holy Bible is preached would be exactly like the proverb says: so honest that people do not even pick things up off the roads. If the Japanese rolled and smoked cigarettes, while the Westerners used long pipes, they would

declare that the Japanese lacked skill in making instruments and that was why they had not yet invented such pipes. If the Japanese wore shoes and Westerners wore *geta*, they would say that the Japanese did not know how to use the toes in wearing *geta*. If *miso* soup was brought on foreign vessels, it would not be thought of so lightly, as it is now. If tofu [bean curd] was also found on the tables of the Westerners, its reputation would increase tenfold. Such dishes as baked eel or *chawanmushi* [custard] would be praised as among the world's superlative dishes. There would be no end if I enumerated these things. But let me go on to the more elegant matter of religious teachings.

If four hundred years ago a Saint Shinran was born in the West and a Martin Luther in Japan, and if Shinran had reformed the Buddhism practiced in the West and spread the True Pure Land teaching, while Luther had opposed the Roman religion of Japan and founded Protestantism, the proponents of enlightenment would certainly make the following evaluation. They would say that the great purpose of religion lies not in killing but in the salvation of all sentient beings. If this purpose is misconceived to any degree, the rest of its teachings are not worthy of consideration. In the West, Shinran embodied this principle. He slept in the fields with a stone as pillow. At great cost and suffering he devoted the labors of his lifetime to reform his country's religion, so that today it is the religious faith of the majority of the people of the nation. So wide did his evangelism reach. And after Shinran's death, the fact that his disciples neither murdered men of other faiths nor were murdered for religious reasons can be said to have been entirely because of the merit of his teaching. But reflect, they would say, on how Luther came forward to challenge the old teachings of Rome. The Catholics did not easily succumb to his attack. The old and new teachings fought each other like a tiger and wolf, tooth and nail. After Luther's death, there occurred so many killings of Japanese citizens and so much waste of the nation's resources because of religion, because of starting wars to destroy other nations, that they can neither be recorded with the pen nor spoken in words. The barbarous Japanese given to such slaughter visited such great sufferings on the souls of men because of the teachings of "universal salvation" and of "love thy enemy." As for the fruits of their accomplishments, Luther's Protestantism may be said not to have been able yet to convert half of the people of Japan. Such are the differences of the religions of East and West as told by the proponents of enlightenment.

I myself have entertained doubts about these things for a long time. But I still am not sure I have grasped the real causes of the great differences between the religions of East and West. When I ponder the matter privately, the following kind of questions come to my mind. Although Christianity preached in Japan and Buddhism in the West are similar in nature, is it that when practiced in a barbarous land they promote the spirit of killing, but create a spirit of tolerance in an enlightened country? Or do they differ in essence from the start? Or did Luther, the founder of the Japanese Reformation, and Shinran of the West differ

greatly in the attainments of their virtue? The proponents of the enlightenment would say that these questions are not to be recklessly and superficially decided, but await the judgment of the scholars of future generations.

[Fukuzawa, *An Encouragement of Learning*, trans. Dilworth and Hirano, pp. 95–99]

ENLIGHTENMENT THINKERS OF THE MEIROKUSHA: ON MARRIAGE

Of the many topics discussed by members of the Meiji Six Society (Meirokusha), none aroused greater interest and controversy than their proposals concerning the institution of marriage. In discussing this issue, all writers took the West as their model in one way or another, although they differed in their approaches and conclusions.

MORI ARINORI

Mori Arinori (1847–1889), who started Western studies in the Satsuma domain, extended his horizons through travel and service in England and America. As chargé d'affaires in Washington in 1871/1872, he published works in English on religious freedom and education in Japan. On returning to Japan, he became a leading figure in the Meiji Six Society, writing especially on the condition of women. Later he served as the first minister of education in the Meiji government (see chap. 39).

ON WIVES AND CONCUBINES

The relation between man and wife is the fundamental of human morals. The moral path will be achieved by establishing this fundamental, and the country will only be firmly based if the moral path is realized. When people marry, rights and obligations emerge between them so that neither can take advantage of the other. If you ask what these rights and obligations are, they may be described as the paths of mutual assistance and mutual protection. That is, the husband has the right to demand assistance from the wife while he shoulders the obligation to protect her. And, conversely, the wife has the right to demand protection from the husband while she bears the obligation to assist him. Unless the marriage is strictly according to these principles, it cannot be recognized as human marriage. Looking at marriage customs in our country today, the husband treats the wife as he pleases, and there is still no national legislation [protecting the wife] against arbitrary divorce by the husband simply because she does not please him. Since husbands and wives cannot mutually honor

their rights and obligations and since, even though persons are husbands and wives in name, they are far from such in actuality, I would affirm that our country has not yet established the fundamental of human morals.

There have hitherto been a variety of marriage practices [in our country]. Persons married through the agency of a go-between (*nakōdo*) are known as husband and wife, and the woman in such a union is recognized as the wife. The woman is called a concubine in a union not arranged by a go-between. Sometimes there may be one or even several concubines in addition to the wife, and sometimes a concubine may become the wife. Sometimes the wife and the concubines live in the same establishment. Sometimes they are separated, and the concubine is the favored one while the wife is neglected. Moreover, marriages are negotiated by the respective parents, it sometimes being only necessary to obtain their consent.

Taking a concubine is by arbitrary decision of the man and with acquiescence of the concubine's family. The arrangement, known as *ukedashi*, is made by paying money to the family of the concubine. This means, in other words, that concubines are bought with money. Since concubines are generally geisha and prostitutes patronized by rich men and nobles, many descendants in the rich and noble houses are the children of bought women. Even though the wife is superior to the concubine in households where they live together, there is commonly jealousy and hatred between them because the husband generally favors the concubine. Therefore, there are numerous instances when, the wife and the concubines being scattered in separate establishments, the husband repairs to the abode of the one with whom he is infatuated and willfully resorts to scandalous conduct.

In extreme cases, those who take concubines boast of their affluence and are disdainful of those who abstain from the practice. The national law regards wives and concubines as equals and accords equal rights to their offspring. Thus, I have here explained that our country has not yet established the fundamentals of human morality, and I hope later to discuss how this situation injures our customs and obstructs enlightenment.

[Braisted, *Meiroku Zasshi*, pp. 104–5]

KATŌ HIROYUKI

Katō Hiroyuki (1836–1916), a student of military science and Dutch, became an instructor at the shogunate's research center, Bansho shirabesho, in 1860 and, after the Restoration, was an early advocate of representative government. Later he became increasingly conservative. Eventually he became president of Tokyo Imperial University and a privy councillor. While he was a participant in the Meiji Six Society, he was known as an advocate of human rights, but with reservations of the kind expressed in the following.

ABUSES OF EQUAL RIGHTS FOR MEN AND WOMEN

As the true principles regarding married couples have been gradually clarified in public since the appearance of the discussion on equal rights for husbands and wives by Mori [Arinori] and Fukuzawa [Yukichi], the ugly custom of keeping concubines promiscuously and the bad practice by which the husband holds his wife in contempt will gradually be destroyed, and we shall consequently reach the point where equality between husband and wife is truly observed. Are not the achievements of these two gentlemen indeed wonderful?

It is my opinion, however, that, even though the system of near equality between husband and wife in modern Europe conforms with Heaven's Reason, the rights of the wife seem rather to surpass those of the husband in present-day society. This evil, after all, arises from a misunderstanding of the principle of equal rights. There is not time to enumerate all the abuses, but the following are a few examples.

When husband and wife pass through a door, the wife goes first and the husband follows. When they are seated, the wife occupies the highest seat; the husband, the next best seat. When others call on the couple, they greet the wife before the husband. When they address the couple, they place the wife's name first, the husband's later. If men are seated with the ladies, they are especially discreet in speech, and they do not smoke without first securing permission from the ladies. The extent of women's rights is really surprising. Although it appears that Westerners cannot actually understand the impropriety of their ways since they have been soaked in them for a long time, I must say that the customs are indeed strange from the point of view of East Asians. How can they be called equal rights of husband and wife? . . .

Although such a question [as the right to smoke in the presence of women] is really a small matter, it clearly misrepresents the principle of equality between men and women, and it is also clearly an evil that has arisen from the infatuation with which men court the favor of women with flattery. It is an unbearable but natural outcome that in Europe one often hears of adulterous scandals even about women reputed to be noble ladies. How dreadful this is! At present, when we are putting into practice in our country the principle of equal rights for men and women, we shall finally reach the point at which we are unable to control the injury of excessive women's rights if men of intelligence, fully recognizing this danger, do not prevent it in advance. What do my friends make of this?

[Braisted, *Meiroku Zasshi*, pp. 376–77]

FUKUZAWA YUKICHI

THE EQUAL NUMBERS OF MEN AND WOMEN

Fukuzawa Yukichi wrote on civilization, but he also applied his enlightened general schemas to a variety of specific topics. He was an early and outspoken advocate of women's rights. Here, in tongue-in-cheek fashion, he uses numbers in a question that, he realizes, has little to do with mathematics.

One does not know who is right in the recent noisy discussion of equal rights for men and women. Now when a person discusses anything, he will not grasp the matter unless he first closely examines its character. Therefore, we should take up even this discussion of equal rights for men and women only after we have first considered the nature of men and women and become well informed on what rights are. If to the contrary we set forth our opinions at will according to our individual viewpoints, conjecturing on the nature of men and women and speculating on the word "right," we shall be reduced to limitless futile argument. When equal seating for men and women is taken up, for example, giving precedence in seating to ladies is veneration for those who call it veneration and helping for those who call it helping. Even though some may not become angry when they think of the practice as helping, they may also gnash their teeth if they regard it as completely dedicated, sincere veneration.

Since public discussion has generally sunk to this level rather than become embroiled in a noisy discussion of the merits of equal rights, I would direct attention only to an aspect that anyone can easily understand after we have taken up a simple point that is close at hand. This simple point is neither religious nor theoretical but rather a mathematical computation on the *soroban* [abacus] of the equal number of men and women that anyone can readily grasp.

First, since the number of men and women in the world [is] roughly equal, the calculation will show that one man should marry one woman. If, contrary to this, an excessive number of women [are] taken into one house, there must be scarcity in another. If the phrase "eight suitors for one daughter" on the *iroha* [Japanese "alphabet"] card is unfair, it is also unreasonable for one man to take eight concubines. Today, setting aside the difficult discussion of equal rights, I only say that for one man to take several wives is not right, as it does not conform to computations on the *soroban*. We may then take this as the first step toward equal rights and decide to postpone other discussion of the matter until scholarship has progressed. If anyone feels that even this theory is too advanced, we shall tacitly allow him to keep concubines or take geisha. But these practices must be hidden from others as private affairs. Hiding from others is the beginning of shame, and being ashamed naturally is the beginning of voluntary

abstention. Once we thus introduce the first step toward equal rights, the present futile arguments somehow can also be resolved in a few years.

[Braisted, *Meiroku Zasshi*, pp. 385–86]

SAKATANI SHIROSHI

Sakatani Shiroshi (1822–1881) received his early education in the school run by Ōshio Heihachirō (see chap. 34) but later turned to the Zhu Xi school. Generally on the conservative side in the Meiji Six Society debates, he later became active in efforts to revive Confucian ethics.

ON CONCUBINES

The wise men of Japan, China, and the West are agreed in holding that marriage is the foundation from which the fine qualities of nations emerge, since it is the basis of morality and the source of propriety as well as the institution upon which the conduct of the people rests. Even though secular ethical teachings (*seikyō*) are the source of the morals of marriage, the damage to customs from the concubine system is great, and the vice of concubines is rife in modern society. I am not resorting to idle theory apart from human feelings. Yet some will smile without becoming angry and think me impractical and unenlightened when I discuss concubines. Extreme persons claim boastfully and without shame that they are emulating Western ways when they ride with their concubines in the same carriage shoulder to shoulder and hand in hand, or when they walk with these ladies down the main streets in broad daylight.

Ah, how can the concubine system be attributed to the West? It is false to the West to ascribe such ugly and barbaric conduct to Western tutelage. Fortunately, however, distinguished scholars in Western studies are advocating reform [in this area]. Mori [Arinori]'s discourses on wives and concubines are clear and just, while Fukuzawa [Yukichi] is equally instructive to society when he felicitously calls even a lofty mansion the hut of beasts [if it is a house of but one father and many mothers]. Both gentlemen have washed out the eyes and ears of the pseudo-enlightened and left them speechless. . . .

When husband and wife enjoy equal rights, it would seem that the wife should also have the right to take additional mates if her husband keeps concubines. A woman is also a person. Women are by nature strong and weak, some being able to live without husbands all their lives, while others are not satisfied with several men. Morality is destroyed when men and women alike become so lustfully dissipated that they are no more than beasts. Thus the advocates of equal rights for men and women promote the establishment of morality by employing these rights to impose mutual restraints. Yet men stand above women, and husbands are above wives. Women are weak; men strong.

The husband deals with the outside world while the wife manages domestic matters. Such occasional exceptions as the queen of England notwithstanding, it is generally the invariable custom throughout the five continents that men are above women. The true principle of equal rights, therefore, appears to be limited only to the prevention of sexual license by establishing mutual restraints in the bedchamber. . . .

What we should honor are the enlightened ideas of Europe and America according to which husband and wife equally love and help each other. Even though the European and American customs contain the reasonable intention that the weak female shall be protected by the strong male like a child, however, I must deplore the prevailing ugly way in which their men have practically all become slaves to women. This is exactly the same as the ugly situation in which wives are oppressed by the husband's rights in China and Japan. Looked at reasonably, even though it is naturally proper for the strong man to protect the woman, it is also right for the woman obediently to serve the man.

The words "equal rights," therefore, should not establish equality in life generally, although they may provide equality in the bedchamber. If today we establish this equality between the sexes in all aspects of life, we shall reach the point where the men will strive to oppress the women while the women attempt to oppress the men. In America, women's parties have gained the right to agitate for prohibition of drinking by men. Even though their intentions may be fine, how are their acts fine? How is such conduct for the benefit of those [women] who should obediently receive protection? Such women probably resemble the wives in the back streets of Tokyo. In sum, the word "rights" includes evil. There is a tendency for the advocacy of rights to generate opposing power. This was never the intention of the wise men of Europe and America, and the translation [of the word "right" as *ken*] is not appropriate. Instead, it would be well to speak of preserving the spheres of men and women (*danjo shubun*) or of the harmonious bodies of husband and wife (*fūfu dōtai*). Further, from the point of view of rights, the man should stand slightly above the woman, just as elder brother takes precedence before younger brother. We naturally cannot discuss as typical a case such as England in which the husband's rights are necessarily inferior to those of the wife, who is queen and empress. Such a situation thus should not be regarded as the normal shape of things.

[Braisted, *Meiroku Zasshi*, pp. 392–96]

TSUDA MAMICHI

Tsuda Mamichi (1829–1903), a student of Sakuma Shōzan (see chap. 36), went to Holland to study law and on his return taught at the Kaisei school (predecessor of Tokyo Imperial University). Later active in the Meiji government in both foreign affairs and parliamentary matters, he was notable in his early con-

tributions to the *Meiji Six Magazine* for his advocacy of Western liberal and humanitarian ideals.

DISTINGUISHING THE EQUAL RIGHTS OF HUSBANDS AND WIVES

Why is it that the phrase "the equal rights of husbands and wives" (*fūfu dōken*), having recently come into circulation, is scattered through the press as well as mistakenly uttered by accomplished gentlemen? Now "the equal rights of men and women" (*danjo dōken*) are words that previously have been intoned quite often in the countries of Europe and America, and they correspond exactly to the position of Western men and women from the point of view of civil rights (*minken*). For example, there is absolutely no discrimination or differentiation between the rights of men and women when one consults the stipulations in Western civil codes that establish personal rights, property rights, and the rights and duties of contract. Yet there are naturally distinctions between the public rights of men and women that relate to national political affairs. After all, women are unable to share these public rights as they have been customarily monopolized by men. This is for the reason that women have not yet participated in the three great rights of legislation, justice, and administration. Even though there have been suggestions that women should also share in these public rights, this has not yet actually been practiced.

On the other hand, there has been absolutely no provision even in civil law for what might be called "the equal rights of husbands and wives." This is because the husband is the person who controls the family's affairs as head of the household. A women possessed of a husband, being a wife, is not allowed by civil law to manage the family's affairs except under extraordinary circumstances. Not only this, a wife also has not the right to manage even her private property, and a woman possessed of a husband does not have the right to institute civil suits in her own name. These are areas in which the provision of Western civil codes differentiate between the rights of husbands and wives. This ought to be entirely understandable from one reading of the writings of Westerners on civil law. I am incredulous, therefore, when I hear references from time to time to "the equal rights of husbands and wives."

Even though husbands and wives do not possess the same rights under the law, they are naturally equal without distinction as to high or low in their traditional marital intercourse. After all, none doubt that husbands and wives should employ the proprieties of equals as was indeed the case in our ancient Japanese customs. Asians, however, debased womanhood to such an extreme degree that they do not enjoy what is called equal rights of men and women even under civil law. Especially, there is the evil among the Chinese in which wives, like criminals, are all shut up in their courtyards and forbidden any contact with outsiders. This is an extremely outrageous custom. Without appreciating this [great evil], gentlemen in society vainly discuss the minor abuse

in which the frailty of wives is protected under Western custom. I also fail to understand the reason for this. How do [these gentlemen] hope to overtake the far higher level of European and American civilization and enlightenment? After all, this not being their intent, they have finally fallen to the evil of capricious progress. Let us reflect on what in the final analysis will be their situation if they are moved to attempt the establishment of a popularly elected assembly? Undoubtedly, uneducated and unskilled fellows, with tumultuous clamor, will want to do things that have not yet been done in the countries of Europe and America. How will this achieve happiness for the people and the nation? As the proverb goes, "Superficial tactics are the source of great wounds." I would just say that superficial enlightenment is the cause of rebellion. Should we not be prudent? As I fear that I have reached the point of redundancy in elucidating the error of "equal rights of husbands and wives," I beg your kind indulgence.

[Braisted, *Meiroku Zasshi*, pp. 435–36]

NAKAMURA MASANAO: CHINA SHOULD NOT BE DESPISED

The repudiation of old, largely Chinese, learning and the ardent embrace of new, Western, learning was the hallmark of the Civilization and Enlightenment movement. But studies of the movement usually ignore or gloss over the fact that all thinkers in the movement had been educated in their youth in Chinese philosophy and history. Indeed, the platform on which they stood to reach out for Western ideas was, in large part, this earlier education. Had their minds been blank, had they lacked the sophistication of Chinese learning, they would not have been able to understand the thought of the modern West. When we read their enlightenment writings in the original Japanese, the debt to Chinese philosophy is clear. It was the source of much of the vocabulary they drew on to translate such Western concepts as "nature," "human nature," and "reason." Of course, they also realized that they were using such terms in ways that departed from their original meanings. An early acknowledgment of certain aspects of the debt to China can be seen in the following passage, written by Nakamura Masanao (1832–1891) in 1875 at the crest of the Civilization and Enlightenment movement.

JAPAN'S DEBT TO CHINA

As may be seen by referring to history, China has produced numerous outstanding men, turning out sages, superior men, and heroes one after another. Should you desire their names recited in their entirety, they could not be exhausted

even if you relieve me with an assistant. This is the first reason why China should not be despised. China can probably take first place in the East in the abundance of her writings. Furthermore, being tasteful, her prose can readily convey men's intentions. And having strict grammatical rules, it is also convenient for translating foreign materials. Even in daily communications, we must invariably use Chinese words when dealing with important matters. The Chinese seem to have a particular genius for contriving ideographs. As their own writing possesses some grace, they do not easily change to horizontal script or yearn for Western literary styles. Yet since China is a country skilled in letters, young Chinese studying abroad may emerge one after another within a few years to advance their [Western] studies to a high level. This is the second reason why China should not be despised.

Being now under a Tartar house, even the public-spirited men of China are disinclined to exert their natural vigor, and her people are seemingly in a drugged condition unable to move their arms and feet. If they throw off the poison of the Tartar drug and awake from their stupor, however, a Han Gaozu may emerge from the village headmen of Si Shui or a Ming Taizu may come forth from the monks of Huangque Si. In troubled times, a Xiao He may emerge from the lower officialdom or a Fan Kuai from among the dog butchers. Or there may appear suddenly from among the peasants, beggars, or horse-traders in the town markets a civil official like Liu Chengyi or military officers like Xu Da and Chang Yuchun, who climbed the dragon's scales and mounted the wings of the phoenix. How do we know that there is not a Han Gaozu or a Ming Taizu among the beggars to be seen in Shanghai today? How do we know that there is not a Hsiao, a Cao, a Liu, or a Xu of another day among the children peddling in today's Tientsin? If from among the leading families of China proper that bear the name of Li or Liu there emerges a great hero who destroys the Manchu-Qing dynasty and who by resolute decree directs the use of the arts and sciences of Europe and America, he can quickly introduce steamships, trains, telegraph, fortifications, and warships the great distances between the eighteen provinces and the two capitals notwithstanding. Moreover, he will face an extremely serious situation should [China] then establish a popularly elected assembly and attempt to avenge the shame of defeat. This is the third reason why China should not be despised.

That China produces many raw materials is entirely natural since she is a large country. Even in manufactures, however, her exports to Japan of ink, paper, and books alone have been extremely large for more than a century. Maki Ryōko[1] states that it should be appreciated that the Japanese craftsmen are clumsy at producing writing brushes. The Chinese in ancient times made useful skills of mathematics and astronomy in which they were extremely pro-

1. Maki Ryōko (1777–1843) was a famous Japanese calligrapher.

ficient. Our country employed Chinese texts on medicine and horticulture until twenty years ago. In addition, this country has not matched China in the large number of useful instruments that the Chinese have invented. In the words of an English friend, "The Chinese people are good, but their government is bad." If the above statement proves correct, once her government is reformed, China will necessarily progress since her people are really of a good type. This is the fourth reason why China should not be despised.

I hear that the following story is included in the textbook for instructing children in Russian:

> When a child uttered words abusive of China, his father admonished him as follows: "Rather than being despised, China should be honored as a nation that has taught our country. That is to say, there are many matters in which our forefathers derived benefit from China as she was ahead of our country in developing the arts and sciences. Even though she is now asleep, China should not be despised since, once awake, she will become a dreadful enemy."

The Russians are indeed farsighted. For young people to be inclined from childhood to despise something after observing it to be inferior to themselves is the root of superficiality. Petty superficiality may ruin a family; gross superficiality may destroy a nation. Furthermore, only to slander a country recklessly for her faults without recognizing her merits will cause her to be angry and us to be negligent. This is the height of foolishness. Since even a country like Russia, which surpasses China in many respects, thus admonishes [respect for China], should our country look down on her when we are brothers of equal power? This is the fifth reason why China should not be despised.

At the time of the recent incident between China and Japan, Li Hongzhang judged that should war break out, England and France could compel an armistice and that his shame would be still more extreme if an armistice were forced by other nations. Thus for the large country to submit to the small country and to reach a settlement by means of an indemnity was sufficient to indicate the virtue of Li's broad-mindedness and good judgment. Again, our country employed a number of foreigners at its headquarters without relying on its own people alone. It is indeed not known whether Li was assisted by Thomas Wade, the English minister. But we naturally cannot guess the real reason why Li decisively departed from the tradition of viewing Japan as barbarian and treated the Japanese with utmost politeness. This is the sixth reason why China should not be despised.

Enlightenment in our country is now being fostered by foreigners rather than advanced by our own efforts. The situation is one in which, rather than using foreigners, we are being used by them. We have reached the point where [officials] within the various ministries are shifting their burdens to foreigners

hired at exorbitant salaries. We cannot know whether the Chinese will cease admiring the foreigners once China has been induced to study Europe and America and surpassed the West in knowledge. If we disparage China, feeling that we have acquired a part of Western culture, we shall be scorned by intellectuals as this is just like the person who looks down on a man in rags after donning beautiful clothes borrowed from another. This is the seventh reason why China should not be despised. As the old proverb goes, "An individual should clean away the snow from before his own gate before he inquires into the frost on his neighbor's roof." We shall not have much time to reflect on others if we hereafter assiduously cultivate ourselves by devoting our attention to our nation's affairs and appreciating its inadequacies. Still less will we presume to despise other countries!

[Braisted, *Meiroku Zasshi*, pp. 425–28]

Chapter 39

POPULAR RIGHTS AND CONSTITUTIONALISM

During the first years of the Meiji era, Japan's political leaders were dogged by issues of every sort: the divisiveness of old class distinctions; the danger that regional power conflicts would pull the country apart; a dire shortage of revenues; the lack of efficient economic, military, and educational systems; a fear of being overwhelmed by Western imperialism. The historian Tōyama Shigeki says of the 1870s that "there was a real danger that Japan would become a colony"; the educator-journalist Fukuzawa Yukichi observed at the time that Japan was "a government, not a nation." Among all the issues, none dominated the public discourse of the 1870s and 1880s more than the question of what shape the state system should take. What should the relationship between the emperor and his subjects be? What role should the "people" play in the political system? Should Japan have a national legislature? Who should be in it? When should it be convened? Above all, what kind of constitution should Japan have? At the core of these debates was a consensus that the new system must balance the family-like, emperor-centered approach of Japanese tradition and myth with the contemporary world's insistence on popular representation and "rational" state systems.

The debates over state structures hardly were new. Political discourse in the Tokugawa era had been sophisticated and continual. By the early nineteenth century, influential scholars, conscious of the declining effectiveness of the

bakufu system, were advocating everything from the restoration of imperial rule to participation in international trade, from nativism to republicanism. What was new after the Meiji Restoration in 1868 was the volume, as well as the intensity, of the state philosophy debates. Released from the restraints of the Tokugawa system, Japan's thinkers unleashed a deluge of debate in these years, drawing on both East Asian and European theorists: Confucius from China, Aizawa Seishisai from Japan, John Stuart Mill from Great Britain, Jean-Jacques Rousseau from France. They also used new avenues for discussion: debating societies, public lectures, newspapers, and magazines. And the debates reached new corners of society, including the mountain village commons as well as the public thoroughfare.

The other thing that was new in these discussions was the focus on constitutionalism, a concept adapted from the West. Increasingly, after the mid-1870s, the debaters talked about what kind of constitution Japan should have and what institutional structures the constitution should support. The constitutional arguments spanned three general periods: 1873 to 1875, when discussion centered on the creation of a national legislature; 1876 to 1883, when the focus was on what kind of a constitution Japan needed; and 1884 to 1889, when the constitution was drawn up and promulgated.

DEBATING A NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, 1873–1875

The leaders of the Meiji state adopted one new structure after another in the first Meiji years, trying to find an administrative system adequate to the world that now challenged them. Although there was no cabinet, key ministries such as justice, foreign affairs, and finance emerged, as did a council of state. The early debates about these evolving structures were carried out largely within government circles, among the insiders who had overthrown the Tokugawa. That insider approach to discussion changed, however, late in 1873, after a small coterie, led by Saigō Takamori and Itagaki Taisuke, left office to protest Japan's policies toward Korea. When Itagaki and eight others sent a memorial to the throne the next January, urging the early creation of a national legislature, a storm of public debate ensued over when such an assembly should be created and what shape it should take. The fact that Japan's first daily newspapers had sprung into existence barely two years before gave the debate wider circulation than had been possible earlier—and led to the emergence of what was called "public opinion" (*kōron*), an arena in which issues could be discussed outside the inner circles. The debates also prompted the creation of Japan's first political associations and led to the rise of the Freedom and People's Rights (*jiyū minken*) movement. The following documents trace the contours of these early discussions.

ITAGAKI TAISUKE

MEMORIAL ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY

Itagaki Taisuke and eight others submitted this memorial to the throne on January 17, 1874. Despite being heralded by some as "democrats," they had a limited vision, seeking representation for only their own samurai class. The implications of their ideas, however, drew supporters from much broader segments of society.

When we humbly reflect upon the quarter in which the governing power lies, we find that it is not the Imperial House above, nor the people below, but the officials alone. We do not deny that the officials revere the Imperial House, nor that they protect the people. Yet, the manifold decrees of the government appear in the morning and are changed in the evening, the administration is influenced by private considerations, rewards and punishments depend on personal favor or disfavor, the channel by which the people should communicate with the government is blocked, and they cannot state their grievances. . . . We fear, therefore, that if a reform is not effected the state will be ruined. Unable to resist the promptings of our patriotic feelings, we have sought to devise a means of rescuing it from this danger. We find this means to consist in developing public discussion in the empire. The means of developing public discussion is the establishment of a council-chamber chosen by the people. Then a limit will be placed on the power of the officials, and high and low will obtain peace and prosperity. We ask leave then to make some remarks on this subject.

The people whose duty it is to pay taxes to the government have the right of sharing in their government's affairs and of approving or condemning. Since this is a universally acknowledged principle, it is not necessary to waste words in discussing it. . . .

We are informed that the present officials . . . are generally averse to progress and call those who advocate reforms "rash progressives." . . . If "rash progress" means measures which are heedlessly initiated, then a council chamber chosen by the people will remedy this heedlessness. Does it mean the want of harmony between the different branches of the administration, and in times of change, the postponement of urgent matters in favor of those less urgent, so that the measures carried out are wanting in unity of plan? Then the cause of this is the want of a fixed law in the country and the fact that the officials act in accordance with their own inclinations. These two facts suffice to show why it is necessary to establish a council chamber chosen by the people. Progress is the most beautiful thing in the world, and is the law of all things moral and

physical. Men actuated by principle cannot condemn this word "progress," so their condemnation must be intended for the word "rash," but the word "rash" has no application to a council chamber chosen by the people. . . .

Another argument of the officials is that the council chambers now existing in European and American states were not formed in a day, but were only brought into their present state by gradual progress, and therefore we cannot today copy them suddenly. But is this true only of council chambers? It is the same with all branches of knowledge, science, and mechanical arts. The reason why [foreigners] developed them only after the lapse of centuries is that no examples existed previously and they had to be discovered by actual experience. If we can select from among their examples, why can we not apply them successfully? If we were to postpone using steam engines until we had discovered for ourselves the principles of steam, or postpone laying telegraph lines until we had discovered the principles of electricity, the government should by the same token never set to work.

[Itagaki, *Jiyūtō shi*, vol. 1, pp. 86–89; McLaren, *Japanese Government Documents*, pp. 426–32]

NAKAMURA MASANAO

ON CHANGING THE CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE

Whereas Itagaki Taisuke's supporters demanded the early creation of an upper-class representative assembly, his opponents, who called themselves "gradualists," also favored an assembly but said that it should include commoners (*heimin*), who needed political education before they could participate. The opening, they said, should be delayed until the *heimin* were ready. A representative of this group was the scholar Nakamura Masanao, who advocated incremental changes rooted in Japan's earlier political and social traditions. On February 16, 1875, he made this argument to the Meiji Six Society (Meirokusha), a discussion society of influential young intellectuals, most of whom had close ties to the government.

The people are like water, while the political system is like a vessel into which one pours water. If you pour water into a round vessel, it becomes round; into a square vessel, square. The character of the water does not change, even though the vessel is changed for another of different shape. The people, after all, remain as before even though the vessel into which they have been placed since 1868 may have a better shape than the old one.

They are the people rooted in servitude, the people who are arrogant toward their inferiors and flattering toward their superiors, the ignorant and uneducated people, the people who love saké and sex, the people who do not like reading, the people who do not reflect on their duties and who know not the laws of Heaven, the people of shallow wisdom and limited capacity, the people who

avoid toil and do not endure hardships, the egocentric people who practice cheap tricks, the people without perseverance and diligence in character, the frivolous and shallow people who are without principles in their hearts, the people who like to rely on others as they are without a spirit of independence, the people who are poor in their powers of thought and perception, the people who know not the value of money, the people who break promises without honoring loyalty, the people who are unable to act together and have but a slim capacity for friendship, and the people who do not strive for new inventions. People are generally of such types even though there naturally are not a few who are able to escape from the above injuries.

If we desire to change the people's character and thereby encourage elevated conduct and virtuous feelings, we will accomplish absolutely nothing if we only reform the political structure, which is only changing round containers for hexagonal or octagonal vessels without altering the character of the water within. Rather than changing the political structure, therefore, we should aspire instead to change the character of the people, more and more rooting out the old habits and achieving "renewal" with each new day.

We should welcome as a good omen the recent public clamor for a popularly elected assembly. Such an assembly, of course, will undoubtedly contribute to a renewal of the public mind since it will develop the will to possess and to defend the country among the people themselves, change the attitudes of those who have relied on government officials, daily reduce the spirit of subservience, enable talented men to emerge from all quarters in large numbers, and gradually halt the evil of selecting leaders from a single source.

There is one point, however, to which we should here give our attention. Even though the rulers may share a part of the political power with the people through the establishment of a popularly elected assembly, since the people still remain as before, there will be no major effect in the direction of changing the people's character from the fact that only the political structure has been somewhat changed. Should you ask how to change the character of the people, there are but two approaches—through religious and moral education and through education in the arts and sciences. Through the mutual assistance of these two acting together, like the wheels of a cart or the wings of a bird, we shall guide human lives to happiness. . . . If there is any other method to change the character of the people and to elevate them to the level of the most advanced peoples of Europe and America, I shall welcome your advice.

[Braisted, *Meiroku Zasshi*, pp. 372–74]

REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLIES AND NATIONAL PROGRESS, FEBRUARY 1879

In response to the demands for representation, the government set up city and provincial (*fu* and *ken*) assemblies. The assemblies' powers were criticized

widely as ineffectual, but they helped promote the Freedom and People's Rights (*jiyū minken*) movement and prompt even more calls for a national assembly.

EDITORIAL FROM *CHŌYA SHINBUN*

This editorial from the Tokyo newspaper *Chōya shinbun*, a stronghold of prodemocratic thought, was reprinted in the *Tokio Times* on March 1, 1879.

The local assemblies which have just sprung up are the most delicate subjects to deal with. The experiment of establishing them is, as it were, like setting a prairie on fire. There is a story of a bear's cub which a hunter caught in the mountains and sold to a person of the town, who fed it on fish and grain and carefully reared it. The animal grew up very mild and tame, and played with dogs and cats. One day it happened that its master fed it on pork, and at the first taste of raw flesh it at once became possessed of its natural ferocity, attacking the people and resisting all control. Now the reason why so vicious an animal associated contentedly with dogs and cats was because it had never tasted blood and did not therefore know anything about it. So it is with the people and with political rights. The masses have hitherto been ruled according to the will of the government, which they have submitted to tranquilly because they had not tasted any political rights, but when they begin to do so, their desire to obtain more will be the same as that of the bear, after its first meal of raw flesh. The inhabitants of Japan, up to the eleventh year of Meiji, were like the bear before its change of diet, and the establishment of the *fu* and *ken* assemblies is their first introduction to a stimulating regimen. Are our countrymen likely to rest contented after that taste of political rights? By all means not. They will stretch out their claws and open their mouths and ask for more and more, until they obtain a national parliament. Should the government, after sanctioning the *fu* and *ken* assemblies, refuse to grant the larger representative institution, what will be the result? . . .

Would the foundation of despotic sway be thereby permanently laid? Not so, for the tide of the time and the progress of popular intelligence is like a stream running down from the mountains, and can be checked by no human power. If the ministry take[s] measures by which these initial legislatures are abolished, and in this manner defer[s] indefinitely the establishment of a national assembly, we can hardly foretell the catastrophe that may result therefrom. Japan is a country in which, hundred of years past, nothing but autocracy existed on the side of the rulers, and blind submission on the side of the people. That within ten years from the time when the despotic system was in fullest force, the inhabitants should enjoy a popular representation in every district, appears strange; yet such is the effect of the spirit of progress, and for a few men

in power to try to oppose it would be the same as trying to stop a flood with a few grains of sand. It is impossible.

At the time of the Restoration, His Majesty the Emperor, in the presence of the nobility of the land—the daimyo and princes—took five oaths; and one of them was that the government should be administered according to the will of the people. This oath is the foundation upon which the form of a limited monarchy is to be built up, for its words mean that the laws of the nation shall be made by the representatives of the community.

[*Tokio Times*, March 1, 1879]

DEFINING THE CONSTITUTIONAL STATE, 1876–1883

Responding to both the popular debate and the rulers' sense of what the international environment required, the emperor asked each councillor (*sangi*) early in 1879 to prepare a memorial on what form a constitution should take. That fact, added to a corruption scandal in the summer of 1881 over insider sales of government lands in Hokkaido, precipitated a lively public discussion of constitutional issues. The officials prepared their own gradualist constitutional opinions; newspaper editorialists wrote draft constitutions and argued whether sovereignty should reside in the emperor or in the people; even mountain villagers debated constitutionalism. The Freedom and People's Rights movement supported Itagaki Taisuke and the progovernment journalist Fukuchi Gen'ichirō. Spurring all the discussions was an imperial announcement on October 12, 1881, accompanying the ouster of Finance Minister Ōkuma Shigenobu, that a constitution would be granted within a decade.

The major issues that propelled the discussions were how quickly Japan should move toward a constitutional system and what form the system should take. Everyone agreed on two points: the imperial institution should remain inviolate, and there should be an assembly. On other points, the disagreement was wide. The gradualists continued to argue that it would require several years to determine the way to legislative rule and that the legislature's powers should, as in Germany, be sharply limited. They also emphasized the need for a system consonant with Japan's "national essence" (*kokutai*). None of them wanted political party government. Conversely, Ōkuma and the popular rights forces first called an assembly to be convened quickly; then, after the emperor's promise of a legislature by 1890, they focused on the kind of system Japan needed, most of them advocating a British-style democracy with a powerful bicameral assembly and a cabinet responsible to political parties. The parties declined and the debate cooled in the mid-1880s, but not before both the parties and the discussions had laid a foundation for the eventual constitutional state.

ITŌ HIROBUMI

MEMORIAL ON CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, DECEMBER 1880

The central official developing a constitution was Itō Hirobumi, a moderate conservative who talked often about the need to maintain Japan's traditions even as the country kept pace with international trends. As this response to the emperor's call for constitutional opinions shows, he was willing to move toward broader representation in that government, but only deliberately, so that the orderly flow of society would not be disrupted. After arguing that the discontent of the former samurai and the changing world situation demanded a new system, he proposed revisions in current structures rather than radical change.

I, for one, am convinced that now is the time to make unprecedented reforms and that conditions are already ripe for them. However, we must not follow the increasing thoughtless opinions; at the same time, it will be difficult to maintain old practices unconditionally. In politics, it is best to adopt methods that fit changing circumstances. Unless we take suitable measures and advance properly as well as gradually, how can we hope to lay the foundations of lasting peace? . . .

1. I ask that we enlarge the Genrōin (Senate) and select its members from among the nobles (*kazoku*).

I say that we should not establish a parliament hastily. This does not mean that we, the ruling group, want to remain at the helm of state and occupy the highest posts as long as possible. Although it is very desirable to establish limited monarchy by convoking a parliament, we must not do anything that would seriously modify our national polity. We should first make the footings firm, then erect the foundation posts, and finally raise the house. This must be done in an orderly fashion. Needless to say, the above is clearly known to the intelligent mind of the Emperor. . . .

The Genrōin was established in 1875, actually the result of the Emperor's intention to advance gradually toward constitutional government. . . . Now is the time to enlarge it and extend its functions, and make it live up to its name. At present, viewing the quality of our people, we find that the ex-samurai (*shizoku*) are the only ones who can manage national affairs and who are the most enlightened. Thus, the ex-samurai must be considered as one part of the nobility, though actually they rank just below the nobles. The members of the Genrōin should be selected from among the nobles and ex-samurai as well as from among those persons who are eminent for their services to the country or for their scholarship. There should be one hundred members of the Genrōin, and each member should be paid. We should convene the Genrōin each year for a definite length of time. If the drafts of all laws are submitted for discussion to the Genrōin, the following results will be obtained:

1. We can employ ex-samurai in posts of honor, thereby enabling them to function through many ages as guardians of the imperial family.
2. We can provide a ground on which equilibrium will be maintained between the two houses of parliament in the future.
3. Through the Genrōin, we can establish and maintain harmony between the government and the people.
4. Thus we can continue the fine results of the past eight years, and following the plans of our forerunners, we will tread the path of gradual progress.

2. I ask that we establish an extra board of auditors.

I think that in addition to broadening public opinion by selecting Genrōin members from among the nobles and ex-samurai, we should select members of the prefectural assemblies to fill positions as extra auditor-representatives who will discuss finance publicly. This will be the initial step toward constitutional government. It is observed in every country that some people despise their government and its officials because they suspect that a great deal of money raised by heavy taxation is spent wastefully. So it is considered to be most important in all constitutional states to permit the people to participate in the management of national finance. . . .

An extra board of auditors should be established with its members selected from among the members of the prefectural assemblies. . . . Together with the regular auditors, they should engage in the business of auditing finances. However, their power should be limited only to auditing, and they should not be permitted to interfere in general financial policies. By this method, for one thing, we can pave the way for public discussion of finance and second, we can acquaint the people with the actual state of affairs and give them experience. . . .

3. I ask that Your Imperial Majesty declare the aims of the nation.

If we do not decide the aims of the nation, what will stop popular sentiments from drifting? At present, there are persons who are stirring up the disorderly elements in town and country in the name of public opinion. If we fail to check such public sentiment by clearly revealing the will of the Emperor, based on some firm proposal, the people will unite to make disturbances, rising here and there like rivers overflowing their banks. Once violence bursts out like this, I fear that in the end an adjustment cannot be made. . . . Resentful persons would distort the Charter Oath and the Imperial Rescript of 1875 in support of their views. This is why the government should inform the people of its intentions and make them aware of actual conditions. . . .

Your Majesty should kindly make up his mind and show his utmost sincerity by an imperial edict. I beg that you inform the people that the nation should advance gradually, and make your plans clear to them. How to share the legislative power with the people is without doubt a matter that comes under the

supreme power of the Emperor and which is beyond the right of discussion by his humble subjects. Moreover, the timing of the decision is left to the discretion of the Emperor, and the people are not permitted to make disturbances or put on pressure. . . . If an imperial rescript is issued explaining that this policy is just, those persons who are loyal to the imperial family will be reminded of the direction in which they should turn their sentiments. On the other hand, unenlightened people will avoid being led astray to acts of violence.

[Beckmann, *The Making of the Meiji Constitution*, pp. 131–35]

ŌKUMA SHIGENOBU

MEMORIAL ON A NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Longtime Finance Minister Ōkuma Shigenobu, a member of the government's mainstream until 1881, was slow to turn in his constitutional opinion. When he finally delivered it in March of that year, he took a "radical" stance, calling for legislative representatives to be elected the very next year and for political parties to be encouraged. This position, in addition to his role in leaking information about the corrupt Hokkaido land sales, led to his expulsion from the government in October. It also gave him a lifelong reputation as a "man of the people."

1. The date for the establishment of a parliament should be promulgated. . . .

2. High officials should be appointed on the basis of the support of the people. . . . In constitutional government, the place where the will of the people can be indicated is indeed the parliament. What do I mean by "will of the people"? It is the will of more than half of the parliamentary representatives. Who commands this will? It is the leader of the political party that has a majority in parliament. . . . A constitutional form of government produces an excellent arena where the Emperor can easily recognize such a man. Not only does he avoid actually making the selection himself, but he keeps the nation blessed with tranquillity. Because a person who is appointed in this way has a majority in parliament where the people participate in government, he has the power to control the legislature. And because he has his position in the government with the favor of the Emperor, . . . he also has the power to control the administration. Thus, there is no clash between the legislature and the administration.

3. The distinction between political party officials and permanent officials: . . . The various party officials . . . are councillors (*sangi*), ministers, vice-ministers, bureau chiefs, the imperial tutor, and the grand chamberlain. These party officials will be for the most part persons who hold seats in the upper or

lower house. (In general, this is based on the example of England. . . .) The . . . permanent officials, with the exception of heads of government offices, vice-ministers, and bureau chiefs, . . . will be officials below imperial appointment (*sōnin*) rank and petty officials. . . .

4. With imperial approval, we should establish a constitution. . . .

5. We should elect representatives by the end of 1882 and convoke parliament at the beginning of 1883. . . . Constitutional government is party government, and the struggles between parties are the struggles of principles. When its principles are supported by more than half of the people, a party wins control of the government. When the opposite is true, it loses control. This is the operation of genuine constitutional government.

[Beckmann, *The Making of the Meiji Constitution*, pp. 136–42]

CHIBA TAKASABURŌ

"THE WAY OF THE KING" (ŌDŌ)

The urban intellectual elites were not the only participants in the political conversations of the early 1880s. People across Japan took up the topic, too, often quite fervently and usually on the popular rights side. "The Way of the King," an essay written in 1882 by a schoolteacher in present-day Itsukaichi in the mountains west of Tokyo, illustrates the political sophistication of many provincial citizens. Chiba refined his thoughts during meetings of a local discussion group that included doctors, farmers, and lumbermen. Drawing on Western and Confucian ideas (the kingly Way of Mencius), these excerpts from his eight-chapter "Way of the King" discuss both the divine origins of the concept of law and the limits that must be placed on the ruler. Chiba also wrote his own draft constitution.

1. All governments, whether they be dictatorships, aristocracies, or republics, must be in accordance with the Way of the King if they are faithful to the nation. It is the very foundation of a government's or monarch's qualification to rule. If it is absent, the qualifications to be a nation are lacking. In the Way of the King, harmony, stability, flexibility, and justice predominate. . . .

Those who manifest the following signs believe in the Way of the King. They want to establish constitutional government—and that constitution is a national contract. They want to open a parliament. They want to maintain the esteem for the crown and secure the welfare of all the people. They want to see the hopes of all the classes for constitutional government realized, and they observe the spirit [of the Charter Oath]—"unite in carrying out vigorously the administration of affairs of state." Finally, they will be untiring in the performance of

government. You men in our country who are loyal subjects of His Majesty and truly cherish the people as brothers should accept this theory and accomplish in your own lives the Way of the King. . . .

Without exception those who bring about the decline of the Way of the King disdain the people and destroy the people's liberties. Such instances are not confined to China and Japan, but have occurred in a number of European countries as well. The reason is that when the monarch destroys the people's liberties, he first abandons and disregards the imperial prerogatives. He exercises unlimited sovereignty, ignoring virtue and proper rule. He makes the nation his household and the people his slaves. Consequently, when the people rise up against oppression, they do not care for virtue and rule, and it often happens that they start a rebellion and scheme a violent and odious disturbance to overthrow the government.

It is reported that in former times Louis XIV professed to be a person of the highest nobility and abused the unlimited rights which he claimed. [He declared:] "The State is I; I am the State." This assertion can be considered the source of the calamity that overtook Louis XVI. The following appears in the *Analects*: "Is there a single sentence that can ruin a country?" The above assertion of Louis XIV is such a single sentence. His words served only to heighten and aggravate the anger of the people. The people said in turn: "Government consists of the people, the people are the Government." The monarch and the people thus clashed. The people brought the monarch to the block and disgraced him by executing him with a blunt sword. This is precisely what is meant by the proverb [quoted] by Mencius: "What proceeds from you, will return to you again." This certainly hits the mark. A monarch dares not abuse his authority and mistreat his people because the constitution imposes limits on his authority. Just as King Louis found it easy to abuse his authority and thus mistreat his people, so the people in their turn found it easy to rely on their own power to slight their ruler.

Therefore, if the monarch establishes imperial prerogatives and has the people likewise establish their liberties, this will be not only for the benefit of the people but also for the continuance of the Imperial House for untold generations to come. The first step in the implementation of the Way of the King is the establishment of the monarch's prerogatives, but this is dependent on the establishment of the people's liberties. . . . When both the imperial prerogatives and the people's liberties are simultaneously operative and neither is infringed upon, then the Way of the King will be manifest and visible to all. . . .

You may well ask why I have written this essay on the Way of the King. Perhaps it is because I am a little deranged, or perhaps I did it just for amusement. Quite possibly I am one of those outdated Chinese classicists who knows of antiquity but are ignorant of what is going on today. Or perhaps I am one of those National Learning [*kokugaku*] scholars who fail to understand politics; they know only the existence of the Imperial House and ignore the existence

of the people. In fact, there are scholars of the National Learning school who do not realize that a constitution and a parliament, long desired by the Emperor Meiji, conform to the Way of the King even in this day and age. Thoughtlessly and fearlessly they reject and obstruct this concept and thus end up being offenders against the imperial decree. These people are to be pitied and it was for them that this essay was written. Those who do not know what constitutional government, a constitution, or a parliament really mean, should read this essay carefully and then they will be able to speak of the Way of the King and understand the times we live in. I hope that this essay will serve as a ship to carry them to the shores of understanding.

[Devine, "The Way of the King," pp. 63–72]

NAKAE CHŌMIN

A DISCOURSE BY THREE DRUNKARDS ON GOVERNMENT

Few people better illustrate the intellectual complexity and vitality of the Freedom and People's Rights (*jiyū minken*) movement than Nakae Chōmin, a native of Kōchi Prefecture in Shikoku who studied in France as a youth, worked a time for the government, gained renown as a journalist, and later was successful in politics. Sometimes called the "Rousseau of the Orient," Nakae drew on the major thinkers of Europe, China, and Japan. He advocated a strong Japan, the rejection of militarism, and the expansion of representative government. The following selections from *A Discourse by Three Drunkards on Government* (1887), one of Japan's classic pieces of political literature, relate host Nankai's comments to two alcohol-saturated guests on issues relevant to the constitutional debate.

Master Nankai loves drinking and discussing politics. When he drinks only one or two small bottles of saké, he is pleasantly intoxicated—his spirits are high and he feels as if he were flying through the universe. Everything he sees and hears delights him; it seems unthinkable that there should be suffering in the world.

When he drinks two or three more bottles, his spirits suddenly soar even higher, and ideas spring up, unrestrained. Although his body remains in his small room, his eyes scan the world. . . .

"Do kings and noblemen possess larger and heavier brains than we? Do they have more gastric juices and blood cells? . . . Both we common people and the aristocrats are lumps of flesh made of a combination of a few chemical elements. And yet when we meet, *this* lump of flesh bows low with clasped hands, while *that* lump of flesh remains standing, with only a slight nod of the head. When we talk, *this* lump of flesh shows respect to *that* lump of flesh by calling it 'Sir,' which means 'lord,' or 'monseigneur,' which also means 'lord.' But what

do you think? . . . Is this not an extreme affront? Is it not an unbearable shame? . . .

"All enterprises of human society are like alcohol, and liberty is the yeast. If you try to brew wine or beer without yeast, all the other ingredients, no matter how good they are, will sink to the bottom of the barrel, and your efforts will be in vain. Life in a despotic country is like a brew without ferment: sediments at the bottom of a barrel. Consider, for example, the literature of a despotic country. Occasionally some work appears to be noteworthy, but closer scrutiny reveals that nothing new is produced in a thousand years, nothing unique among ten thousand works. The kinds of phenomena that would ordinarily appeal to an author's sight and hearing are, in these societies, merely sediments at the bottom of a barrel, and the author copies these phenomena with a spirit which is also a sediment. Isn't it only natural then, that there should be no change in the arts? . . .

"O, law of evolution! Law of evolution! Ceaseless progress is your true nature. Once you drove your children out of the wilderness of chaos and disorder into the narrow valley of despotism, where you let them rest for a while until they gained strength. After that, you drove your children out of the valley and made them climb up to the top of the wide hill of constitutionalism, where you let them dry their eyes and breathe freely. When they turn their eyes upward, they see the green trees soaring into the sky, a trailing mist of clouds, and birds singing harmoniously. This is the high peak of democracy, with a view unparalleled in the world. Later, I shall explain more fully the superior vistas of this peak. . . .

"Constitutionalism is not bad, but democracy is better. Constitutionalism is spring with a faint touch of frost or snow; democracy is summer with no trace of frost or snow. As the Chinese might put it, constitutionalism is a wise man, but democracy is a holy man. Or in the phrasing of India, constitutionalism is a Bodhisattva, but democracy is a Buddha. Constitutionalism is to be respected, but democracy loved. Constitutionalism is an inn from which we have to depart sooner or later. It is only the weak or crippled who cannot leave. Democracy is a final home. What a restful feeling to return home after a long journey."

[Nakae, *Discourse by Three Drunkards on Government*, trans. Tsukui, pp. 47–76]

THE EMERGENCE OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Japan's first political parties were formed after the emperor promised to give Japan a constitution and legislature: Itagaki Taisuke's Liberal Party (Jiyūtō) in October 1881, Fukuchi Gen'ichirō's Constitutional Imperial Party (Rikken teiseitō) in March 1882, and Ōkuma Shigenobu's Constitutional Reform Party (Rikken kaishintō) in April 1882. The Jiyūtō and Kaishintō were tied to the popular

rights movement, while the smaller Teiseitō spoke for the government's gradualist philosophy. The parties went into eclipse during 1883, and then two of them, the Jiyūtō and the Kaishintō, were revived as the basis for the parliamentary opposition when national elections were held in 1890. The following documents—a speech delivered in 1882 by Itagaki on liberty, which shows his Confucian regard for unity as much as his belief in freedom; the Teiseitō platform of 1882, which posits power in an absolutist emperor; and a speech on reform by Ōkuma to members of the Kaishintō—reflect the distinctions among the parties.

ITAGAKI TAISUKE

"ON LIBERTY"

Gentlemen: Our Liberal Party is not yet thoroughly established as a political organization, and therefore what I am now about to say, in deference to your request, must not be considered as a political exposition but as a private enunciation. I mention this, because I have good hopes for the future formation of a strong political association, and I beg you to bear this in mind. . . .

In the Middle Ages the system of governing divided everyone into two classes, the samurai and the people. The samurai occupied the position of rulers, while the people were the ones whom they ruled. Hereditary tradition creates common custom. Power was vested solely in the rulers, and the samurai made it their business to participate in the affairs of state, so they were well versed in political theory; the people, on the other hand, accepted being ruled as their lot, and had nothing to do with affairs of state, so they were deficient in political theory. Since this system of government was fostered for so many years, the ignorant masses declined in the knowledge of political theory, and in the end had none at all. Though it has been said that the people of our country never developed political thought, this is true only of the ignorant masses. The political thought of the informed classes developed to a very high level. Truly the difference in the appreciation of politics between our informed and ignorant classes is as wide as the distance between heaven and earth. To maintain balance and harmony between them is most difficult, for as the wise add to their wisdom the foolish progress in their ignorance . . .

In Western nations political parties contend with one another, and each one tests its principles thoroughly. Often the intensity of party strife is conducive to party welfare, but this is because these parties are well established and mature. Since our party is newly organized and immature, we must not follow their example. It would be a great mistake for our new, immature party to thrash out its principles thoroughly and thus fall into disputes over trifles. . . .

The object of our union is to institute a form of government wherein the people shall have a voice in public affairs. Public opinion is the axis around which government policy should revolve. On its prosperity or decay depends the prosperity or decay of the government. For its promotion and a simultaneous inauguration of a beneficial policy we must educate the people in politics. The means by which good government and the happiness of the people can be assured is for the governed to control their rulers through the force of public opinion and prevent them from using their power arbitrarily. If those who are governed lack political knowledge and are ignorant of the technique by which public opinion can be made to control their rulers, even a good government and just laws can suddenly degenerate into despotism and oppression, and the people will be deprived of their just benefits.

Good governments depend on good people. Therefore, to reform the government and ensure lasting benefits from it, we should reform the national character and foster good people. We cannot hope for reform of the national character so long as the educated and the ignorant classes are so far apart in their understanding of politics as to lack a feeling of concord with each other. Therefore, our party should help the educated lead the ignorant and the ignorant to follow the educated onward, and thus spread political understanding and establish the welfare of the people on a sound foundation. . . .

Our party desires a liberal, not an interfering, government. The interference of a government with the private affairs of the people is due to its ignorance of the distinction between politics and religion or between public and personal matters. Government interference means the loss of independence. Our party should discriminate between politics and religion and oppose government interference with private affairs. Propagation of liberal principles by our party is a public, not a private, venture. Those who agree with us in public matters are good friends of liberty, and although they may not be in harmony with us in private affairs, we can still be in perfect accord with them otherwise. On the other hand, those who, no matter how intimate they may be with us privately, oppose the cause of liberty, cannot tread the same road with us.

[Itagaki, *Jiyūtō shi*, vol. 2, pp. 442–48; McLaren, *Japanese Government Documents*, pp. 605–13]

FUKUCHI GEN'ICHIRŌ

TEISEITŌ PLATFORM

Neither adhering to conservatism nor disputing with radicalism, we seek both reform and the preservation of national tranquillity through a continuous search for progress and order. It is to this end that we establish these basic principles of our party.

1. It has been made clear by imperial order that a national assembly will be convened in 1890. Our party will serve the emperor's will; we will not discuss any alteration of those plans.
2. It has been made clear by imperial order that a constitution will be granted by the emperor. Our party will observe the emperor's will; we will not violate the rule of the authorized constitution.
3. Sovereign power in the empire resides, indisputably, in the sole control of the emperor. The application of his will shall be regulated by the constitution.
4. We seek the establishment of two branches in the national assembly.
5. We seek to restrict the parliamentary electorate by basing the requirements on social standing.
6. We believe that the national assembly should be granted authority to enact laws for promulgation throughout the land.
7. The emperor should have the authority to approve or disapprove of the national assembly's decisions.
8. We maintain that naval and army men should not take part in government or politics.
9. We seek the independence of judicial officials in order to maintain the purity of our legal system.
10. We support freedom of speech and assembly as long as it does not interfere with national peace and order; we also seek freedom of public lectures, newspapers, and publication, within the limits of law.
11. We maintain that today's inconvertible paper money should be changed gradually into convertible paper money by a reform of the monetary system.

[*Tōkyō nichi nichi shinbun*, March 18, 1882; JH]

ŌKUMA SHIGENOBU

TO MEMBERS OF THE KAISHINTŌ, MARCH 14, 1882

I was one of those who labored in support of the glorious work of the Restoration in order that the monopoly of the empire's political power by the few families might be destroyed, and I do not imagine that my adherence to these principles will change in the future. No, I hope always to work with an ever firmer resolve for the achievement of the glorious work of the Restoration; for the laying of a foundation for our empire, which will last through all eternity; and for the everlasting preservation of the dignity and prosperity of the imperial household and the happiness of the people.

Some people, though they style themselves the party of "respect for the

emperor" and wear the trappings of that virtue, actually are seeking mainly to establish a few families as the bulwark of the imperial household or else to protect the imperial household with troops. The extremists of this group would push the sovereign to the very forefront and make him bear directly the brunt of the administration. They would, by their support of the imperial household, place it in a position of danger.

Is it actually possible to promote the dignity and prosperity of the imperial household by such means? No. . . . The tides of the progress from abroad reach us unhindered, and their strength is enormous. Today, when public opinion is universally inclined toward progress, any attempt to reverse this trend should be dismissed with scorn. Indeed, an examination of natural principles shows that reform and progress are the invariable law of all creation. Consider any objects, whatever their species, and you will see that every one advances from crude to refined and from coarse to pure; each improves without cease from day to day and progresses from month to month. To resist these forces stubbornly or to attempt to oppose the grand scheme of nature is surely a mistake. . . .

Political reform and progress are the unanimous wish of our party and have always been my abiding purpose. They must, however, be achieved by sound and proper means. . . . Some, the spiritual descendants of Rousseau, would seek their ultimate objectives by means of direct action, but such endeavors would upset the social order and end by actually impeding political reform. Our party entertains no such desire. We seek political reform and progress by sound and proper means and hope to reach our objectives step by step. Because we desire reform and progress by such means, if any among you follow Rousseau and would reenact the violent drama of the Jacobins in the hope of achieving precipitous changes, I reject your support and have no wish to travel further with you. And while I am emphatic in my rejection of precipitous changes, I feel it is important to distinguish our party from those that mask their real conservatism by pretending to stand for gradual progress.

Our party is the party that stands for political progress. By sound and proper means, we wish to achieve political reform and progress as complete as possible. We differ categorically from those parties that fail to act when the occasion demands it and that, under the guise of working for gradual progress, seek private advantage through deliberate procrastination.

[Watanabe, *Ōkuma Shigenobu*, pp. 92–95; JH]

OZAKI YUKIO

FACTIONS AND PARTIES

The significance of Itagaki Taisuke's address to the Liberal Party, presented earlier in this chapter, may be more readily appreciated in the light of observations on Japanese

party politics made later, in 1918, by the veteran progressive leader Ozaki Yukio. Ozaki's critique of factionalism could well apply to party politics almost the world over, but it was especially pertinent to the politics of Japan in the early twenty-first century.

Here in the Orient we have had the conception of a faction, but none of a public party. A political party is an association of people having for its exclusive object the discussion of public affairs of state and the enforcement of their views thereon. But when political parties are transplanted into the East, they at once partake of the nature of factions, pursuing private and personal interests instead of the interests of the state—as witnessed by the fact of their joining hands by turn with the clan cliques or using the construction of railways, ports and harbors, and schools, etc., as means for extending party influence. Besides, the customs and usages of feudal times are so deeply impressed upon the minds of men here that even the idea of political parties, as soon as it enters the brains of our countrymen, germinates and grows according to feudal notions. Such being the case, even political parties, which should be based and dissolved solely on principle and political views, are really affairs of personal connections and sentiments, the relations between the leader and the members of a party being similar to those which subsisted between a feudal lord and his liegemen, or to those between a "boss" of gamblers and his followers in this country. A politician scrupulous enough to join or desert a party for the sake of principle is denounced as a political traitor or renegade. That political faith should be kept not vis-à-vis its leader or its officers but vis-à-vis its principles and views is not understood. They foolishly think that the proverb "A faithful servant never serves two masters; a chaste wife never sees two husbands" is equally applicable to the members of a political party. In their erroneous opinion, it is a loyal act on the part of a member of a party to change his principles and views in accordance with orders from headquarters, while in the event of headquarters changing their views it is unfaithful to desert them.

[Ozaki, *The Voice of Japanese Democracy*, pp. 93–94]

BESTOWING THE CONSTITUTION ON THE PEOPLE, 1884–1889

Barely a week after the emperor promised the constitution in 1881, an office was established, with Itō Hirobumi as chair, to start the drafting process. The next spring, Itō led a group to Europe for an eighteen-month study of constitutional systems, particularly that of Germany. The drafters drew heavily on the advice of German legal scholars Herman Roessler and Lorenz von Stein, as well as the Japanese scholar-official Inoue Kowashi. Although the drafters cast their nets broadly in the search for ideas, they focused on systems that made the emperor absolute and limited the powers of the legislature. At the institu-

tional level, they spent the mid-1880s creating the structures necessary to support a modern constitutional monarchy: a peerage (1884), from which an upper house would be drawn; a cabinet (1885) to replace the Council of State (Dajōkan); and a privy council (1889) to ratify the constitution and consult with the emperor and the government. The Freedom and People's Rights (*jiyū minken*) forces were relatively quiet until the latter years of this period, partly because the parties were unable to sustain enthusiasm over a decade without elections, and partly because the government used harsh new laws to suppress political activity, even removing hundreds of political adversaries from the Tokyo region in 1887. The constitution was given to the Japanese people on February 11, 1889. It established the emperor's sovereignty and made the cabinet responsible to the emperor rather than to the legislature, even as it created the long-desired, if fairly weak, assembly. Although it is a conservative document, the Meiji constitution placed Japan in the mainstream of the world's leading constitutional governments, and the voting rights it granted to the people, along with the budgetary powers it gave to the Diet (parliament), set precedents that eventually led to universal male suffrage and a government dominated by the political parties.

ITŌ HIROBUMI

REMINISCENCES OF THE DRAFTING OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION

Looking back from 1908, Itō Hirobumi saw the constitutional drafting process as a balancing exercise, with the traditional emphases on harmony and submission preventing excesses in freedom and democracy. His self-portrait as the one who held together the center differs from pictures painted by his critics and most historians, who saw him as leaning in an absolutist direction toward a state in which the emperor and his advisers ruled with only restricted input from the "people." After a lengthy introduction in which Itō argues "that what was lacking in our countrymen of the feudal era was not mental or moral fiber but the scientific, technical, and materialistic side of modern civilization," he explains the "features of national life" that had to be taken into account in preparing the draft.

It was in the month of March 1882 that His Majesty ordered me to work out a draft of a constitution to be submitted for his approval. No time was to be lost, so I started on the fifteenth of the same month for an extended journey to different constitutional countries to make as thorough a study as possible of the actual workings of different systems of constitutional government, of their various provisions, as well as of theories and opinions actually entertained by influential persons on the actual stage itself of constitutional life. I took young men

with me, who all belonged to the elite of the rising generation, to assist and to cooperate with me in my studies. I sojourned about a year and a half in Europe, and having gathered the necessary materials, insofar as it was possible in so short a space of time, I returned home in September 1883. Immediately after my return I set to work to draw up the Constitution. . . .

Peculiar Features of the National Life

It was evident from the outset that mere imitation of foreign models would not suffice, for there were historical peculiarities of our country which had to be taken into consideration. For example, the Crown was, with us, an institution far more deeply rooted in the national sentiment and in our history than in other countries. . . . At the same time, it was also evident that any form of constitutional regime was impossible without full and extended protection of honor, liberty, property, and personal security of citizens, entailing necessarily many important restrictions on the powers of the Crown.

Emotional Elements in Social Life of People

On the other hand, there was one peculiarity of our social conditions that is without parallel in any other civilized country. Homogeneous in race, language, religion, and sentiments, so long secluded from the outside world, with the centuries-long traditions and inertia of the feudal system, in which the family and quasi-family ties permeated and formed the essence of every social organization, and moreover with such moral and religious tenets as laid undue stress on duties of fraternal aid and mutual succor, we had during the course of our seclusion unconsciously become a vast village community where cold intellect and calculation of public events were always restrained and even often hindered by warm emotions between man and man. . . . It must, of course, be admitted that this social peculiarity is not without beneficial influences. It mitigates the conflict, serves as the lubricator of social organisms, and tends generally to act as a powerful lever for the practical application of the moral principle of mutual assistance between fellow citizens. But unless curbed and held in restraint, it too may exercise baneful influences on society, for in a village community, where feelings and emotions hold a higher place than intellect, free discussion is apt to be smothered, attainment and transference of power liable to become a family question of a powerful oligarchy, and the realization of such a regime as constitutional monarchy to become an impossibility, simply because in any representative regime free discussion is a matter of prime necessity. . . . The good side of this social peculiarity had to be retained as much as possible, while its baneful influences had to be safeguarded.

Conflict Between the Old and New Thoughts

Another difficulty equally grave had to be taken into consideration. We were just then in an age of transition. The opinions prevailing in the country were extremely heterogeneous, and often diametrically opposed to each other. We had survivors of former generations who were still full of theocratic ideas and who believed that any attempt to restrict an imperial prerogative amounted to something like high treason. On the other hand, there was a large and powerful body of the younger generation educated at the time when the Manchester theory was in vogue, and who in consequence were ultraradical in their ideas of freedom. Members of the bureaucracy were prone to lend willing ears to the German doctrinaires of the reactionary period, while, on the other hand, the educated politicians among the people, having not yet tasted the bitter significance of administrative responsibility, were liable to be more influenced by the dazzling words and lucid theories of Montesquieu, Rousseau, and other similar French writers. A work entitled *History of Civilization [in England]*, by Buckle, which denounced every form of government as an unnecessary evil, became the great favorite of students of all the higher schools, including the Imperial University. On the other hand, these same students would not have dared to expound the theories of Buckle before their own conservative fathers. At that time we had not yet arrived at the stage of distinguishing clearly between political opposition, on the one hand, and treason to the established order of things, on the other. The virtues necessary for the smooth working of any constitution, such as love of freedom of speech, love of publicity of proceedings, the spirit of tolerance for opinions opposed to one's own, etc., had yet to be learned by long experience.

Draft of the Constitution Completed

It was under these circumstances that the first draft of the constitution was made and submitted to his Majesty, after which it was handed over to the mature deliberation of the Privy Council.

[Ōkuma, *Fifty Years of New Japan*, vol. 1, pp. 127–31]

CONTROLLING THE FREEDOM AND PEOPLE'S RIGHTS MOVEMENT

The quiescence of the Freedom and People's Rights (*jiyū minken*) movement in the 1880s did not relax the government's determination to curb speech that might stir up conflict. The first document illustrates both that fact and the emergence of women as public figures. Fukuda Hideko was one of several

women who wrote and spoke in the movement (sometimes over the objections of male movement leaders) for expanded popular participation in the national life, for greater equality between the sexes, and even for women's suffrage. The excerpt, from Fukuda's autobiography, describes the official roadblocks that popular rights advocates had to overcome. The second document is excerpted from newspaper accounts in 1887 of how, in accordance with the Peace Preservation Law, the police removed 570 potential political dissidents from Tokyo. The law was issued in response to agitation by the Freedom and People's Rights movement against weak official efforts to revise Japan's unequal treaties. Those arrested included Nakae Chōmin and Ozaki Yukio, the future mayor of Tokyo.

FUKUDA HIDEKO

MY LIFE THUS FAR (*HANSHŌGAI*)

That summer [1884], some Liberal Party members decided to gather along the Asahi River one evening, when it had cooled down. When they invited the women's social group to join in the excursion, I talked to our senior members, Mrs. Takeuchi and Mrs. Tsuge. They agreed, and we all took a boat out on the Asahi River. The party members sang freedom songs, accompanied by musical instruments, and even now, I am struck with the timeless feelings that overwhelmed me as those melancholy tunes wafted across the water. Just then, we heard a voice from another boat. A Liberal Party member was standing on shipboard, making a speech. People were getting worked into a frenzy; it made you shudder. If we had been in town, we surely would have been banned by the authorities. But there was no one out here, on the water, to prevent our anarchist camaraderie; so people just went on making more and more heated speeches. There was a fiery, yet somehow sad, feeling about it.

Suddenly, right there on the Asahi River, some men appeared in the water. Looking like sea goblins, they ordered the group to break up. We could hardly believe that some wretched policemen would hide in the water, suspicious of our boat excursion, and check up on us. The merrymaking on the boats had reached a peak by now, so the people began jostling about, shouting out: "Kill the water sprites (*kappa*)!" "We'll beat them to death!" Then, on the advice of some of our elders, we went away quietly. Fortunately, it did not turn into a serious episode. The next day, however, my school received the following decree from Mr. Takasaki, the prefectural governor: "There will be no further investigation." What did they mean, no further investigation? I sought out the authorities and asked why there would be no more questioning. My elder sister's husband, a member of the prefectural assembly's permanent standing commit-

tee, was told that it was because I had gone along on the Liberal Party's river excursion. Even he was reprimanded for it, although he was not, in the end, confined.

[Fukuda, *Warawa no hanshōgai*, p. 16; JH]

NEWSPAPER ACCOUNTS OF ARRESTS UNDER THE PEACE PRESERVATION LAW

Ozaki Yukio . . . nonchalantly approached the gate to his home, and someone nearby asked him to identify himself. He replied: "I am Ozaki Yukio. Is there anything suspicious about Yukio returning to Yukio's home?" The man responded that it was precisely Yukio for whom he was looking; he showed him a subpoena and told him to accompany him to the police station. Ozaki offered no resistance and was taken to the station, where he first passed through a small, clean waiting room.

After a wait, Ozaki was called in and given his deportation sentence, which left him completely stunned. He insisted on being told the reason for the sentence. Since the police could give him no explanation, he decided to go to Metropolitan Police Headquarters and demand an explanation there. His inquiry was equally futile at police headquarters. . . . Discouraged about ever receiving an explanation for his sentence, . . . he joked that he must write something about this mess.

Yagihara Shigetomi, who also received a deportation notice, left Tokyo for Yokohama the day before yesterday accompanied by a police escort. When Yagihara started to buy a first-class ticket at Shinbashi Station, his police escort stopped him and said that unfortunately he himself had only enough money for a second-class ticket. It would be difficult to guard Mr. Yagihara from a different section of the train, the officer said , . . . so Mr. Yagihara agreed to ride second class.

At one point, sixty-six deportees from the Kōchi area were all staying at the Matsui Inn at 5 Honchō Street. With a ratio of one policeman for each deportee, the inn was virtually surrounded by police. Whenever a deportee left the inn, he was followed by a policeman. There also were seven policemen assigned to duty inside each inn on the street.

An honest and simple farmer from Kōchi Prefecture by the name of Okimoto decided that rather than spend the rest of his life as a farmer, he would set out for the capital and look for a manservant's position. Unfamiliar with city life, he decided first to work for someone from his home prefecture and was hired as a servant by Takeuchi Kō. Okimoto later found the manservant's position he had wanted with Matsuoka Yōjirō, a dealer in products from Hokkaido, but

shortly thereafter he suddenly received a police summons. An honest man, he appeared trembling at the police station and inquired about the summons, only to learn that he had been ordered deported. Dazed, Okimoto went to Yokohama with his police escort. He returned home to his life as a farmer, determined that life here was preferable to the frightful capital.

One man (name unknown) was given a three- to four-day reprieve before being exiled. Realizing that the next several years would offer few opportunities to partake in the pleasures of beautiful women, he told his police escort that he would like to spend the evening with one of the "flowers of Yoshiwara," whereupon they called two rickshaws and set out for the famous pleasure quarters. The man went first to establishments where he was known, but even the courtesans who knew him were terrified when they saw the policemen and rejected his hapless entreaties. At other area brothels, where he was not known at all, he was politely refused entrance. After what amounted to a thorough tour of the area, he decided to try his luck at Nezu; he set out toward the southwest only to be courteously turned down by the brothels there, too. The man's efforts were to no avail. He returned home after a most uneventful night.

[*Jiji shinpō*, in *Meiji nyūsu jiten*, vol. 3, pp. 704–7; JH]

THE MEIJI CONSTITUTION

February 11, 1889, was a huge news day in Japan. Education Minister Mori Arinori was assassinated by an ultranationalist; the influential newspaper *Nihon* was launched; and the Meiji constitution was promulgated. The preamble reflects the near-total power given to the emperor and his cabinet. He bestowed the constitution on the people; he was the repository of state sovereignty; only he could initiate constitutional amendments; the ministers of state were responsible to him alone. The Diet, however, was given veto power over all laws (article 37) and the annual budget (article 64), responsibilities that soon translated into enough power to shape national debates and topple governments. The Meiji constitution remained in effect until 1947.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE EMPIRE OF JAPAN

Preamble

Having, by virtue of the glories of Our Ancestors, ascended the Throne of a lineal succession unbroken for ages eternal; desiring to promote the welfare of, and to give development to the moral and intellectual faculties of Our beloved subjects, the very same that have been favored with the benevolent care and affectionate vigilance of Our Ancestors; and hoping to maintain the prosperity

of the State, in concert with Our people and with their support, We hereby promulgate, in pursuance of Our Imperial Rescript of the twelfth day of the tenth month of the fourteenth year of Meiji, a fundamental law of State, to exhibit the principles, by which We are to be guided in Our conduct, and to point out to what Our descendants and Our subjects and their descendants are forever to conform.

The rights of sovereignty of the State, We have inherited from Our Ancestors, and We shall bequeath them to Our descendants. Neither We nor they shall in future fail to wield them, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution hereby granted.

We now declare to respect and protect the security of the rights and of the property of Our people, and to secure to them the complete enjoyment of the same, in the extent of the provisions of the present Constitution and of the law.

The Imperial Diet shall first be convoked for the twenty-third year of Meiji and the time of its opening shall be the date when the present Constitution comes into force.

When in the future it may become necessary to amend any of the provisions of the present Constitution, We or Our successors shall assume the initiative right, and submit a project for the same to the Imperial Diet. The Imperial Diet shall pass its vote upon it, according to the conditions imposed by the present Constitution, and in no otherwise shall Our descendants or Our subjects be permitted to attempt any alteration thereof.

Our Ministers of State, on Our behalf, shall be held responsible for the carrying out of the present Constitution, and Our present and future subjects shall forever assume the duty of allegiance to the present Constitution.

Chapter I: The Emperor

Article 1. The Empire of Japan shall be reigned over and governed by a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal.

Article 2. The Imperial Throne shall be succeeded to by Imperial male descendants, according to the provisions of the Imperial House Law.

Article 3. The Emperor is sacred and inviolable.

Article 4. The Emperor is the head of the Empire, combining in Himself the rights of sovereignty, and exercises them, according to the provisions of the present Constitution.

Article 5. The Emperor exercises the legislative power with the consent of the Imperial Diet.

Article 6. The Emperor gives sanction to laws, and orders them to be promulgated and executed.

Article 7. The Emperor convokes the Imperial Diet, opens, closes, and prorogues it, and dissolves the House of Representatives.

Article 11. The Emperor has the supreme command of the Army and Navy.

Chapter II: Rights and Duties of Subjects

Article 22. Japanese subjects shall have the liberty of abode and of changing the same within the limits of the law.

Article 23. No Japanese subject shall be arrested, detained, tried or punished, unless according to law.

Article 26. Except in the cases mentioned in the law, the secrecy of the letters of every Japanese subject shall remain inviolate.

Article 27. The right of property of every Japanese subject shall remain inviolate. . . .

Article 28. Japanese subjects shall, within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects, enjoy freedom of religious belief.

Article 29. Japanese subjects shall, within the limits of law, enjoy the liberty of speech, writing, publication, public meetings and associations.

Chapter III: The Imperial Diet

Article 33. The Imperial Diet shall consist of two Houses, a House of Peers and a House of Representatives.

Article 34. The House of Peers shall, in accordance with the ordinance concerning the House of Peers, be composed of the members of the Imperial Family, of the orders of nobility, and of those who have been nominated thereto by the Emperor.

Article 35. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members elected by the people, according to the provisions of the law of Election.

Article 38. Both Houses shall vote upon projects of law submitted to it by the Government, and may respectively initiate projects of law.

Chapter VI: Finance

Article 62. The imposition of a new tax or the modification of the rates (of an existing one) shall be determined by law.

Article 63. The taxes levied at present shall, in so far as they are not remodeled by a new law, be collected according to the old system.

Article 64. The expenditure and revenue of the State require the consent of the Imperial Diet by means of an annual Budget.

Article 67. Those already fixed expenditures based by the Constitution upon the powers appertaining to the Emperor, and such expenditures as may have arisen by the effect of law, or that appertain to the legal obligations of the Government, shall be neither rejected nor reduced by the Imperial Diet, without the concurrence of the Government.

Article 71. When the Imperial Diet has not voted on the Budget, or when

the Budget has not been brought into actual existence, the Government shall carry out the Budget of the preceding year.

[Tiedemann, *Modern Japan*, pp. 114–23]

UBUKATA TOSHIRŌ

"THE PROMULGATION OF THE CONSTITUTION" (KENPŌ HAPPU)

In "The Promulgation of the Constitution," written in 1926, the journalist Ubukata Toshirō recalls both the sense of excitement that pervaded Japan, even in its mountainous recesses, when the Meiji constitution was promulgated and the disillusionment of his fellow Gunma villagers when the constitution did not live up to its promise. The pride lay in two factors: the opening up of government to the people, and Japan's role as Asia's first constitutional state. Japan, said one provincial paper, was now "worthy of being called a nation." The cynicism arose from the fact that very few people were allowed to vote and from the domination of politics by wealthy elites.

The promulgation of the constitution was the first epochal event of my childhood. I was in kindergarten then, ready to enter first grade that spring. What did I know about the significance of the constitution? We lived in the north, and if I recall correctly, it snowed that day—not all that much, perhaps four or five inches. The roads and rooftops were completely white. Every street corner in my small village was beautifully decorated. My friends and I went to see the ornaments at the cocoon market a block or two from home. They had piled up soy sauce barrels, not a spectacular sight to the eyes of a child, I suppose. I heard that various meetings had been planned but had to be called off because of the snowfall. We celebrated at home by cooking special rice. These things were not as much fun as the festivals we had every summer, yet somehow the event engraved itself vividly on my young mind.

My father, a great supporter of the constitution, had gone to Tokyo for the celebrations. He took my older brother with him, so it was lonely at home. Father liked me and might have taken me along, but he had taken me to Tokyo on a spring sightseeing trip two years earlier, when I was six. They returned two or three days later, bringing me a little book of magic tricks and a toy as souvenirs. . . . I remember that all the adults were talking about the promulgation of the constitution. The people in my village were much more interested in politics than people are today. Our region long had been a stronghold of the Liberal Party (Jiyūtō). . . . My uncle especially loved politics, and from the time when I was a child, [he] would talk to me about [important political figures]. I also heard my father and his friends talk often about local politicians. . . .

One of my recollections from those childhood days is that the promulgation

of the constitution did not really bring about much change in the provincial people. It fell short of their expectations; they felt betrayed by it. Not until the Sino-Japanese War did the provincial people really come to trust, or submit to, the new Meiji government. Even three years after the promulgation, my townsmen still were as insubordinate as they had been in earlier years. They did not create disturbances, but neither did they trust the government. At least that was my impression as a young child. The people in my area harbored antipathy toward the new government. They still sympathized with the rebel Saigō Takamori and talked from time to time about the possibility that even now, he was living on a mountain somewhere. . . .

Surprisingly, provincial political enthusiasm faded quickly once representative government was established. At a Meiji Gakuin alumni meeting held at San'entei this spring [1926], one of my older classmates recollected a song that was popular in the dormitory back then. It went: "May three things occur. May the school burn down. May Mr. M— die of cholera. May the national assembly open." Mr. M— was a stern dormitory superintendent. Everyone had been calling for a national assembly back then. How ignorant we were not to realize that our calls would lead to such a farce, to the meaningless assembly of fools that we have today. . . . The popular movement to create a national assembly was not, in truth, a movement of all Japanese. It was a movement of ex-samurai alone, men who were dissatisfied with the Satsuma–Chōshū regime: failed politicians like Ōkuma and Itagaki who had been expelled from the government, along with rich merchants and prosperous farmers in the bourgeois class—nothing more than that. . . . The Popular Election Theater attracted patrons by promising wealth for the nation and happiness for the people. All its actors did, however, was to stuff the pockets of the rich class.

[Ubukata, "Kenpō happu to Nisshin sensō," pp. 80–87; JH]

Chapter 40

EDUCATION IN MEIJI JAPAN

Education in Meiji Japan (1868–1912) was both more and less than what it had been before. It was more in that the national school system eventually came to include nearly every child in the nation; the system had a central authority that provided uniform standards across the country; attendance became compulsory, seriously revising the lifestyles of children and parents throughout the country; teachers were trained at state-run facilities; and textbooks were authorized and even published by central authorities. By the end of the Meiji period, almost every school-age child was attending school, and very large numbers were staying for the full six years of compulsory elementary schooling. By 1912, a significant number of children were beginning to move beyond the elementary levels into the middle and upper levels and even into the two imperial universities, Kyoto Imperial University having been added to Tokyo Imperial University in 1897. In effect, the country had succeeded in bringing all children into a centrally controlled system and in training them in the basic rudiments of literacy as well as civic virtue, considered essential to make a competitive global power out of what had been a decentralized jumble of feudal domains only a few decades earlier.

Education in the Meiji period was also, in some ways, less. Although it had succeeded in bringing large numbers of children into its net, it had, out of necessity, standardized the teaching methods, subject matter, and goals and had

homogenized what had been a diverse, if limited, educational universe. In the Tokugawa period (1603–1868), education had been essentially class based, with segregated schools for the samurai class and a wide variety of autonomous and ad hoc institutions for the common classes: merchants, farmers, artisans, and assorted others. For most, education was largely a family endeavor, with decisions about what school to go to, how long to stay, and so forth being private matters. Teachers taught whatever pleased them, and the variety was impressive. There is no evidence of daimyo or *bakufu* authorities closing down a school because of the subject matter taught, with the sole exception of institutions known to be bent on sedition. But the constituency of official schools was limited to samurai, who required Confucian-based schooling as the leaders of society and in order to perform effectively as urban bureaucrats in the castle towns. Merchants, who required book knowledge and numbers to do business, and the leaders of the farming class, who were responsible for administering Japan's sixty thousand or so villages for their feudal overseers, picked up the basics of literacy at writing schools or continued on to one of the various private academies.

The major accomplishment of education in the Meiji period was centralization and standardization across the entire population. This did not happen at once, nor did it proceed smoothly, because education in Meiji Japan was one of the most contentious areas of national life, bearing on the interests of parents, children, political authorities, educational professionals, and ideologues of every stripe who sought conformity to their own view of a model citizenry. Education involved not only questions about standards, control, and educational outcomes but also issues of the citizens' relation to the government bureaucracy and the imperial state and of the way such things should be expressed and taught to the young. The policy debates and decisions made about national educational policy as well as the public responses to and criticisms of it reveal much about the people, politics, cultural values, and ideologies of the time.

The early Meiji leaders agreed on the need to create a national system of education in order to develop the people's talents and to consolidate a national citizenry responsive to the goals of the central regime. They did not agree, however, on the means to accomplish these objectives. The serpentine twists and turns as the process unfolded reflected the conflicts and confusions of the Meiji years as a whole. There was little question that the government's first priority was to establish a system of higher education that would attract the best talent in the country to the leadership. Despite the Western themes in the imperial Charter Oath of April 6, 1868, such as "Knowledge shall be sought throughout the world" and "The common people, no less than the civil and military officials, shall each be allowed to pursue his own calling," the new government's first educational initiative was to open the Peers' School (Gaku-

shūin) for the court nobility in Kyoto. Not unexpectedly, the philosophy defining the curriculum of the Meiji government's first school was imperial restorationist Shinto.

This philosophy led to three years of bitter conflict among specialists of Confucian studies (the entrenched leaders of higher education), Shintoists (guardians of nativist thought), and adherents of Western studies as to who would determine the content and goals of education. There was also conflict between the authorities in Kyoto (the traditional seat of higher education) and Tokyo (the new capital) over the location of the new university. The outcome of such basic educational matters was determined by the consolidation of political and military power in a group of young oligarchs who looked to the West as the model for building a modern state. As the state grew, fewer concessions were made to the traditional holders of power—court nobles, Confucian scholars, and Shintoists. In the spring of 1869, when the emperor's residence moved from Kyoto to Tokyo, plans to divide the new university into Kyoto and Tokyo branches were dropped in favor of a single institution in Tokyo. By the summer of 1870, when the new regime had full political and military control, plans for integrating Confucian, Shinto, and Western learning programs in the new university were set aside. The growing influence of Westernizing pragmatists like Itō Hirobumi and Kido Takayoshi at the center of power ended the Confucian domination of higher education, and Western scholars took uncontested control of the new Tokyo Imperial University. This became the government's central institution for assimilating the advanced and practical knowledge of the West.

With the university in place, in the summer of 1871 the government turned its attention to creating a national system of public elementary schools. A central office of education (Monbushō), which became the Ministry of Education in 1886, was established on September 2, 1871, and a committee was appointed to draft a national plan. A year later, on September 5, 1872, all schools in the country were ordered closed, in order to reopen according to provisions of a new national plan called Gakusei (literally, School System, but often called the Fundamental Code of Education). The Preamble to the new code, strongly utilitarian in spirit and clearly reflecting the ideas of Westernizers like Fukuzawa Yukichi, made it clear that under the new system the goals of education would be quite different from the mostly Confucian goals of loyalty and filial piety that had defined official schools during the Tokugawa period. Instead, self-improvement, training for individual success in life, and equality of opportunity for all people were made the explicit goals of public education in Japan.

The new school plan provided the first comprehensive national school system for Japan, with the entire country divided into university, middle school, and elementary school districts. Although compulsory education was set at four years, it was not strictly enforced in many regions, and adherence to the plan's many provisions was scattershot and ineffectual in some areas. Nevertheless, the Fundamental Code of Education (Gakusei) announced that henceforth

education in Japan was to be a central government enterprise; it established a focal point around which public views on education could form as the Japanese wrestled with the complicated issues surrounding the goals and structures for national education.

The immediate response to the new plan was frustration and disappointment because it had vastly overestimated what was realistically possible in a short time. Although enrollment went up, it varied greatly around the country, and in many areas, the enrollment of girls trailed that of boys by a significant margin. A crescendo of complaints arose from parents because they had to bear almost the entire cost and because most of the textbooks were filled with translations from American textbooks, which they saw as useless. The new Education Law (Kyōikurei) of 1879 was intended to address these complaints by turning over more control to local authorities and reducing the compulsory attendance requirement from eight years to four months each year for four years. The result was a general slackening of effort down the line, and the perceived weakening of central authority led to flight from the system. The Westernizing spirit of the 1879 law was met head-on by no less than the emperor himself. Having returned from a trip to the provinces and disturbed by what he had observed in schools, the emperor issued an imperial proclamation, the Imperial Rescript on Education (Kyōgaku taishi), actually written by his Confucian adviser, Motoda Eifu, that called for a return to traditional values in education. This, in turn, was rebutted by Itō Hirobumi, who viewed the spiritual malaise among people as related more to rapid social change than Western notions of individual self-fulfillment.

Efforts to reform the educational system toward greater support for the state culminated in 1886 in a series of school ordinances designed and implemented by Mori Arinori. The fundamental principle behind the school ordinances expressed by Mori, as the first minister of education, was that education should primarily serve the interests of the state. He repeatedly emphasized this statist philosophy of national education in order to shift the goals of the state system away from the more individualistic philosophy embodied in the Preamble to the Fundamental Code of Education and other legislation of the 1870s. Mori's plan called for a "dual structure" of schools. At the bottom, elementary schools, locally financed and teaching basic literacy and numeracy, were redirected to inculcate proper character and patriotic loyalty; pupils would be guided by teachers trained in teacher-training schools run along military lines, complete with uniforms and military-style drills, which Mori believed to be essential to moral cultivation. At the top, the newly designed imperial university, which was nationally financed and trained elites for government service, provided relative academic freedom, although within parameters defined by the national interest.

This structure was shaped like a dumbbell, with the higher and elementary institutions at either end and the middle schools (somewhat later in develop-

ment) in between, functioning as an elite sorting mechanism. The middle schools themselves had a dual structure: a terminal course for training mid-level specialists and teachers and a university preparatory course, later separated as higher schools (*kōtō gakkō*), providing direct access to the imperial university. Each prefecture was to concentrate public funds on only one middle school, thereby putting it far out of reach of girls and the majority of boys. It was not until the Middle School Ordinance of 1889 was enacted that middle schools were finally made part of the overall structure, but it was Mori, earlier, who first unequivocally proclaimed secondary education to be the privilege of the few and not the prerogative of the many. Nevertheless, despite these elitist intentions, the existence of middle schools provided access upward for all. By 1890, the proportion of non-samurai families in middle schools climbed above 50 percent for the first time and continued to rise. The path may have been narrow, but some upward mobility was possible, and the system was no longer primarily class based.

With Mori Arinori's school ordinances of 1886, a distinctive Japanese organization of schools had taken shape and remained in place until 1945. To be sure, the system was not yet fully formed. School attendance did not reach nearly universal levels until the end of the Meiji period, and even then, in some localities where factory work and baby-sitting were viewed as more practical alternatives, many girls dropped out. Movement upward through the system remained limited during the Meiji period, and there was only one recognized university until 1897, when Kyoto Imperial University was added to Tokyo Imperial University.

Throughout the process of building a modern educational system, two major issues continued to be hotly contested: (1) new values (largely derived from the West) versus traditional Confucian morality and (2) central government control of education versus local authority. Mori himself did not advocate the narrow, emperor-centered nationalism that took over the educational system in later years, nor did he try to impose a national creed on children through morals courses in schools. He did not believe in the central control of all educational matters, preferring some local initiative, for example, in the selection of textbooks. The battles over these matters intensified in 1889 when a new constitution was promulgated and in 1890 with the Imperial Rescript on Education. The Meiji constitution created a new parliament composed partly of elected members who were eager to enter the ideological debates to represent the views of their constituents. The Imperial Rescript on Education, which was supposed to bring closure to the disagreements both inside and outside the government over the ethical content of national education, had the effect of stirring up more debate.

The Imperial Rescript on Education was not, as is frequently alleged, just a triumph of Confucian reactionaries over Western reformers. Rather, its broad conceptual sweep and ambiguous language allowed all sides of the ideological

struggles to claim it as their own. It linked Confucian notions of loyalty and filial piety; nativist ideas of a unique national essence (*kokutai*), with the emperor as the source of virtue; and Western traditions of civil obedience, respect for law, and sacrifice for the national good. The document itself was distributed to every school and displayed along with the portrait of the emperor. Principals were instructed to read from the rescript on appropriate occasions, and students were required to study the text for moral lessons. To the extent that it became a civic icon, it brought on abuses because traditionalists could exert control merely by invoking its aura. In the name of the rescript, in 1891 traditionalists attacked Uchimura Kanzō (1861–1930), a Christian teacher at the First Higher Normal School in Tokyo, for alleged disrespect to the emperor. They denounced Professor Kume Kunitake (1839–1931) of Tokyo Imperial University for suggesting that Shinto was outmoded. This, in turn, led the other side to criticize the increasing uniformity, rigidity, and formality of Japanese education as it was developed under bureaucratic leadership. Later, the rescript became the pretext for an increasingly virulent form of nationalism that focused narrowly on a mythic imperial cause.

It would be a mistake, however, to view the national leadership as stridently nationalistic at the end of the nineteenth century. On the contrary, the upsurge of nationalism among the public (including teachers) that followed the Sino-Japanese War (1894/1895) put bureaucratic leaders on the defensive. Saionji Kinmochi (1849–1940), who served as the minister of education from 1894 to 1896 (also in 1898 and again early in 1906), tried to turn the educational tide away from a focus on the unique character of the Japanese spirit toward more pragmatic and global considerations. Minister of Education Kabayama Sukenori (1837–1922), serving in the cabinet of General Yamagata Aritomo from 1898 to 1900, appointed to various bureaus progressive young bureaucrats like Sawayanagi Masatarō (1865–1927), who drew up a set of policies uniquely enlightened for a cabinet and a ministry headed by military men. The Revised Elementary School Ordinance of August 1900 abolished elementary school tuition, making schools free for the first time; included a one-year extension to compulsory education; reduced the number of hours of instruction; standardized the Japanese syllabary, leading to a jump in literacy among children; limited the number of Chinese characters to be taught; and abolished the examination system.

During the Meiji period, much of the debate over local autonomy, as opposed to central control of education, focused on textbooks. Although ministry certification had been required since Mori's school ordinances of 1886, publication had remained under the control of private firms, and choices among competing texts could be made at the local level. Beginning in 1901 with newspaper reports, public concern was raised by a graft case involving more than two hundred local officials accused of accepting bribes from publishers interested in securing government approval for privately compiled school textbooks.

The "textbook scandal" of 1903, coming at the end of the term of Minister of Education Kikuchi Dairoku (1855–1917), opened the door to parliamentary action. Demands for action came originally not from Ministry of Education officials seeking control but from opposition politicians and educators. There were two main reasons: (1) to reduce the cost of compulsory education by eliminating bribery associated with textbook approval and (2) to achieve national unity in the area of popular morality, which conservative forces in politics and many educators felt had been undermined by the spread of individualism and capitalism. In the end, parliament gave the Ministry of Education an exclusive mandate to commission and publish all school textbooks. Local selection options were abolished, and all elementary schools were required to adopt identical state-approved textbooks. From then until the end of World War II, Japanese elementary school textbooks were written, published, and distributed by the Ministry of Education.

Unlike the Sino-Japanese War, the Russo-Japanese War (1904/1905) made huge demands on the educational system. Funds to support compulsory education diminished, and educational activities generally were cut back. The number of teachers had to be reduced despite the expansion of enrollment brought on by the patriotic frenzy surrounding the war. Hostility toward the enemy reached such a fever pitch that the Ministry of Education felt compelled to warn teachers about excesses of patriotic zeal. Once the popular reaction to the government's perceived weakness in the Portsmouth Treaty negotiations ending the war had subsided, attention was quickly redirected to maintaining and advancing the international position to which military victory had suddenly elevated Japan. A progressive educational theory even prospered for several years after the war before a conservative reaction to the rise of socialism swung the pendulum back to traditional ideology and tightened the morals curriculum around the virtues of duty to the family, respect for the gods, and reverence for the emperor.

By the end of the Meiji period, educational reformers had carried out a revolution in education. In terms of school attendance, Japan entered the twentieth century on a par with the advanced nations of the West. Virtually the entire male and female populations were entering modern schools, and about half the male population was completing elementary school. Secondary and tertiary education were less impressive, as were the opportunities for women, but compared with forty years earlier, it was a different world. Just as Japan's success in its wars with China and Russia earned it a measure of acceptance by the Western powers, schoolchildren in Japan now had a vastly superior knowledge of world affairs.

More significantly, Japanese leaders had committed themselves to learning and borrowing from abroad while preserving essential traditions. The battles between traditional and modern values had yielded an eclectic mix, with both

sides having to answer powerful critics both inside and outside government. The debate over central versus local control of education had swung to the former, following the public's pressure on the Ministry of Education to take over textbook selection, but local authorities continued to be heard on a wide range of issues. The multilayered web of Meiji educational thought and practice left a decidedly mixed and ambiguous legacy. Thus it could be argued that the progressive experimentation in education during the brief Taishō period (1912–1926), the rise of ultranationalism and the military takeover of the schools afterward, and the assimilation of American-inspired reforms after World War II all owed something to different strands from the Meiji legacy in education.

VIEWS IN THE EARLY MEIJI PERIOD

IWAKURA TOMOMI AND ARISTOCRATIC EDUCATION

Although education during the first decade of the Meiji period (1868–1912) is often characterized as "Western dominated," the very first initiative by the emerging leadership group with respect to education was to advocate training for the imperial aristocracy. Iwakura Tomomi (1825–1883), the most influential member of the nobility and a powerful government leader during the transition years between the Tokugawa and Meiji periods, was the leading force behind a traditional education for court aristocrats. Iwakura was convinced that a true restoration required a return to the ancient imperial polity that had existed before the ascendancy of the military class, the samurai (*bushi*). If that polity was to be restored, then it was essential to train the nobles to be as capable of leadership as the samurai were.

"ADMONITIONS TO COURT NOBLES"

In his "Admonitions to Court Nobles," written in 1866, two years before the Restoration coup, Iwakura Tomomi tried to stir the long dormant nobility to action. Two years later, shortly after the overthrow of the shogunal regime, Iwakura, believing that the time for the courtiers had come, again admonished the Kyoto aristocracy, urging on it the necessity for education.

The reason our imperial land lost its martial vigor is that the imperial court abandoned its military prerogative, and this happened because the nobility was arrogant and lazy. The responsibility for the failure to restore the country's former glory therefore must be shouldered by the nobles themselves. How, then, can we blame the samurai alone? In this time of crisis, it is of the utmost

importance for the court to take the initiative in putting the country in order and external pressures under control. If that is to be achieved, above all the nobility must cooperate wholeheartedly and participate in the imperial design, thus setting an example for the *bushi*.

[*Iwakura Tomomi kankei monjo*, vol. 1, pp. 224–25; trans. adapted from Motoyama, *Proliferating Talent*, p. 86]

"FURTHER ADMONITIONS"

Orders to pursue and smite the bandits shall at length make imperial authority flourish. All the nobility—from imperial princes and the highest nobles down to titular officials not ranked as chamberlains—should be inspired to the most strenuous efforts, ready to give their lives in loyal service to the cause of the imperial court. Some, however, remain uninvolved spectators of events and expect to receive stipends for doing nothing. . . . The times demand that hereditary stipends be decreased, not increased. If someone performs distinguished service, he may then be given an individual, not a heritable, increase in stipend. Insofar as offices and ranks are concerned, the traditional social hierarchy also will be reformed: instead of hereditary family status, appointments will be made on the basis of talent. Keeping this in mind, all should earnestly devote themselves to the study of arms and arts. . . . It is intended that those who, studying night and day, reach a level of accomplishment shall be rewarded with an official appointment commensurate with their talents. Do not be remiss; persist in your endeavor!

[*Iwakura Kō jikki*, vol. 1, p. 1009; trans. adapted from Motoyama, *Proliferating Talent*, pp. 86–87]

KIDO TAKAYOSHI AND ITŌ HIROBUMI ON UNIVERSAL EDUCATION

Kido Takayoshi (Kōin, 1833–1877) and Itō Hirobumi (1841–1909) were the first of the influential early Meiji statesmen to enunciate ideas of universal public education directed at training every child and not just elites. In contrast to Iwakura Tomomi's early views that it was the members of the court aristocracy who needed to be trained, Kido and Itō, whose views eventually won the day, concentrated on a mass public-education system intended to educate the entire population of the country.

During his short career, Kido, best known for his drafting of the Charter Oath and his work on establishing the prefectural system, took an active interest in educational matters. Itō, as the first prime minister and the chief architect of the Meiji constitution of 1890, played a key role in guiding Japan in its

formative years as a modern nation. He also understood the importance of education in that process. About a month after Kido submitted his proposal urging universal education, Itō, who at the time (early 1869) was the governor of Hyōgo Prefecture, submitted an even more reformist view in "Principles of National Policy."

Itō was convinced that education had played an important role in securing the foundations of a modern state, and he believed that developing every person's intellectual ability would naturally lead to a Western type of "civilization and enlightenment" (*bunmei kaika*). Rejecting both the dualism that characterized the feudal age, when one type of education was provided for the ruling classes and another for the ruled, and the conventional view that schools were meant primarily to enhance national strength and prosperity, Itō linked education to the activation and enhancement of the individual's natural capacity for knowledge.

KIDO TAKAYOSHI: DRAFT MEMORIAL FOR THE IMMEDIATE PROMOTION OF UNIVERSAL EDUCATION

With reverence I, Jun'ichirō (changed to Takayoshi later in 1869), submit this memorial. Not a year has passed since the restoration of imperial governance and the Tōhoku insurgents have completely capitulated. Following your majesty's wishes we endeavor to relieve the lingering resistance of the previous military government. Domestically we shall carry out the policies of governing equitably among the citizenry while externally we strive to cope with the rich and powerful nations of the West. I have no doubt that these are your wishes.

I have long obeyed the august imperial will and, although unworthy, have exhausted my energies deliberating on the future state of affairs. If the people remain ignorant and poor and are unable to improve themselves, even if a few exemplary men provide support for imperial governance, it will not be sufficient to make the country wealthy and strong. The restoration government will inevitably fall prey to despotism and the expectations of the imperial restoration will falter. The strength and prosperity of a country lie in the strength and prosperity of its people. If ordinary people are held back by ignorance and poverty, the beautiful phrase "imperial restoration" has no meaning, and the effort of keeping up with the leading countries of the world must fail.

Therefore, we should strive for advancement in knowledge of all the people. We must select knowledge from the civilized nations, promote schools throughout the country, and cause education to be spread widely. This is a matter of utmost urgency. Even if we start right away, it stands to reason that it will take time to accomplish. It would not be wise to copy hastily from the advanced nations. On the contrary, I believe that expedient and superficial knowledge

would foment incalculable discontent among our people. I humbly request that a timely decision be rendered.

With awe and reverence, I remain your humble servant,
Kido Jun'ichirō [Takayoshi]
Boshin 12.2 (January 14, 1869)

[Katō et al., *Kido Takayoshi*, in *NKST*, vol. 6, p. 13; trans. Charles Andrews]

ITŌ HIROBUMI: "PRINCIPLES OF NATIONAL POLICY" (KOKUZE KŌMOKU)

The human body is endowed with eyes, ears, nose, and mouth, and each of these must be used in accordance with its function. If, while knowing how the nose and mouth perform their functions, we then fail to realize how to apply the eyes and ears to theirs, that would be the same as not having eyes or ears. Today, the world situation has changed dramatically. Engaged in intercourse with all the world, men vie with each other to keep their ears and eyes open, gaining information that spreads as from one person to another and eventually reaches ten thousand. Accordingly, we have initiated a policy of civilization and enlightenment. Now is our millennial opportunity to reform the bad old habits that have been followed in our imperial land for centuries and to open up the eyes and ears of the people of our realm. If, at this juncture, we fail to act quickly and make our people broadly pursue useful knowledge from throughout the world, we will in the end reduce them to a backward folk without eyes and ears. We must therefore establish new universities and change our old, conventional style of learning. A university should be founded in each of the capital cities, Kyoto and Tokyo, and elementary schools should be opened in every locality, from metropolitan districts, domains, and prefectures on down to every district and village. Pursuant to each university's charter, people of city and country alike shall be brought to the light and to knowledge.

[*Itō Hirobumi den*, vol. 1, p. 423; Motoyama, *Proliferating Talent*, pp. 117–18]

FUKUZAWA YUKICHI AND EDUCATION

Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835–1901) was one of the most influential proponents of both public and private education and a strong supporter of learning from the West (see chaps. 36 and 38). He also was a writer, a publicist, an educator, and a journalist. As a young man, he rejected traditional learning and gravitated to the new ideas coming from the West. His private school, Keiō gijuku, founded as a school of Western learning before the Meiji Restoration, later became one of Japan's great private universities. In the following excerpt from *An Encour-*

agement of Learning (*Gakumon no susume*), his most popular and widely quoted essay on education, Fukuzawa gives his view of the importance of education in general, attacks the traditional learning of the past, supports practical learning, and makes the case for studying the West and the rest of the world.

AN ENCOURAGEMENT OF LEARNING (*GAKUMON NO SUSUME*)

An Encouragement of Learning was begun in 1872 and finished in 1876, and its first edition sold 200,000 copies. It eventually went through seventeen printings, a total of 3.4 million copies during Fukuzawa Yukichi's lifetime, making it one of the best-selling and most influential works of the Meiji period. The entire work consists of seventeen sections. Section 1, from which an extended excerpt follows, was used widely as an ethics text in the 1870s but was banned in 1881 as part of the government's reaction to the Freedom and People's Rights movement and Western influences in education.

It is said that heaven does not create one person above or below another person. This means that when people are born from heaven, they all are equal. There is no innate distinction between high and low. It means that people can freely and independently use the myriad things of the world to satisfy their daily needs through the labors of their own bodies and minds and that, as long as they do not infringe on the rights of others, may pass their days in happiness. Nevertheless, as we broadly survey the human scene, there are the wise and the stupid, the rich and poor, the noble and lowly, whose conditions seem to differ as greatly as the clouds and the mud. The reason for this is clear. In the *Jitsugokyō* (*Practical Instruction*) we read that if a person does not learn he will be ignorant and that a person who is ignorant is stupid. Therefore the distinction between wise and stupid comes down to a matter of education.

Moreover, there are difficult and easy professions in society. The person who performs difficult work is regarded as an individual of high station. One who performs easy work is called a person of low station. Work involving intellectual effort is considered more difficult than work done through one's own physical strength. Consequently, such persons as doctors, scholars, government officials, merchants who manage large businesses, [and] farmers who employ many hands are considered noble and of high station. Being such, their households are naturally wealthy, and they seem to tower above and out of reach of the lower levels of society. But when we inquire into the reason for this, we find that these differences are entirely the result of whether they have or do not have the powers that learning brings. It is not because of some decree of heaven. As the proverb says: Heaven does not give riches and dignity to man himself but to his labors. Therefore, as I said above, there are no innate status distinctions

separating the noble and base, the rich and the poor. It is only the person who has studied diligently, so that he has a mastery over things and events, who becomes noble and rich, while his opposite becomes base and poor.

Learning does not consist essentially of such impractical pursuits as studying obscure Chinese characters, reading ancient texts that are difficult to make out, or enjoying and writing poetry. These kinds of interests may be useful diversions, but they should not be esteemed as highly as the Confucian and Japanese Learning scholars have esteemed them since ancient times. Among the Chinese Learning scholars, those who have been skilled in practical matters have been few indeed. Rare also has been the merchant who, if well versed in poetry, was also successful in business. Consequently, we observe that when they see their own children concentrating on books, thoughtful merchants and peasants fear as good parents that they will eventually bring the family fortune to ruin. This is not without reason. And it proves that such forms of learning are ultimately without practical value and will not serve daily needs.

Such impractical studies thus should be relegated to a secondary position. The object of one's primary efforts should be practical learning that is closer to ordinary human needs. For example, a person should learn the forty-seven-*kana* syllabary, methods of letter writing and of accounting, the practice of the abacus, the way to handle weights and measures, and the like. And there are many additional things to be learned. Geography is the guide to the climates of not only Japan but also the many countries of the world. Physics is the science that investigates the properties and functions of the myriad things of the universe. Histories are books that study the condition of the countries of the past and present through a detailed chronicling of the historical ages. Economics explains the financial management of self, family, and the state. Ethics expounds the natural principles of personal moral cultivation and of social intercourse.

To study each of these areas, a person should investigate translations of Western books. A boy who is talented in letters should be taught to read Western languages. By grasping the practical matters of each science, which vary in subject matter and content, he can search for the truth of things and make them serve his present purposes. The above-mentioned subjects are ones common to man, and matters in which everyone should have an interest, irrespective of rank or position. After acquiring such learning, people will go on to create social distinctions as a matter of course. Each will then be able to manage his own family business, and the individual, family, and nation will achieve independence.

To learn, it is necessary that each person knows his capacity. There are no innate bonds around human beings. They are born free and unrestricted and become free adult men and women. Nevertheless, many will become selfish and fall into dissipation if they assert only their own freedom and do not know their place. "Place," or capacity, means to achieve one's own personal freedom without infringing on that of others, based on natural principle and in harmony

with human feeling. The borderline between freedom and selfishness lies at the point where one does or does not infringe on the freedom of others. . . .

Since the Meiji Restoration, the ways of the Japanese government have greatly improved. In foreign affairs, we have regular relations with foreign nations in accord with international law. Internally, the government has explained the meaning of independence to the people and has already allowed the use of family names and horse riding to the commoners. These changes are among the most commendable since the founding of the Japanese empire. It can be said that the state is now grounded on the principle that all people are socially equal. Therefore, from the present day forward, there will be no such thing as hereditary class rank among the Japanese people. Individuals will have rank only by dint of their talents, virtues, and accomplishments.

For example, it is natural that we show deference to a government official. But this is not because of the dignity of that person's status. He is accorded that respect only because he performs that important role through his talent and virtues and because he deals with important laws for the sake of the people. It is the laws that have dignity, not the person. Everyone knows about the notorious processions of the shogun's tea vessels along the Tōkaidō during the period of the Tokugawa shogunate. Not only that, even the shogun's hawks had greater dignity than humans. Travelers along the highway had to get off the road at the coming of the shogun's horses. Everything to which the shogun's use was attached, down to the stones and tiles, was invested with awe and dignity. While the people had hated these things in their hearts since time immemorial, they naturally perpetuated these practices. Both high and low observed these terrible customs. This was not because of the dignity of the laws or the intrinsic value of those things. It was because they were craven methods used to swell the prestige and glory of the government, to make men cower, and to prevent their freedom. They were false and vainglorious practices.

Now that such wretched institutions and customs have been abolished throughout Japan, the people's minds should be at peace. If ever they harbor any feeling of injustice against the government, they will not have to swallow their resentment and hate the government in silence. They can seek the authorities concerned, quietly lodge their complaints, and discuss them openly. If their case is in accord with natural principle and human feeling, they should not hesitate to fight for it, even at the risk of their lives. This is what we call the "place" of citizens in a civilized nation. . . .

Now that the basis of equality of all classes has been established, each citizen can enjoy peace and do his own work to his own liking in accord with natural principle. However, since every person has his own place, each person must also have the virtues and talents appropriate to it. It is necessary to know the principles of things in order to possess such talents and virtues. It is necessary to study in order to learn the principles of things. This is the reason for the urgency I have placed on learning. . . .

No one is more pitiable and despicable than the ignorant and illiterate. And the height of ignorance is to be shameless. When through their own ignorance people have fallen into poverty and are hard pressed by hunger and cold, they recklessly hate the rich around them instead of blaming their own stupidity. In the extreme, they form cliques and even mount rebellions to press their demands. . . . Again, there are cases of people secure in fortune and from respectable families who know how to amass wealth but do not know how to educate their own children properly. Since their young have not been properly trained, it is no wonder that they are ignorant. They gradually sink into idleness and dissipation, and not a few ruin, in short order, the family estate of their ancestors. The method of rational persuasion is useless to control such stupid people. The government is forced to use power to intimidate them. It is because of that, a Western proverb says, "Over foolish people, there must be harsh government." It is not that the government is harsh; ignorant people have invited this misfortune upon themselves. Therefore, if we do not wish harsh government, we must see to it that the people are educated. . . . The severity or leniency of the law will naturally be in proportion to the virtue of the people. . . .

The important thing is to let each person conduct himself correctly on the basis of human nature, then to diligently pursue learning and broaden his knowledge and develop abilities appropriate to his station in life. Thus, the government will be able to rule easily, and the people will accept its rule agreeably, each functioning in his proper capacity to preserve the peace of the nation. The encouragement of learning that I advocate has this sole end in view.

[Adapted from Fukuzawa, *An Encouragement of Learning,* trans. Dilworth and Hirano, pp. 1–6]

THE FIRST MEIJI SCHOOL SYSTEM

The Gakusei (or School System, also referred to as the Fundamental Code of Education) was the first comprehensive legislation regarding national education in Japan following the Meiji Restoration. Sent to local officials throughout the country on September 5, 1872, the Gakusei consisted of 109 articles (expanded to 213 by 1873) that for the first time provided a comprehensive outline of a national school system. Japan was to be divided into university, middle school, and elementary school districts, with 8 universities, 256 middle schools, and 53,760 elementary schools. Compulsory education was set at four years, and local supervisors were appointed to enforce attendance, construct new schools, and oversee the distribution of public funds.

The Preamble (Ōseidasaresho) was issued by the Dajōkan (the government's central administrative organ at the time) on September 4, 1872, the day before the Gakusei was issued. The Preamble indicated that the goals of education

under the new system would be quite different from the emphasis on Confucian morality as represented by the samurai elite. Strongly reflecting Western influences, and particularly Fukuzawa Yukichi's arguments in *An Encouragement of Learning,* the document emphasized individual goals, equality among classes, and education in practical affairs of a Western type. It called on citizens, regardless of gender or status, to study widely in areas of practical arts and sciences in order to create independent citizens as the foundation of a strong nation. At the same time, it built on the Confucian love of learning widely diffused in the Tokugawa period.

PREAMBLE (ŌSEIDASARESHO) TO THE FUNDAMENTAL CODE OF EDUCATION (GAKUSEI)

It is only by building up their characters, developing their minds, and cultivating their talents that people may make their ways in the world, employ their wealth wisely, make their businesses prosper, and thus attain the goals of life. But people cannot build up their characters, develop their minds, or cultivate their talents without education. That is the reason for the establishment of schools. Beginning with speech, writing, and arithmetic in everyday life and extending to military affairs, government, agriculture, trade, law, politics, astronomy, and medicine, there is not a single phase of human activity that is not based on learning. Only by pursuing the path of his natural talents can individuals prosper in their undertakings, accumulate wealth, and succeed in life.

Learning is the key to success in life, and no one can afford to neglect it. It is ignorance that leads people astray, makes them destitute, disrupts their families, and in the end ruins their lives. Centuries have passed since schools were first established, but people have gone off in the wrong direction. Because learning was viewed as the exclusive prerogative of the samurai and courtiers, others—farmers, artisans, merchants, and women—have neglected it completely and have no idea what it is. Even those few samurai and courtiers who did pursue learning were apt to claim that it was for the state, not knowing that it was the very foundation of success in life. They indulged in poetry, empty reasoning, and idle discussions, and their dissertations, while not lacking in elegance, were seldom applicable to life. This was due to our evil traditions and, in turn, was the very cause that impeded the spread of culture, hampered the development of talent and accomplishments, and sowed the seeds of poverty, bankruptcy, and disrupted homes. Everyone should therefore pursue learning, and in so doing they should not misconstrue its purpose.

Accordingly, the Office of Education will soon establish an educational system and will revise the regulations related to it from time to time so that in the future, there shall be no village with an uneducated family or a family with an

uneducated person. Every guardian, acting in accordance with this, shall bring up his or her children with care and see to it that they attend school. (While advanced learning should be left to the ability and means of the individual, any guardian will be considered negligent if he or she fails to send a young child, whether boy or girl, to elementary school.)

Heretofore, the evil tradition that looked on learning as the privilege of the samurai and courtiers and as being solely for the benefit of the state, caused many to depend on the government for the expenses of education, even including food and clothing; and failing to receive such support, many wasted their lives by not going to school. Hereafter, such errors must be corrected, and everyone shall, of his own accord, subordinate all other matters to the education of his children.

[Adapted from Passin, *Society and Education in Japan*, pp. 210–11]

THE CONFUCIAN CRITIQUE

MOTODA EIFU AND EMPEROR-CENTERED EDUCATION

Motoda Eifu (or Nagazane, 1818–1891) was born to a samurai family in Kumamoto and became a student of Yokoi Shōnan's pragmatic school of Confucianism. In 1871 he became tutor to the Meiji emperor, through whose support he became a court adviser in 1886. As the leader of the court's conservative faction, Motoda helped establish an educational ideology for the new Meiji government centering on the values of traditional Japan and reverence for the emperor. His ideas were especially influential in drafting the Imperial Rescript on Education in 1890. Among Motoda's most important writings was *Great Principles of Education* (*Kyōgaku taishi*), written in 1879.

GREAT PRINCIPLES OF EDUCATION (KYŌGAKU TAISHI)

In the summer of 1878, Emperor Meiji took a tour of schools in the Tōkai and Hokuriku regions. He was disturbed by the overwhelming influences of Western "enlightenment" thought in the schools and asked his Confucian tutor, Motoda Eifu, to summarize his views. As the first imperial statement on education, this is an important historical document that had the effect of bringing educational policy into intense national debate. Clearly in evidence is criticism of the overemphasis on intellectual training and a call for greater stress on moral cultivation, both of which became important elements in the conservative critique of Meiji education.

The essence of education, our traditional national aim, and a watchword for all men, is to make clear the ways of benevolence, justice, loyalty, and filial piety, and to master knowledge and skill and, through these, to pursue the Way of Man. In recent days, people have been going to extremes. They take unto themselves a foreign civilization whose only values are fact-gathering and technique, thus violating the rules of good manners and bringing harm to our customary ways. Although we set out to take in the best features of the West and bring in new things in order to achieve the high aims of the Meiji Restoration—abandonment of the undesirable practices of the past and learning from the outside world—this procedure had a serious defect: It reduced benevolence, justice, loyalty, and filial piety to a secondary position. The danger of indiscriminate emulation of Western ways is that in the end our people will forget the great principles governing the relations between ruler and subject, and father and son. Our aim, based on our ancestral teachings, is solely the clarification of benevolence, justice, loyalty, and filial piety.

For morality, the study of Confucius is the best guide. People should cultivate sincerity and moral conduct, and after that they should turn to the cultivation of the various subjects of learning in accordance with their ability. In this way, morality and technical knowledge will fall into their proper places. When our education comes to be grounded on Justice and the Doctrine of the Mean, we shall be able to show ourselves proudly throughout the world as a nation of independent spirit.

Two Notes on Elementary Education

1. All men are by nature benevolent, just, loyal, and filial. But unless these virtues are cultivated early, other matters will take precedence, making later attempts to teach them futile. Since the practice has developed recently of displaying pictures in classrooms, we must see to it that portraits of loyal subjects, righteous warriors, filial children, and virtuous women are utilized, so that when the pupils enter the school, they will immediately feel in their hearts the significance of loyalty and filial piety. Only if this is done first and then other subjects taught later will they develop in the spirit of loyalty and filial piety and not mistake the means for the end in their other studies.

2. While making a tour of schools and closely observing the pupils studying last autumn, it was noted that farmers' and merchants' sons were advocating high-sounding ideas and empty theories and that many of the commonly used foreign words could not be translated into our own language. Such people would not be able to carry on their own occupations even if they some day returned home, and with their high-sounding ideas, they would make useless civil servants. Moreover, many of them brag about their knowledge, slight their elders, and disturb prefectural officers. All these evil effects come from an edu-

cation that is off its proper course. It is hoped, therefore, that the educational system will be less high flown and more practical. Agricultural and commercial subjects should be studied by the children of farmers and merchants so that they return to their own occupations when they have finished school and prosper even more in their proper work.

[Passin, *Society and Education in Japan*, pp. 226–28]

TANI TATEKI'S CRITIQUE OF THE WEST

One of the most effective critics of the overreliance on Western culture and values in education and elsewhere was Tani Tateki (1837–1911). An army officer and head of the Army Academy, Tani was active in conservative politics and served in the first cabinet of Itō Hirobumi as the minister of agriculture and commerce. Tani's thought blended ideas on nationalism, derived from a trip to Europe, with ethical concerns regarding the lives of ordinary people. He espoused the Confucian political idea of "humane government and loving the people" to combat what he saw as the Meiji government's despotic policies of Westernization. The conservative intellectual strain represented by Tani transcended mere traditionalism. For him, Confucianism did not function simply as an ideology in support of the emperor system and state power, as Motoda Eifu's often did; rather, it could also constrain autocracy and oblige the government to serve the people.

OPINION ON REFORM OF ARMY PENSION LAW (ONKYŪREI KAISEI NO IKEN)

In our country, when we set up teachings, we make loyalty and filial piety their basis. This goes a long way back. Therefore, when somebody is loyal in serving his lord, the officials commend him and the people praise him. Loyalty, propriety, and filial piety are the exquisite virtues of the human race and the most famous product of the East. Since intercourse with foreign nations began, the various systems and institutions have changed greatly; there are those that have gained and those that have lost as a consequence. They who fawn upon the fashions of the day, only imitating Western ways, denigrate and diminish even those sterling qualities of our mind and nature in which we excel and the foreigners fall short. . . . But even if the systems and institutions of our country have changed greatly, one thing remains unaltered from former days: loyalty and filial piety are obligations implied in the human condition. Therefore, when parents raise their children, there is not one who does not desire them to be loyal subjects and pious children. How much more does this apply to those who make soldiering their profession! Since from the beginning death is

their lot—how loyal, how pious are they who die when they must die! Nowadays the surviving parents of someone who has died for the state cannot enjoy the same rights as his widow or his children. How then can we say that the balance is kept even? When privately I reflect on the Army Pension Regulations, I note that there is a statute regarding the support of the widow but provisions for the support of the parents are lacking. Thus I know for sure that the regulations are based on the Western system and that it is not a matter of their being carelessly composed. What to do, however, with the fact that they are not in accord with the teachings or the human feelings of our country?

[Boot, in Motoyama, *Proliferating Talent*, pp. 203–4]

NAKAMURA MASANAO'S SYNTHESIS OF EAST AND WEST

Nakamura Masanao (or Keiu, 1832–1891), an active contributor to the enlightenment debates in the *Meiji Six Magazine* (*Meiroku zasshi*), was distinguished among the many promoters of the Civilization and Enlightenment movement by his early serious study of Neo-Confucianism under Satō Issai at the shogunal school, the Shōheikō. Issai reflected the current trend toward synthesis of the Zhu Xi and Wang Yangming schools (already seen in Sakuma Shōzan and Yoshida Shōin). The strong emphasis in this synthesis on the morally responsible self and dedicated activism may help explain why Nakamura was attracted to Protestant Christianity and became a translator of Samuel Smiles's *Self-Help* as well as of John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty*, both of which were widely influential in promoting modern Western ideas in Meiji Japan.

No doubt still influenced by his early Neo-Confucian training, Nakamura saw many similarities between the Confucian tradition and the modern Western values he came to espouse. This contrasted with the early thinking of Fukuzawa Yukichi, whose advocacy of Western civilization, progress, and modernization implied a strong break with tradition.

Thus the two were often seen as at opposite poles. Although his familiarity with Western civilization was mostly with the post-Reformation and Enlightenment movements in Europe, Nakamura saw himself as basically looking for common human ground on which to reconcile Western and Confucian values.

"PAST–PRESENT, EAST–WEST: ONE MORALITY" (KOKIN TŌZAI ITCHI)

This document is not one of the *Meiji Six Magazine* articles but comes from a speech presented by Nakamura Masanao in April 1890. It offers reflections on East–West values that can be interpreted as long-term tendencies, predisposing him both to accept

new ideas and to see in them confirmation of underlying human values common to China, Japan, and the West.

In discussing similarities and differences among things, each is a distinct case. In comparing them, there is the objective of acknowledging the points they have in common—for example, when one says that even though men and women are different, they are alike as humans, one is speaking in recognition of the similarities. When one says that even though both men and women are human, still their natures differ in regard to firmness and softness, our objective is to acknowledge the differences.

Thus there are times when one acknowledges similarities using generalizations and synthesis and other times when one recognizes differences using analysis. In teaching, even though a thousand similarities and ten thousand differences could be cited, in order to lead all people to the good, one emphasizes the similarities and talks in generalizations. . . .

What I will discuss today is the essential unity of East and West in basic morality. It is a case of what I have called acknowledging similarities and achieving synthesis. In such a discussion, however, there are times when one must also compare and analyze and one cannot simply generalize. But today my aim is to set aside small differences and stress large similarities, to do away with a narrow view and approach the large view of those of consummate achievement.

When there was Heaven-and-earth, only then were the myriad things born;[1] with the myriad things, man and woman come into being; with man and woman, the [relation of] husband and wife follows; with husband and wife [the relation of] parent and child follows; with parent and child, there is the relation of ruler and minister. There is no such thing as people who can separate themselves from society and live by themselves. In China, Yao appointed Qi minister of education to expound human relations.[2] He taught that between father and child there is affection; between ruler and minister there is rightness; between husband and wife there is differentiation; between senior and junior there is the order of precedence; and between friends there is trust. This then is the moral Way of human relationships. . . .

There is no difference in this between past and present; these values are just as necessary and indispensable. One finds affection, rightness, precedence, order, and trust, the so-called Five Human Relationships, as principles that must be preserved in human relations—that is to say, social relations—and to be respected in one's relationships with others. Also, one finds inherent within the individual nature the virtues of humaneness, rightness, ritual decorum, wisdom, and trust, the so-called Five Constant Virtues. The Way of these Five Human

1. *Yijing*, "Ordering the Hexagrams" (Xu gua).

2. *Mencius* 3A–4C.

Relationships and Five Constant Virtues is the Way that morals become incorporated into one's very self.

The main principles of this Chinese morality, that is to say, the teachings of Confucius and Mencius or, in other words, the Way of the Confucian scholar, we Japanese have also had since the beginning of the Ōnin era (1467–1469) until now. Sometimes flourishing, sometimes in decline, not always consistently observed, this Way has nevertheless reached from ministers at court down to commoners in the villages and lanes/harbors. . . .

In [Confucian classics and histories] that which is upright or depraved in people's hearts, the events that bring about the rise and fall or order and chaos among nations, the mysterious workings of Heaven's Way and the eloquence with which justice is served unfold in detail [before the reader's eyes]; at the very least, one's knowledge is broadened, one's capacities become strengthened, and one honors the moral behavior of others. Through reading, we can breathe the air of moral principles and thoroughly digest the essence of the philosophers[3] and historians.[4] There are those who come to embody the civil and military virtues. Through them there arose rulers in the East who with majesty unified the nation; above was an inviolable line of divine sages for ten thousand generations, and below there were ministers and a people who were loyal, obedient, brave in war, and possessed of an inviolable spirit. Because of this, Japan has had an unwritten constitution that has allowed it to mature quickly and that has provided the basis of its national unity. Of course, although Japan has its own unique character and its own unique teachings of the gods—which it did not need to borrow from others—China's classics, histories, the hundred philosophers, and the teachings of Shakyamuni have also joined to shape one moral body among high and low. . . .

Moral virtue inheres in people naturally. It is a natural endowment from Heaven. From this naturally good knowledge and ability[5] in the people comes good conduct. In other words, it is the same as a person's body; just as we are born with five senses, four limbs, and one hundred joints, so the moral virtues are innate in us. They are not added after we are born. Therefore regardless of whether it is past or present, East or West, North or South, in all times, all places—this inherent moral virtue and basis of moral conduct is common to all. There is overall great similarity and little difference [among humankind]. . . .

Careful judgments of the trends of the times and the hearts of people today reveals that all-under-Heaven is in a great uproar.

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3. The so-called masters (Ch. *zhuzi*), or thinkers of the Warring States period (fifth to third century B.C.E.).

4. The histories beginning with those of Sima Qian (late second to early first century B.C.E.) and Ban Gu (first century B.C.E.) and the successive dynastic histories.

5. *Mencius* 7A:15.

In this survival of the fittest situation, force becomes inevitable. It is as if morality and humaneness are being swept away like dust from the face of the earth, and rather than emphasizing morality, people think they should display military might and assert themselves by force. . . .

When generalizing about the various countries of the West today, it is a mistake to say that they are immoral. When generalizing about the various countries of the West today, it is a mistake to say they are hellish realms, full of bloodshed and fighting. Overall, it is a mistake to say that the countries of the West are ruled by force. When looking at the various countries of the West today, can we not say they are prosperous and have strong armies? And can we not say they have great power to overwhelm Asia? Is this prosperity and strength accidental? There is a cause; if we examine this closely we will surely know that [in the various Western countries] there is a base of morality, a trunk of wisdom, and a flowering of learning. Today the prosperity and strength they have harvested are the fruits of this. . . .

It is not possible to look at one person and generalize about the whole country or to observe one hand or foot and know the entire body. In the same way, great mistakes are bound to arise when making generalizations about the various countries of the West with respect to their feelings and customs, on the basis of observations we make in contact only with Westerners living in Asia. . . .

In the West, the individual (independent self) and sociality (human relations) are the two main pillars standing together. Around these two elements one's life is built. This sociality of human relations is a characteristic unique to mankind. We associate with others, sharing joys and sorrows, sharing fortune and misfortunes. Nevertheless, this is secondary. The independent self within each person is the basis of morality, that is to say, the self is to be regarded as fundamental. . . . Since the choice of accepting or disregarding the good and evil in them is up to the freedom of each individual, the words or actions of the heart and mind all belong to the individual. Because they are based on the self, the responsibility for them also unavoidably reverts to the self. Again, the response to or retribution for moral goodness or sin is something that returns to each individual. This then is the way of the principle of freedom. One will surely be able to see the resultant prosperity and peace in a society or a country that gathers together the good virtues of independent individuals to create a society. . . .

As far as individual morality is concerned, regardless of past and present, East or West, in the end, the main principle is one thing called self-governance. . . .

This self-governance, is, in other words, the central concern of the above-mentioned independent self and is the source of the principle of freedom (independence). If self-governance is not part of one's being, one cannot obtain freedom and one cannot obtain independence. . . . If we compare this self-

governance to the morality of China, and look for the same meaning [we will find that] it is said, "Cultivate oneself with reverent respectfulness,"[6] "conquer oneself and restore ritual decorum,"[7] and "reprove anger and restrain desires."[8]. . .

Freedom does not mean discarding every kind of regulation, nor does it mean always doing what one wants without regard for one's circumstances. People's natures are such that they accept all kinds of regulations. The laws of society do not permit one's individual preferences and actions to cause harm to others. There should be limits on one's indulgence in pleasures. . . .

True freedom is definitely not something that a fellow who takes pleasure in debauchery can know. One individual's act of debauchery is like a nation in a state of anarchy (the extinction of public order). This is the exact opposite of true freedom. . . . Freedom does not mean destroying public order; it means being under good government and submitting to the rule of the wise and to the rules created for the sake of the general benefit. . . .

In this discussion, there is no freedom to be found apart from the moral person, and without freedom one is unable to choose goodness. Without freedom one cannot be resolute and at ease. To enlarge on this discussion, [I will use the ideas of a] Western scholar who states that this thing called freedom means to be the master of oneself. This closely resembles the earlier teaching in China that one should "be discriminating, keep to oneness and hold to the Mean."[9] Moreover, this corresponds to the Song Confucian understanding that emphasized the mind of the Way as master and the mind of man, which is to obey Heaven's imperative [in the mind of the Way].[10]. . . Is it not the kind of freedom that involves choosing the good, such as was said of Yan Hui: "Yan Hui [only had] a handful of rice, a gourdful of water, lived in a humble lane [and yet was] not depressed."[11] If this is not the freedom to choose the good, as in "choosing the Mean and obtaining the one good,"[12] then what is it? . . .

To sum this up in a few words, the true meaning of the Western philosophy of freedom, in Chinese terms, is to gain freedom by making the mind of the Way [Heaven's principles] one's master and not being a slave to the human

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6. *Analects* 14:42.

7. *Analects* 12:1.

8. *Yijing*, hexagram 41.

9. Part of the "sixteen-character formula."

10. Reference to Zhu Xi's explanation of the sixteen-character formula in his preface to the Mean: "If one applies oneself to this without any interruption, making sure that the mind of the Way is the master of one's self and that the human mind always listens to its commands, then the precariousness and the insecurity will yield to peace and security, and what is subtle and barely perceptible will become clearly manifest" (de Bary and Bloom, eds., *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, pp. 732–33).

11. *Analects* 7:11.

12. *Mean* 8.

mind [human desire]. This thing, freedom, is actually the basis of self-cultivation, that is, the root of self-governance. It is precisely in this that the origin of well-being lies, as well as the foundation of family and state. This is one preeminent aspect of the view that the morality of past and present, East and West is one.

What I want to do next is bring together the Chinese view that human nature is basically good, the ancient Greek wisdom, and the modern Western philosophers' view of the goodness of human nature. Aristotle said, "Only humans, among all living beings, are able to discern right from wrong." He also asked, "Is not good also what we expect to be the goal of various skills and people's conduct and exercise of choice?" The view that human nature is basically good started with Mencius. What is referred to as the mind of the Way was something handed down by Yao and Shun and the rulers of the Three Dynasties. What is called the "Way of the mind-and-heart," "the Mean," the *Great Learning*'s "luminous virtue and utmost goodness," and the *Mean*'s "bright-goodness, sincere person," are they all not part of the theory of the goodness of human nature? . . .

The reason why moral learning is different from the other types of learning is that all the others, such as physics, botany, psychology, arithmetic, geography, statistics, and history inquire into things as they actually exist. Conversely, moral learning inquires into things as they ought to be. The sense that such things ought to be done or ought not to be done is not something that inheres in the material world. The origin of this concept is nothing other than the fact that humans have a good heart and mind (moral sense), can distinguish between good and evil, and can be masters of their own actions. People must take responsibility for their actions. . . .

People do not just feel the pleasures and pains of their own body and mind—they perceive other people's pleasure and pain and share in them. This feeling in English called "sympathy" can be translated as "feeling the same emotions," "compassion," or "affection" and arises out of the sentiment between parent and child. Sympathy, "being stirred by shared emotions" or "compassion," is the most basic element in the many aspects of human relations. . . .

Although people are born with a conscience and love and compassion (a feeling of sympathy), they are sometimes good and sometimes bad, depending on their experiences and learning, which are affected by stimuli from outside and come through the five senses. Sometimes they grow and mature, sometimes become confused, and sometimes are even extinguished by death. . . .

When covetousness, anger, and other feelings take the conscience by force, love is erased and disappears. People become hardened, unfeeling, and cruel. Certainly these two capacities [learning and experience], even though inherent in all, must be guided through strenuous effort in order to develop fully. They must be controlled so that external influences work to develop the intellect, clarify rational judgment, and, by means of good habits and examples, restrain

impulsive, greedy, and passionate actions and keep one from being blinded by misguided and biased views.

One's conscience and loving feeling, being rooted in human nature, are the main basis of morality as understood in past and present, East and West—what we have referred to as largely one and the same, with large similarities and small differences. . . .

[Nakamura, "Kokin tōzai itchi," pp. 326–33; AS]

MORI ARINORI AND THE LATER MEIJI SCHOOL SYSTEM

Mori Arinori (or Yūrei, 1847–1889) was born into a samurai family in Satsuma domain (now Kagoshima Prefecture) and in 1865 was secretly sent abroad for study by domain authorities. After studying naval surveying, mathematics, and physics for two years in Britain, in 1867 he went to America, where he spent a year with the Brotherhood of the New Life, a spartan religious colony in Brocton, New York, run by the former Swedenborgian spiritualist and sexual mystic Thomas Lake Harris (1823–1906). Mori returned to Japan in 1868 to join the new Meiji government in a variety of important administrative posts. Mori was Japan's ambassador to the United States (1871–1873), to China (1876–1877), and to England (1880–1884). An ardent nationalist and advocate of enlightenment, he helped found, with Fukuzawa Yukichi and others, the Meirokusha in 1873. He also founded Japan's first commercial college, the forerunner of Hitotsubashi University.

Mori was an early advocate of religious freedom, of abandoning the Japanese language in favor of English, and of the social emancipation of women. His suggestions for a more centralized, state-oriented educational system fit the constitutional plans of Itō Hirobumi, who took Mori into his cabinet in 1886 as Japan's first minister of education. Within three months of his appointment, Mori had set in place a series of educational ordinances that consolidated Meiji schools under national control and were to define the basic structure of Japanese education from the spring of 1886 until 1945. His strong support for modernization and ties to the West led to his assassination at the age of forty-two by a radical nationalist on February 11, 1889, the day the Meiji constitution went into effect.

"ESSENTIALS OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION" (GAKUSEI YŌRYŌ)

Despite Mori Arinori's overwhelming personal imprint on Meiji schools, he never articulated his educational philosophy in a single coherent statement. The best sum-

mary of his ideas can be found in "Essentials of Educational Administration" (Gakusei yōryō), in which he briefly outlines the essential points of his national system: statist goals (the interests of the nation taking priority over those of the individual), the dual system (higher learning for a small elite and basic education for all), the importance of the moral purposes of school education, the high priority given to proper teacher training, and the principle of local finance for local schools. This was written in the form of a memorandum, and although the date is unknown, it is thought to be 1885, shortly before Mori became minister of education.

Section 1: Policy

Item: The national school system (schools established at state or public expense) is the predominant element in the school system and should be administered in accordance with the principle of enhancing the national economy (wealth and power of the state).

Item: The good of the individual and the good of the state are to be promoted equally.

Item: It is essential that those who learn foreign languages become leaders and take control of affairs of state. For this purpose we must immediately provide appropriate education, before any harm is incurred.

Section 2: Higher Learning

Item: Higher learning should be divided into pure science and applied science. Both are essential to the interests of the state. The former has limited applicability and focus, whereas the latter has far broader applications.

Item: Pure science involves research that penetrates deeply to the essence of matter. Pure science will contribute to the long-range benefit of Japan and of the world in general and should be engaged in by only the most qualified scholars.

Item: Applied science (something like professional education) involves the training of those with specialized knowledge in fields that have immediate practical social applications (business, engineering, law, commerce, medicine). People in these fields are professionals who do practical things to benefit people and meet national requirements. This includes providing appropriate training for those able to qualify as government officials.

Section 3: Basic Education

Item: The purpose of elementary education is to provide training sufficient for children to understand their duties as Japanese subjects, to conduct themselves in an ethical fashion, and to secure their own individual well-being.

Item: The most urgent task of all is to train enough teachers for every ele-

mentary school. The prefectures will take responsibility for this, and the central government will provide general oversight.

Item: The character of pupils must first be trained and rectified so that they can make proper use of their studies.

Section 4: School Fees

Item: Expenses for national schools will be paid by local school taxes. When necessary these will be supplemented by national taxes. This will be in accord with local conditions and regulations pertaining to the national economy.

Item: A system of local school taxes will be established separate from other local taxes. While the central government will have oversight, the details will be handled by local authorities.

[Adapted from Hall, *Mori Arinori*, pp. 409–12]

MILITARY-STYLE PHYSICAL TRAINING (HEISHIKI TAISŌ)

Aside from determining the structure of a comprehensive national school system, Mori's greatest legacy was probably the introduction of military-style physical training into the Meiji period's normal schools. Mori did not have training soldiers in mind; in fact, even the health-building function was secondary. Rather, it was moral discipline that the training was supposed to instill. *Military-Style Physical Training* (1885) was intended to produce not only a new generation of teachers but also a whole new disciplinary framework for everyday school life.

Mori believed that the new teacher should display three essential traits of character: obedience (*jūjun*) toward superiors, friendship (*yūjō*) toward equals, and dignity (*igi*) toward inferiors. By obedience, Mori had in mind conforming to school regulations and following teachers' commands. By friendship, he meant a spirit of mutual assistance, which Mori believed to be the foundation of public morality and the measure of a civilized nation. And by dignity, he was referring to self-assurance or composure in speech and manners. Mori viewed the relationship between military exercise and character building in the following terms in a speech he delivered at an elementary teachers' training school, three days before he became minister of education.

This military-style physical training is something to be used entirely as a means for promoting the three qualities of character I have just mentioned, as a tool for hammering them into shape. We are not adding it to the curriculum with the thought of producing officers and enlisted men for the defense of our country, on the chance that the nation might someday find itself in need of soldiers. The things we hope to achieve by means of this training are three: first, to instill—with the sense of urgency possessed by actual soldiers—those habits of

obedience which are appropriate in the classroom. Secondly, as you know, soldiers are always formed into squads, each squad possessing its own leader who devotes himself, heart and mind and soul, to the welfare of his group. And thirdly, every company has its commanding officer who controls and supervises it, and who must comport himself with dignity. By the same token our students, by trading off the roles of common soldier, squad leader and commanding officer, will build up the traits of character appropriate to each of these three roles.

[Hall, *Mori Arinori*, p. 427]

INOUE KOWASHI AND PATRIOTIC TRAINING

After Mori Arinori's death in 1889, Inoue Kowashi (1844–1895) became a pivotal figure in completing the basic Meiji educational structure, by providing a technical/vocational track and enhanced facilities for women. Inoue successfully walked the line between the statist politicians like Mori and Itō Hirobumi and the traditionalists like Motoda Eifu. He worked with Itō on drafts of the Meiji constitution and the Imperial Household Laws, with Mori on educational policy, and with Motoda on the Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890. In 1893 Inoue was appointed minister of education in the second Itō cabinet, and although he served for only a year and five months, his influence on education was greater than this abbreviated term would suggest.

Whereas Mori had promoted a national education that primarily served the interests of the state, Inoue did not favor a national creed or ideology imposed from above. Rather, he went beyond Mori in this respect and took an important step toward what would later become education in the service of ultranationalistic ends.

PUBLIC EDUCATION AND THE NATIONAL SUBSTANCE (KOKUTAI KYŌIKU)

Because Japan did not have a state religion that could unite people, Inoue Kowashi believed that the notion of "national substance" (*kokutai*), including both form and spirit, could act as a similar principle of unity for educating the young. For Inoue, loyalty to the emperor as the living symbol of the *kokutai* should become the first principle of educational goals. In *Public Education and the National Substance*, written in 1889, shortly after Mori Arinori was assassinated, Inoue summarizes his own views on a national creed.

The fundamental principle of Mori's educational policy was education based on the *kokutai*. Education does not mean merely collecting and explaining the materials of textbooks. The most important thing in education is to build up

the character and orient the students by showing them the spiritual way. This is an extremely difficult task. The education that was practiced two thousand years ago during Shun's reign cannot be used today. Europe has a religion that serves to confirm the spirit of the young. There is no such creed in our country. I think that it is very difficult to achieve a sense of unity among the people through education. Fortunately, in our country we have a beautiful treasure that cannot be compared with that of any other country. This is the *kokutai* based on the imperial line unbroken for ages eternal. Nothing but the *kokutai* can be the keynote of education. No other country has a history like ours: our people have been loyal to the emperors of an unbroken line from the beginning of the country, and they will be loyal to all future emperors as long as the national land continues to exist. Therefore we should make the *kokutai* the first principle of our education. Nothing else can be the basis of our educational system, and this was the first principle of the late Mori.

[Adapted from Pittau, "Inoue Kowashi," pp. 101–2]

"PLAN TO DEFEND THE NATIONAL INTEREST" (RIEKISEN BŌGO NO KEIKAKU)

In "Plan to Defend the National Interest," a famous speech drafted by Inoue for Yamagata Aritomo in 1890, Inoue assigns a central place to patriotic education in the promotion of Japan's foreign policy.

There are two indispensable elements in the field of foreign policy: the armed forces first and education second. If the Japanese people are not imbued with patriotic spirit, the nation cannot be strong, no matter how many laws are issued. . . . Patriotism can be instilled only through education. Every powerful nation in Europe strives to foster through compulsory education a deep sense of patriotism, together with the knowledge of the national language, history, and other subjects. Patriotism becomes a second nature. Because of such an education, the minds of the people become one in the defense of the national interest even if they have different opinions in other matters. Therefore I think it is vitally important to improve the patriotic spirit among the Japanese people, because the very survival of the nation depends on it. The two things mentioned earlier are indispensable to make a nation fully independent.

[Adapted from Pittau, "Inoue Kowashi," p. 103]

THE IMPERIAL RESCRIPT ON EDUCATION

The Imperial Rescript on Education (Kyōiku chokugo), the product of a complex institutional and ideological sorting out that followed the educational re-

forms of the 1870s, preceded the establishment of a new political system in the 1890s. Frequently described as the outcome of a successful campaign by conservative moralists to reassert traditional values against the influences of an insurgent progressivism, it actually emerged from a process of consultation and contestation among Confucian advisers to the throne (principally Motoda Eifu and Nishimura Shigeki), Western-oriented educators, conservatives, progressives, cabinet members under Yamagata Aritomo, and prefectural governors concerned about the erosion of public morality on both the local and the national level. The resulting mix contained a core of simple, homespun ethical precepts (which could be interpreted as either "Confucian" or "universal human" values, as one preferred) combined with elements of a new imperial ideology centered on the concept of "national polity" (*kokutai*).

This document was labeled as a "rescript" because it was meant to function not as formal law but as instruction from on high, couched in the succinct, aphoristic style of the "classic" and the portentous language of sacred utterance.

THE OPENING

Know ye, Our subjects:

Our Imperial Ancestors (*waga kōso kōsō*) founded our empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly planted virtue; Our subjects, ever united in loyalty (*chū*) and filial piety (*kō*), have, from generation to generation, illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Nation (*kokutai no seika*), and herein also lies the source of Our education (*kyōiku no engen*). Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate the arts and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore, advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the state (*giyū kō ni hōshi*); and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of our imperial throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be our good and faithful subjects (*chūryō no shinmin*), but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.

The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by our imperial ancestors, to be observed alike by their descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, our subjects, that we all thus attain to the same virtue.

The 30th day of the 10th month of the 23rd year of Meiji (1890)

The middle portion of the text (and its ethical core) is indeed traditional and has a long history. It comes originally from Zhu Xi's precepts for village instruction and community compacts, which by a long, circuitous process became staples in Tokugawa-period village and family instruction (see chap. 25). Zhu Xi's original instructions, however, emphasized filial piety, respect for elders, brotherliness, vocational commitment, and learning—virtues applicable to all members of a family or community, irrespective of class or status, to which hardly anyone would object. Significantly, Zhu Xi made no reference whatever to ruler, state, or "loyalty" as a supposed Confucian virtue. These elements were incorporated into the original precepts only later when Zhu Xi's formulation was co-opted by the founding emperor of the Ming and later amended by Qing rulers for their own imperial purposes, focusing more on the state than on the local community.[13] *In this late Meiji version, the original core has become encased in a new Japanese imperial ideology.*

As a combination of familiar ethical platitudes and patriotic sentiments, this consensus document won acceptance from many sides in the 1890s, as well as resistance from some independents like Uchimura Kanzō. It was given a strong nationalist twist by the widely disseminated commentary of Inoue Tetsujirō (1856–1944), a prominent proponent of Confucian philosophy and a critic of Western liberal influences. His interpretations were cast in the standard Neo-Confucian genre of "extended meaning" (engi), *long associated with adaptations of Zhu Xi's original six precepts (see chap. 25). Inoue's "extended meaning" was a modernized and Japanized interpretation incorporating Western concepts of the organic state and survival of the fittest.*

THE EXTENDED MEANING OF THE RESCRIPT

In the world today, Europe and America are, of course, great powers, and all the countries settled by the Europeans have prospered as well. Now only the countries of the East are capable of competing with the progress of these nations. Yet India, Egypt, Burma, and Annam have already lost their independence; Siam, Tibet, and Korea are extremely weak and will find it difficult to establish their autonomy. Thus in the Orient today, Japan and China alone have an independence stable enough to vie for rights with the powers. But China clings to the classics and lacks the spirit of progress. Only in Japan does the idea of progress flourish, and Japan has it within its means to anticipate a glorious civilization in the future.

Japan, however, is a small country. Since there are now those that swallow countries with impunity, we must consider the whole world our enemy. Although we should always endeavor to conduct friendly relations with the powers, foreign enemies are watching for any lapse on our part, and then we can

13. See de Bary and Bloom, eds., *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, chap. 21; and de Bary and Lufrano, eds., *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, chap. 25.

rely only on our 40 million fellow countrymen. Thus any true Japanese must have a sense of public duty by which he values his life lightly as dust, advances spiritedly, and is ready to sacrifice himself for the sake of the nation.

But we must encourage this spirit before an emergency occurs. "Making a rope to catch a thief only after he shows up" is obviously foolish. The purpose of the rescript is to strengthen the basis of the nation by cultivating the virtues of filiality and fraternal love, loyalty and sincerity (*kōtei chūshin*) and to prepare for any emergency by nurturing the spirit of collective patriotism (*kyōdō aikoku*). If all Japanese establish themselves by these principles, we can be assured of uniting the hearts of the people.

[Adapted from Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths*, pp. 129–30]

TEACHERS AND REFORM FROM BELOW

Officials of the national government were not the only interested parties enunciating new goals and practices for national education during the Meiji period. As early as the 1870s, teachers, too, were actively organizing and promoting their own views, sometimes in opposition to national policy. Advocates of "developmental education" (*kaihatsu shugi*), for example, eschewed traditional methods of "pouring in" information and advocated cultivating innate abilities according to a child's capacities. Strongly influenced by Pestalozzian and other Western theories of child development, they put children at the center of the educational process and gave teachers the authority to guide them. They repudiated traditional methods and saw children as active agents, not passive receptacles, of knowledge. They challenged the role of the state in determining the content, methods, and texts for primary education. Centered at Tokyo Normal School, this group had its heyday from the 1870s to 1895 when changing circumstances, internal squabbling, and a powerful conservative response led the group to weaken its antistatist positions.

"REDUCING INTERFERENCE IN TEXTBOOK SELECTION" (KYŌKASHO NO SENTAKU NI WA KANSHŌ NO USUKI O NOZOMU)

For a time, in their journal *Educational Review* (*Kyōiku jiron*), the advocates of developmental education spearheaded grassroots efforts by teachers to reform Japanese education from below, often in the face of intractable, conservative administrators who favored the status quo. The antibureaucratic legacy of the movement and its contributions to the profession of teaching in Japan are apparent in later educational discourses and reform movements. Although on the whole *Educational Review* supported Mori Arinori's administration, its view of where the real authority over educational matters ought to lie is made clear in the following editorial, published on February 25, 1886.

There are probably some who believe that ministry officials are the most knowledgeable about education and who think it only natural that they should assume the responsibility for examining [textbooks]. But ministry officials are not gods. What guarantee is there that they are superior [in knowledge] to the countless educators throughout the country? And even if the knowledge [possessed by] the nation's educators [still] is shallow, does that necessarily mean it is inferior to the knowledge that ministry officials have? The same goes for prefectural officials, who are no more knowledgeable than the educators within their jurisdictions.

The qualities necessary for selecting textbooks—learning (*gakumon*) and experience—reside with those who have experience teaching ordinary students, not with the petty officials who handle the administrative affairs pertaining to general education. Why, then, should complete authority over the selection of textbooks rest with educational officials in the prefectures and with ministry bureaucrats? It is best to assemble the educators in each prefecture or each school district and let them handle it.

["Kyōkasho no sentaku ni wa kanshō no usuki o nozomu," trans. adapted from Lincicome, *Principle, Praxis*, p. 194]

STATE CONTROL OVER TEXTBOOKS

KIKUCHI DAIROKU AND THE TEXTBOOK SCANDAL OF 1903

Kikuchi Dairoku (1855–1917), who was the minister of education when the state took over compiling and authorizing textbooks in the early twentieth century, was a liberal Westernizer by background and predisposition. A tireless promoter of mathematics education in Japan, his 1881 elementary geometry textbook became the standard text until the end of World War II. Kikuchi was the president of Tokyo Imperial University from 1898 to 1901. Late in his term as minister of education (1901–1903), the state stepped up efforts to centralize its control of texts in response to pressures from opposition politicians and educators. Kikuchi's explanation of the textbook case is excerpted from his book, *Japanese Education*, published in English in 1909.

JAPANESE EDUCATION

In 1886, along with other reforms in educational matters generally, a regular system of textbook inspection was introduced. Textbooks in normal schools were to be determined by the minister himself, while those to be used in elementary schools and middle schools had to be chosen from among those that had been

previously examined and approved by the minister of education. Textbooks in middle schools were to be chosen by the directors of respective schools with the approval of prefects. For elementary schools, the choice was to be made in each prefecture by a committee specially nominated for the purpose and composed of the director and teachers of the normal school of that prefecture, education officials of the prefectural bureau, teachers of elementary schools, and all elementary schools throughout that prefecture for a term of four years. At the end of [this time] a revision might be made if deemed advisable, but those children who began with one series of textbooks were to continue with the same series until the end of their four years' ordinary elementary course. This system of selection of textbooks continued until 1903, although during that time there were several changes in the composition of the committee, as a means of remedying abuses that arose, as stated below.

At the same time (1886), the Ministry of Education itself began compiling a set of readers and other textbooks for elementary schools, which, being far superior to those in use up to this time, raised the general standard of textbooks very much higher than what it had been up to that time. The ministry likewise had textbooks for use in normal and middle schools prepared by those specially fitted for the task by their knowledge and experience, some of which [textbooks] continue to be used even up to the present day.

It can be easily seen that once chosen for a prefecture, if textbooks for elementary schools were assured of being used for four years in all the schools in that prefecture, they would be a source of very great profit to the publishers whose books were so adopted. This naturally gave rise to very keen competition among publishers of textbooks. Although this competition was beneficial in that the textbooks were very much improved in regard to their contents, otherwise the system caused many great and serious abuses. Having secured a monopoly in prefectures, the publishers gradually lowered the quality of the paper, printing, and binding so as to make a greater profit. They often neglected to supply the necessary number of books, especially in remoter districts, to which transportation was expensive, so that children had often to be without textbooks for some time at the beginning of a session or term.

These, however, were not the only abuses, nor were they the worst. The publishers began to tamper with members of the textbook selection committees, using all sorts of illegal and immoral means. Their agents forced presents, even of money, upon them. Whether or not the members accepted them, agents reported them so to their principals, thereby damaging the reputation of members of the committees with or without cause. All sorts of influence were brought to bear upon them; every means of temptation and even of coercion was resorted to. Representations were made in both houses of the Imperial Diet that textbooks should be compiled and published by the state. How to deal with the elementary school textbook question was one of the problems with successive ministers of education. Changes were made in the composition of the com-

mittee, and several punitive clauses were inserted in the regulations, all to no effect. Rumors true or otherwise, but in either case having a very bad effect on education, continued to be spread. Finally in 1903, several of the members of committees of different prefectures and others besides were brought to trial on charges of corruption. Some were found guilty, and others were acquitted. But this event made some decisive steps necessary and facilitated the introduction of the state textbooks system, which had been regarded by the Ministry of Education as the only solution to the question, but which could not be carried out for various reasons. By the Imperial Ordinance of April 1903, however, the present regulations regarding elementary school textbooks were adopted, which I will explain briefly.

According to [the regulations], all textbooks to be used in elementary schools must be those whose copyrights belong to the Ministry of Education—that is to say, books compiled by either the official compilers in the ministry or private persons at the request of the ministry but in all cases copyrighted by the ministry so that no private persons shall have any interest in them from a business point of view. However, with the exception of the textbooks for ethics, Japanese history, geography, and the readers, the minister of education may grant permission to elementary schools to use textbooks whose copyright does not belong to the ministry but that have been examined and approved by the ministry. The above four [subjects] were exempted, as they form an essential part of the moral and civic education imparted in elementary schools, so it was thought advisable to reserve their compilation for the state. There was another reason, namely, that because of their importance and number, they were the most likely to result in abuses. At present, besides these four, textbooks on arithmetic and writing, and drawing copybooks also are exempted. . . .

If there are more than one set of textbooks to choose from, the choice is to be made by the prefect for each prefecture. Once chosen, a series of textbooks must not be changed for four years, and then only beginning with the lowest class, so that a child can complete his course with books of the same series.

As for printing and publishing those textbooks, the simplest way would have been for the ministry to undertake it. But because this could not be done under the circumstances, great pains have been taken to allow them to be published by private firms to make sure that the quality of paper, printing, and binding are kept up to the standard determined by the ministry, that the price of books shall never, under any circumstances, be above a certain fixed sum, and, last but not least, that the supply shall be regular and evenly distributed throughout the country, lest children in the remotest parts of the country be unable to obtain books at the beginning of the term, as happened frequently under the old system.

Textbooks published in accordance with these reforms began to be used at the beginning of the school year 1904/1905. Although it was with great difficulty that these changes could be made, as there was scarcely a year between the

promulgation of the Imperial Ordinance and the beginning of the year, it was felt that the iron must strike while it was hot; otherwise publishers whose monopoly had been thus abolished would do their best to prevent the reform from being carried out—in fact, they did do their utmost to prevent it, but they did not succeed.

The advantages of the new books or, rather, of the new system, which became evident at once, was the great reduction in the price of books, in some cases being as great as 70 percent of the former price [that is, the price of new books was sometimes less than one-third of that of similar books under the old system], a very much superior quality of paper, printing, and binding, and the regularity of supply, notwithstanding that the transportation was in an awkward condition on account of the war [Russo-Japanese War of 1904/1905].

About the contents of those books I have spoken in my lectures on elementary education, but here I may remark that not only are the official compilers in the ministry charged with the task of continually revising them so as to improve them and keep them up to date, but teachers in normal schools and those actually using them in their classes are ordered to send any suggestions that may occur to them with the same end in view. A committee has been appointed by the minister of education specially for the purpose of a complete revision, so that in April 1908, when according to regulations new series may be introduced, there may be a thoroughly revised and improved series of textbooks ready. [This was not done, owing to objections to the reformed spelling proposed for the new readers and textbooks. A committee was appointed in May 1908 to discuss and decide on the spelling to be used in them.]

Textbooks for normal, middle, and girls' high schools remain subject to the same rules as before; that is, they must be those previously examined by textbook inspectors of the Ministry of Education and approved of by the minister. With this restriction, the choice is left to the director of each school, subject to the approval of the prefect. In certain cases, books that have not yet been examined may be used provisionally with the permission of the minister until they have been examined.

[Adapted from Kikuchi, *Japanese Education*, pp. 325–30]

THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN IN THE MEIJI PERIOD

Even though the Fundamental Code of Education (Gakusei) of 1872 called for equal education for both boys and girls, attendance at elementary schools by girls lagged behind that of boys until the end of the Meiji period. It was at the secondary level, however, where the distinctions became most apparent. Secondary schools were considered male institutions. Indeed, the Education Act of 1880 formally excluded girls from public middle schools. Accordingly, sec-

ondary and higher education for women developed primarily in the private sector, where Christian missionary schools and the efforts of individual promoters like Tsuda Umeko (1865–1929) and Naruse Jinzō (1858–1919) helped fill the void. Notwithstanding the advanced ideas of some educators, like Fukuzawa Yukichi, the official view persisted that beyond primary schooling, the purpose of female education was training women to be "good wives and wise mothers" (*ryōsai kenbo*), not independent professionals. This expression, coined by Nakamura Masanao, derived from the nineteenth-century European ideal of womanhood. When the Meiji government required each prefecture in 1898 to provide at least one high school for women, it was in order to create "good wives and wise mothers" and not to provide academic education leading to advanced study.

PROGRESS OF FEMALE EDUCATION IN MEIJI

The limitations and lingering biases among educational leaders that prevented the vast majority of Meiji women from obtaining a full education can be seen in the following, particularly the final paragraph, written by the minister of education, Kikuchi Dairoku, in 1909.

Notwithstanding the encouragement given to female education, it is only quite recently that people in general have begun to perceive its importance. In 1873, out of a total of 1,145,800 attending elementary schools; 879,200, or 77 percent, were boys; and only 266,600, or 23 percent, were girls. In 1883, the total number had increased to 3,238,000, but the ratio was 68 percent boys to 32 percent girls, showing that while education had spread pretty rapidly during those ten years, girls' education was still very much neglected. The statistics of 1893 show no very great advance either in the number (3,338,000) or in the ratio of boys to girls (68 to 32, or, if we take the ordinary elementary course only, 66 to 34). In 1906 the total number of boys and girls had increased to 5,515,000, showing the enormous strides that have been made in elementary education in the ten years after the China War; the ratio of boys to girls shows the same satisfactory progress, being 52 to 48 in the ordinary and 68 to 32 in the higher elementary course, or 56 to 44 taking the whole elementary course.

If we take secondary education into consideration, we observe the same thing. Provisions for the education of girls after they have finished the elementary course were very few, and what there were [were] not of a very high order, being confined chiefly to the teaching of reading and arithmetic, etc., only a little advanced beyond the standard of the elementary course, with special attention paid to sewing. In 1883, there were 7 girls' high schools (all public), with 350 girls. It should be remarked, however, that these were not the only provisions, for there were schools, not classed as high schools, which gave some

sort of secondary education to girls. In 1893 the number had increased to 28 (of which 8 were public), with 3,020 girls. In those days there was no separate Imperial Ordinance for girls' high schools; they were merely mentioned in that on middle schools as a sort of middle school, there were no regulations even about the subjects to be taught and their standard up to 1895. The first Imperial Ordinance on Girls' High Schools, which is now in force was issued in 1899, and the revised regulations in 1901. Provisions in the ordinance and in the regulations about the establishment, closure, organization, admittance, promotion, graduation, terms, holidays, qualifications, and number of teachers, etc., are similar to those of middle schools.

There is one distinction which is worth mentioning, that is, that marks are to be given, not by examinations, but as the result of ordinary daily work, except in a few specified subjects, the reason being that girls are very emotional, and excitement caused by examinations is prejudicial to their moral and physical development; for the same reason, in many schools the order of pupils is not made known to them, but simply whether they are promoted or not. (I note that in the revised regulations issued in May 1908, examination is permitted generally, although the rule is still that marks shall be given by daily work.)

[Kikuchi, *Japanese Education*, pp. 271–73]

Chapter 41

NATIONALISM AND PAN-ASIANISM

Nationalism as an element in Japanese tradition had been evident since ancient times in many forms: for instance, in the hegemonic claims of the early Yamato state; in the writings of Kitabatake Chikafusa; in medieval Shinto; in the imperialist ambitions of Toyotomi Hideyoshi;[1] in the popular literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (especially Chikamatsu's *Coxinga*); and in the National Learning and Mito schools of the late Tokugawa period. We also encountered nationalism as a major component of the modernization movements in the Meiji period.

In this chapter, we address two new forms of nationalism that appeared with the rise of the modern, Western-style nation-state. One is the formal incorporation of Shinto as an adjunct of the new state administration, overriding the local and particularistic associations of traditional Shinto. Despite the reversal of many institutional arrangements identified with it, and the formal disestablishment of State Shinto in 1945, the issue of the state's endorsement of and the prime minister's engagement in religious practices at Shinto shrines remains a subject of great political controversy. It has roots in tradition but acquired a specific modern form at new shrines associated with State Shinto.

The second form is cultural nationalism, which had both internationalist

1. See de Bary et al., eds., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, chaps. 11, 15, 19.

and imperialist forms. Here we see it as a Pan-Asianism, initially defined in Japanese terms. Although it sought common religious and aesthetic grounds with other Asian cultures, it also was exploited by Japanese colonialism. The protest against colonialism, recorded here by Yanagi Muneyoshi, who genuinely respected both the similarities and the differences of Asian cultures and courageously defended both, illustrates the point. Yanagi's view contrasts with the Japanese colonialists' establishment of Shinto shrines in Taiwan and Korea, where they had no local roots or native links.

STATE SHINTO

The term "State Shinto" describes the state's financial support of, and selective ideological appropriation of, Shinto in the modern period, from the beginning of the Meiji period (1868–1912) until it was dissolved by the Allied Occupation with the "Shinto Directive" of 1945. State Shinto encompasses diverse phenomena: the government's funding and regulation of shrines and priests, the emperor's religious roles, the state's creation of Shinto doctrines and rituals, the construction of shrines in imperial Japan's colonies, the compulsory participation in shrine rites, the teaching of Shinto myth as history, and the suppression of other religions that contradicted some aspect of Shinto. Because the term designates a political use of Shinto during the formation of the modern Japanese state until the end of World War II, State Shinto is not considered a "natural" evolution of Shinto itself. In this sense, State Shinto is not strictly a religion, and many Japanese who participated in it did so under pressure rather than from personal belief.

When seen from the perspective of secular scholars taking a critical attitude toward the prewar and wartime Japanese political regime, State Shinto appears as a blueprint for the intellectual and spiritual engineering of a loyal and obedient populace. Using State Shinto as an analytic concept to show how the state's aims were presented as sacred, and opposition as traitorous, it is possible to explain why the regime encountered so little popular resistance. This perspective bears little relation, however, to that of Shinto priests and scholars, who see Shinto's modern history as a checkered picture of erratic, always insufficient, government financing; selective political adoption of some Shinto ideas, but not all; and insufficient public support for making Shinto a suprareligious ritual order that all Japanese, regardless of religious belief, would willingly embrace. For them, Shinto's most significant influence came at the beginning of the Meiji period, with the government's establishment of the Department of Divinity (Jingikan), but soon faded with the failure of the Great Promulgation Campaign (1870–1884). Shinto's influence was not regained until the reestablishment of the Bureau of Divinity (Jingiin) in 1940, and then only partially. Shinto received strong support until 1945, but it was swept aside thereafter. From this

point of view, the idea of State Shinto is largely a fiction, and its postwar treatment by the Occupation, an egregious example of victor's justice. That these two incommensurate perspectives of State Shinto cannot be reconciled even at the beginning of the twenty-first century illustrates the continuing controversy regarding questions of Shinto's modern history.

Between 1870 and 1884, Shinto bureaucrats attempted to make a state religion out of Shinto through the Great Promulgation Campaign. A small number in the National Learning movement, mainly from Hirata Atsutane's faction, held office in the early Meiji government. Bureaucrats composed an official creed loosely based on Shinto and authorized Shinto priests to create a network of preachers to spread it to the populace. But because the creed had no basis in popular religious life and because it was composed of platitudes about obeying authority and revering the emperor (who previously had played no role in popular religious life), the people found it incomprehensible and its priests ludicrous. As Fukuzawa Yukichi wrote,

> Shinto has not yet established a body of doctrine. While some identify "restorationism" (*fukko*) with Shinto, Shinto has always been the puppet of Buddhism, and for hundreds of years it has failed to show its true colors. . . . It is only an insignificant movement trying to make headway by taking advantage of the imperial house at a time of political change.[2]

As this passage shows, intellectuals regarded the Great Promulgation Campaign as a dismal failure and Shinto as a "puppet."

When the campaign failed, Shinto bureaucrats fell out of favor, and the state's support for Shinto declined. Meanwhile, the shrines were drawn into a national hierarchy and a unified annual ritual calendar centering on imperial rituals and on new, national holidays, with newly created national symbols, such as a flag and an anthem. This gave the shrines a national focus for the first time. In many cases, new deities with national or patriotic associations, but no historical connection to the shrines in question, were assigned to shrines, considerably altering the character of local religious life. The cult of the war dead was institutionalized with the construction in 1879 of the Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo and an associated network of provincial shrines for the war dead. Dying in battle was upheld as the highest possible honor for a Japanese subject, since the emperor personally visited the Yasukuni Shrine to honor the spirits enshrined there. From about 1880 to 1905, the Shinto priests gradually organized themselves nationally to respond to what they regarded as a deplorable lack of state support. A national association of shrine priests was established in 1900.

Part of the Meiji debate on Shinto concerned whether it should be consid-

2. Quoted in Hardacre, "Creating State Shintō," p. 29.

ered a religion. As suggested by Fukuzawa's remarks, intellectuals regarded it as an incompletely developed religion, or a religion stunted in its intellectual development owing to centuries of being overshadowed by Buddhism. Shinto ideologues agreed that Shinto was not a religion. For them, Shinto was much more than a religion; it was "suprareligious" in that, first, it transcended the beliefs of a mortal founder and, second, it embodied the essence of the Japanese nation, its divine creation, and the divinity of imperial rule. According to this view, it was theoretically possible both to recognize the limited rights of religious freedom granted under the Meiji constitution and to require subjects to participate in shrine rites. Shrines were viewed as national facilities for the expression of patriotic sentiment, which all subjects could be expected to nurture, whatever their religious beliefs.

Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War in 1905 stimulated a great expansion of Shinto's influence. The dead from this war and the preceding Sino-Japanese War of 1894/1895 were enshrined at the Yasukuni Shrine, bringing many ordinary people to Tokyo to pay their respects to the spirits of their loved ones. The annexation of Korea in 1910 and the colonization of Manchuria led to a heightened mood of patriotism and to energetic shrine construction in the colonies. The state increased its support of Shinto and financed the training of shrine priests. Shrine priests of a certain rank became teachers in the public schools, where they promoted the teaching of Shinto mythology as history. Rites to revere the imperial portrait and ceremonial recitations of the Imperial Rescript on Education were established as regular school observances, along with visits to shrines by schoolchildren. The observance of shrine rites in local communities began to assume a semiobligatory character, and families were expected to keep a talisman of the Ise Shrine in their home altars for the gods (*kami*). As a part of Shinto's transformation to facilitate the unification of the populace, thousands of shrines were merged, in order to produce one shrine per village, with a patriotic meaning attached to the remaining shrine. There was considerable local opposition to this policy.

Popular religious life also was influenced by state suppression and intimidation using Shinto elements. Most striking was the suppression of the new religion Ōmoto in 1921 and 1935. Other religions were suppressed on charges of lèse-majesté if their doctrines conflicted with Shinto mythology. In 1932, when Christian students at Sophia University refused to pay tribute at the Yasukuni Shrine, Christianity as a whole was accused of being unpatriotic.

In 1940 the Bureau of Divinity (Jingiin) was established within the government, marking a further expansion of Shinto's influence. State appropriations for training priests and administering shrines continued at a high level. During World War II, Shinto priests served as military chaplains, and local shrine parishes were mobilized to support the war effort.

State Shinto came to an end in 1945 with the Allied Occupation's promulgation of the Shinto Directive. Remaining in force until the end of the Occu-

pation, this directive prohibited all state support for and patronage of Shinto and ordered that all Shinto influences be removed from the public schools. All bureaucratic mechanisms for administering shrines were dismantled, and many Shinto figures were purged. The priesthood as a whole suffered an immediate loss of prestige. This document was issued "in order to free the Japanese people from direct or indirect compulsion to believe or profess to believe in a religion or cult officially designated by the state, and . . . in order to prevent a recurrence of the perversion of Shinto theory and beliefs into militaristic and ultranationalistic propaganda."[3]

Because State Shinto was not a naturally occurring religion—indeed, some of those most closely associated with it denied that Shinto was or could be a religion of personal faith—it had no sacred texts. Instead, such pronouncements as the Imperial Rescript on Education and the Imperial Rescript to Soldiers and Sailors functioned as sacred writings when they were ceremonially read before an assembly of schoolchildren or military personnel standing with bowed heads and receiving the words as divine. Similarly, when ultranationalist texts like *Fundamentals of Our National Polity* (*Kokutai no hongi*) (see chap. 44) and the myths of the *Kojiki* (*Record of Ancient Matters*) were reproduced in school textbooks as part of the national history, those nationalist sentiments and stories of the nation's creation by the gods, or the entrusting of the god's will to the first emperor, came to play a role in national life similar to the role of sacred writings in a religion.

THE UNITY OF RITES AND RULE

Central to the construction of the modern Japanese nation was the presentation of the emperor as a sacred ruler who rules through rituals for his divine ancestors. The ideal of a union of ritual and rulership was called *saisei itchi*, an idea that was expounded in various edicts. The following from 1870 is representative.

We solemnly announce: The Heavenly Deities and the Great Ancestress [Amaterasu Ōmikami] established the throne and made the succession secure. The line of Emperors in unbroken succession entered into possession thereof and handed it on. Religious ceremonies and government were one and the same (*saisei itchi*), and the innumerable subjects were united. Government and education were clear to those above, while below them the manners and customs of the people were beautiful. Beginning with the Middle Ages, however, there were sometimes seasons of decay alternating with seasons of progress. Sometimes the Way was plain, sometimes, darkened; and the period in which government and education failed to flourish was long.

3. Quoted in Hardacre, *Shintō and the State*, p. 167.

Now in the cycle of fate, all things have become new. Polity and education must be made clear to the nation, and the Great Way of obedience to the gods must be promulgated. Therefore we newly appoint propagandists (the National Teachers of the Great Promulgation Campaign, *kyōdōshoku*) to proclaim this to the nation. Do you our subjects keep this commandment in mind?

[Holtom, *Modern Japan and Shintō Nationalism*, p. 6]

THE IDEA OF SHINTO AS A NATIONAL TEACHING

Texts associated with State Shinto sometimes have taken the form of memorials presented to the state. The following memorial of 1874, the period of the Great Promulgation Campaign, promotes the idea of Shinto as a National Teaching and tries to distinguish it from religion.

MEMORIAL

National Teaching (*kokkyō*) is teaching the codes of national government to the people without error. Japan is called the divine land because it is ruled by the heavenly deities' descendants, who consolidate the work of the deities. The Way of such consolidation and rule by divine descendants is called Shinto. . . . The Way of humanity in the age of the gods is nothing other than Shinto in the world of humanity. Ultimately, Shinto means a unity of government and teaching. . . . The National Teaching of the imperial house is not a religion, because religions are the theories of their founders. The National Teaching consists of the traditions of the imperial house, beginning in the age of the gods and continuing throughout history. Teaching and consolidating these traditions for the masses is inseparable from government, related as the two wheels of a cart or the wings of a bird. The National Teaching is Shinto . . . and Shinto is nothing other than the national Teaching.

[Hardacre, "The Shintō Priesthood," p. 303]

THE DIVINITY OF THE EMPEROR

The idea of the emperor's divinity was a hallmark of State Shinto. This notion inevitably followed from articles 1 and 3 of the Meiji constitution of 1889, which stated, "The Empire of Japan shall be reigned over and governed by a line of emperors unbroken for ages eternal" and "The Emperor is sacred and inviolable." The idea of the emperor's divinity was promulgated in many other forms, and while many Japanese rejected it, it pervasively influenced Japanese society and culture until the emperor renounced it in 1946.

The divinity of the emperor was understood to mean, among other things,

that the emperor was above the law, a theme taken up by Itō Hirobumi in *Commentaries on the Constitution* (1889).

FROM ARTICLE 3 OF THE MEIJI CONSTITUTION

The sacred Throne was established at the time when the heavens and the earth became separated. The Emperor is Heaven-descended, divine and sacred; He is preeminent above all his subjects. He must be reverenced and is inviolable. He has indeed to pay due respect to the law, but the law has no power to hold him accountable to it. Not only shall there be no irreverence for the Emperor's person, but also He shall not be made a topic of derogatory comment nor one of discussion.

[Holtom, *Modern Japan and Shintō Nationalism*, p. 9]

KATŌ GENCHI: "MIKADOISM"

Katō Genchi, one of the most prominent Shinto scholars of the first half of the twentieth century, identified the divinity of the emperor as the essence of Shinto, offering the term "Mikadoism" for the idea of worshiping the emperor as a living god (*akitsukami*, literally, "manifest deity").

Shinto . . . has culminated in Mikadoism or the worship of the Mikado or Japanese Emperor as a divinity, during his lifetime as well as after his death. . . . Herein lies even at the present day, in my opinion, the essence or life of Shinto, inseparably connected with the national ideals of the Japanese people. Japanese patriotism or loyalty, as you might call it, really is not simple patriotism or mere loyalty as understood in the ordinary sense of the words, that is, in the mere ethical sense of the term. It is more—it is the lofty self-denying enthusiastic sentiment of the Japanese people toward their august Ruler, believed to be something divine, rendering them capable of offering up anything and everything, all dearest to them, willingly, that is, of their own free will; of sacrificing not only their wealth or property, but their own life itself, for the sake of their divinely gracious sovereign. . . . All this is nothing but the actual manifestation of the religious consciousness of the Japanese people.

[Katō, *Study of Shinto*, pp. 206–7]

THE PATRIOTIC MEANING OF SHRINES

Shrines provided the facilities to revere the emperor and to experience the associated sentiments of patriotism. The attribution of a patriotic significance to shrines and worship at shrines transformed them from religious institutions

with a mainly local influence to facilities of national importance. However, since the shrines originated in limited local contexts, their objects of worship ranged from natural phenomena, to deified heroes, to local tutelary spirits. In the Meiji period, other shrines were dedicated to imperial ancestors. How to unify this diversity and thus produce a national sentiment was a problem for State Shinto. The solution was to give all the shrines a patriotic meaning through a focus on the emperor. These ideas were not merely promulgated by the state, the shrines, or the Shinto priesthood but also expounded in the popular press, as in the following essay, "A Policy for the Unification of the National Faith," which appeared in a national newspaper, the *Yomiuri shinbun*, on May 26, 1940.

"A POLICY FOR THE UNIFICATION OF THE NATIONAL FAITH"

At some of the shrines of our country, the ancestors of the Imperial Family are worshiped; at others, the spirits of loyal subjects who have contributed meritorious service to the state; and at still others, manifestations of nature, such as mountains, rivers, plants, and animals. The enshrined objects are exceedingly complex and diversified. Much thought has been given to the problem of how to coordinate and standardize these many deities so as to bring unity to the national faith. No matter how sound the historical origins or how exalted the personages of the enshrined deities may be, if the attitudes and motives of the people who worship them are impure and sordid and scattered in many directions, the unification of the national faith is hardly to be expected. On the other hand, if the attitudes and beliefs of the people who revere and worship these many deities are pure and noble and systematized, then the national faith attains spontaneous unification.

For example, if when we worship before the sanctuaries where the ancestors of the Imperial Family are enshrined, we bear in mind that the sacred spirits of the great ancestors are even now living in the mighty will of the Emperor, then mediated through these shrines, we do reverence to the Emperor's will. If, again, when we worship at the shrines dedicated to national heroes, we bear in mind that the great work of the Emperor in ruling over the state is exalted by these heroes, then in the same way, mediated through these shrines, we are revering the will of the Emperor. And if, again, when we worship before the shrines dedicated to the manifestations of the natural world such as mountains, rivers, animals, and plants, we bear in mind that these various manifestations offer up their manifold power and thereby sustain the imperial destiny, then in the same way, mediated through these shrines, we worship the will of the Emperor.

In this manner, no matter what may be the nature of the enshrined deity, if mediated through them all in a single line, the great heart of the Emperor

alone is revered, then the faith of the nation is completely unified and the greater the number of deities worshiped, the more does this single faith attain depth and loftiness.

[Holtom, *Modern Japan and Shintō Nationalism*, pp. 43–44]

STATE SHINTO IN THE COLONIES OF IMPERIAL JAPAN

Shrines were constructed in all of Japan's colonies, but their use to discipline colonial subjects was the most severe in Korea. Nearly four hundred Shinto shrines were erected in Korea as part of the effort to "Japanize" Korean colonial subjects, who were required to worship at them, a stricter obligation than existed in Japan proper. Koreans were not permitted to question the idea that Shinto was not a religion, nor could religious schools be excused from shrine worship on religious grounds. In 1936 the Japanese head of the Home Office in a Korean province issued the following statement on shrines.

ON THE REFUSAL TO WORSHIP AT SHRINES (JINJA FUSANPAI NI TSUITE)

The shrines are public agencies whereby the ancestors of the Imperial Family and people who have rendered distinguished service to the state are enshrined, and where the subjects of the state may offer true reverence and commemorate their meritorious deeds forever. Thus the fundamental idea differs from that of religion. That is to say, from ancient times down to the present the shrines have been national institutions expressive of the very center and essence of our national structure. Thus they have an existence totally distinct from religion, and worship at the shrines is an act of patriotism and loyalty, the basic moral virtues of our nation.

Schools, whether or not they are founded by governmental or private agencies, and regardless of whether or not they are supported by religious groups, all without exception have their primary significance in the cultivation of national character. It is, accordingly, entirely proper that educational institutions which are charged with the important duty of developing Japanese subjects, should carry out worship at the shrines for educational reasons. It is on no grounds permissible that school principals and teachers who unite their educational functions with those of religious propagandists, should confuse religion and education and be deficient in an understanding of the system of laws and ordinances which the state has established because of the requirements of national education, and oppose orders and fail to perform worship at the shrines.

In the matter of the national interpretation of the shrines and of national

necessity, all people, both from the point of view of their relation as subjects of the Empire and from that of the education of the people of the nation, should yield obedience. Such things as the advocacy of the individualistic and arbitrary interpretation that the shrines are religious in nature, and in particular the opposition to orders concerning educational administration, are not to be permitted.

[Holtom, *Modern Japan and Shintō Nationalism*, p. 167]

THE EMPEROR'S RENUNCIATION OF HIS DIVINITY

Emperor Hirohito renounced the idea of his divinity in a rescript on January 1, 1946, his New Year greeting to the people for that year. This action probably had more influence on public opinion than did the Shinto Directive, which brought State Shinto to an end.

The devastation of war inflicted upon our cities, the miseries of the destitute, the stagnation of trade, shortage of food, and the great and growing number of the unemployed are indeed heart-rending. But if the nation is firmly united in its resolve to face the present ordeal and to seek civilization consistently in peace, a bright future will undoubtedly be ours, not only for our country, but for the whole humanity.

Love of the family and love of the country are especially strong in this country. With more of this devotion should we now work toward love of mankind.

We feel deeply concerned to note that consequent upon the protracted war which ended in our defeat, our people are liable to grow restless and to fall into the Slough of Despond. Radical tendencies in excess are gradually spreading and the sense of morality tends to lose its hold on the people, with the result that there are signs of confusion of thoughts.

We stand by the people and We wish always to share with them in their moments of joys and sorrows. The ties between Us and Our people have always stood upon mutual trust and affection. They do not depend upon mere legends and myths. They are not predicated on the false conception that the Emperor is divine (*akitsu mikami*) and that the Japanese people are superior to other races and fated to rule the world.

[Woodward, *The Allied Occupation of Japan*, p. 316]

TOKUTOMI SOHŌ: A JAPANESE NATIONALIST'S VIEW OF THE WEST AND ASIA

Few Japanese in the modern period reflected more clearly the changing attitudes toward the West and Asia than the historian, journalist, and publicist

Tokutomi Sohō (or Iichirō). Born in 1863, five years before the Meiji Restoration, and dying in 1957, after Japan's defeat in the Pacific War, Tokutomi had a career as a social commentator and spokesman for popular and national ideals that spanned the entire century of Japan's emergence as a modern state. Intellectually, he also traversed a wide expanse from an early fascination with popular democracy and Western-oriented democratic reforms, to support for the centralized imperial state and imperialistic expansion, and, in his later years, to a form of ultranationalistic chauvinism that included strong support for Japan's mission to rid Asia of Western influence and create a "new order" for all Asians under Japanese leadership.

Born the son of a village headman and raised in a typical "rich peasant" (*gōnō*) household, Tokutomi was initially trained in the Chinese classics and exposed to the reform ideas of Yokoi Shōnan. After the Restoration, he attended the Kumamoto School for Western Learning run by Captain L. L. Janes and, for a short time, was converted to Christianity. In the mid-1870s, Tokutomi joined other members of the Kumamoto Band and pursued his education at Dōshisha College in Kyoto. Although Tokutomi abandoned Christianity and left Dōshisha in 1880, he remained strongly influenced by Western liberal ideas. In the 1880s, he established himself as both a teacher and one of Japan's most important journalists and publishers. His early writings are of particular interest because they combine ideas rooted in his well-to-do peasant background with elements of democratic reformism that fueled the Freedom and People's Rights movement. Tokutomi labeled his version of popular democracy *heiminshugi* (commonerism or populism). Borrowing the ideas of Herbert Spencer, Tokutomi argued that the process of evolution for all nations moved through similar stages. Influenced by Spencer and the Manchester school, he believed that commercial economic development would replace the military, or feudal, stage. Commercial, or financial, power would replace military force. Indeed, he thought that this is what had taken place in the late Tokugawa period. At the same time, like many of his compatriots, he was preoccupied with the question of how Japan could become modern, wealthy, and strong. For the early Tokutomi (no doubt under the influence of Yokoi Shōnan), the quest for wealth and power was based less on demonstrating military might than on breaking the fetters of the past and releasing the energies of the younger generation, advancing commercial and industrial output, and supporting trade. By the late 1890s, Tokutomi had abandoned his earlier populist ideas in favor of an expanding imperial state, military power, and colonialism. Events such as the Triple Intervention of 1895 and the discrimination against Japanese in the United States (California Alien Land Acts, 1913 and 1920) played significant roles in his "transformation." Indeed, by the 1920s and 1930s, Tokutomi had become increasingly anti-Western and believed, as his support of the Pacific War revealed, that Japan should expel the West from Asia. Tokutomi was arrested as a class-A war criminal by the Occupation in 1945 and spent two years

under house arrest. Despite being purged from public life, he remained stubbornly independent and refused to retract any of the ideas and ideals he had espoused for modern Japan.

THE EARLY MEIJI VISION

Tokutomi Sohō's influence on what Kenneth B. Pyle calls "the new generation" of Meiji Japan was immense. In 1886 he published his first best-seller, *The Future Japan* (*Shōrai no Nihon*), and in 1887 another immensely popular book, *Youth of New Japan* (*Shin Nihon no seinen*). Also in 1887, when he was just twenty-four, he founded the Min'yūsha (Society of the People's Friends). For the next decade, he published and edited the Meiji period's most significant journal, *Kokumin no tomo* (*The Nation's Friend*). It was through another book, also entitled *The Nation's Friend* (*Kokumin no tomo*), and the *Kokumin shinbun*, a newspaper he founded in 1890, that Tokutomi introduced young Japanese to Western political and economic ideas, particularly those of Herbert Spencer, John Stuart Mill, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau as well as Richard Cobden, John Bright, and the Manchester school. The early Tokutomi wanted to place Japan in world history and to give the youthful generation a sense of where Japan was going. Like other early Meiji thinkers, such as Fukuzawa Yukichi, he saw the break with the past—that is, the Meiji Restoration—as a liberating event.

The present transformation is a progressive and not a retrogressive one. The field on which we now do battle is not the last, but the first; the present departure is not one of despair but of hope. . . . Today, if the rotted and withered old trees were to be blown down in a typhoon, there would still remain young shoots which with proper nurture would soon rise loftily to the heavens. This age is one of hope. For this reason we should call this not the Transformation of Japan but rather, more appropriately, the Resurrection of Japan. For the old Japan has already died, and what exists in the present day is the new Japan. The question remains: what of Japan's future?

[Tokutomi, *Shōrai no Nihon*; Kōsaka, ed., and Abosch, trans., *Japanese Thought in the Meiji Era*, p. 202]

ON WEALTH AND POWER

Sharing the belief expressed in the Charter Oath that Japan had to rid itself of the "evil customs of the past," Tokutomi urged the youth of the new Japan to reject Japan's feudal past, which he identified with a passing military age, and move ahead on the course of evolutionary progress that would lead to commercial development and economic growth. Revealing his confidence in the power of economic change and the shift in power relations that stemmed from it, he observed the following about the Restoration.

Peace was the servant of wealth; wealth progressed, indeed, made extraordinary progress. This wealth, however, was all outside the compass of the feudal warrior class. Peace not only contributed to the "production of wealth," it brought the "joys of wealth." And not these alone, but also the "worship of wealth." Therefore, the social structure, which was centered on the feudal samurai, could not but tend to focus on the attainment of wealth. . . . Conditions of society being like this, even without the irruption of the problems of foreign affairs, revolution could not have been avoided.

[Tokutomi, *Shōrai no Nihon*; Kōsaka, ed., and Abosch, trans., *Japanese Thought in the Meiji Era*, p. 204]

YOUTH AND REVOLUTION

While the early Tokutomi regarded the Meiji Restoration as a revolution, he also believed that it was an incomplete revolution that had to be completed by the young people of Meiji Japan. In the 1880s, Tokutomi was a fervent advocate of a "second revolution." For him, all great historical changes were spurred by clashes between classes and generations.

Everybody knows passively the power of wealth; nobody reflects on the force of the desire for wealth. Everybody knows the force of power; nobody reflects on the force of the lust for power. To have experience is to have power, but in not having experience there is also power. Those without experience . . . can act impulsively, without reflecting. Rank is a source of power, not to have rank is also a source of power. . . . At the same time that we admit the importance of wealth, strength, learning, authority, in political affairs, we must also admit that there are other important resources. This is what is meant by the phrase "to be inexhaustible through possessing nothing." This quality of inexhaustible resources is limited to youth alone. Youth is naturally endowed with populist, reforming, and progressive tendencies. It is always this class that is drawn upon when it becomes necessary to cleanse society of corruption.

[Tokutomi, *Shōrai no Nihon*; Kōsaka, ed., and Abosch, trans., *Japanese Thought in the Meiji Era*, p. 206]

ON ECONOMIC VERSUS MILITARY POWER

The early Tokutomi was a fervent believer in the power of democracy and the emergence of a middle class that he identified with men like his father and other "rural gentlemen," or *inaka shinshi*, who possessed a bourgeois consciousness. Indeed, in his early years, as John D. Pierson noted, Tokutomi thought that "the *inaka shinshi* were gradually replacing the old warrior aristocracy as the dominant class, as the controlling

social and political force in the new society."[4] Tokutomi was convinced that the first victory for democracy had occurred when military force was replaced by the rule of wealth. At the same time, he possessed a social consciousness that saw this change as presenting new challenges. It is no accident that later socialists, such as Kōtoku Shūsui and Ishikawa Sanshirō, saw in the early Tokutomi and the Min'yūsha the origins of their movement.

The limiting of military power by wealth constitutes the first victory for democracy in the world. To limit wealth by labor would be the second victory for democracy in the world. The first victory has already been partially attained in the nineteenth century. Though there are not too many signs as yet of the second victory, it is certain that these will appear in the future.

What are the great societal changes that we can speak of for the period comprising the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries? . . . The limiting of military power by wealth following the emergence of the middle-classes which developed commerce and industry.

I used the word *limiting*, not *destruction*. . . . When we think of a country like Russia, proud of her military power, yet, humbly floating loans from republican France, or a country like England, her ironclads all over the world, yet having her power of taxation vested in the Lower House of Parliament, may we not conclude that wealth limits military power? . . . Similarly wealth will be limited by labor. The present power of wealth penetrates to the very marrow of society. Can this power be easily destroyed? To destroy this is never the way to foster the progress of society. Therefore, I speak of limiting, not destroying. What does limiting mean in this regard? It means for the power of labor to transcend the power of wealth. And though wealth now has power, the power of labor will be triumphant. Where does the power of labor come from? From the lower classes, from those who earn their bread by the sweat of their brows.

[Tokutomi, *Shōrai no Nihon*; Kōsaka, ed., and Abosch, trans., *Japanese Thought in the Meiji Era*, p. 204]

ADVOCATE OF FREEDOM AND PEOPLE'S RIGHTS

Given Tokutomi's subsequent support for the ideology of the imperial state and ultranationalism, it is interesting to read the early Tokutomi on the importance of freedom and the rights of free expression. Teaching at the Ōe gijuku, his school in Kumamoto, in the early 1880s, Tokutomi fiercely resisted the conservative inclinations of the Ministry of Education to control all aspects of education, including the choice of appropriate textbooks, arguing that the highest degree of freedom was needed to produce

4. Pierson, *Tokutomi Sohō*, p. 192.

the modern state and productive citizens. In the following passage from Tokutomi's book *Freedom, Morality, and Confucianism* (*Jiyū dōtoku oyobi jukyōshugi*), we can also see the search for economic rights and freedoms that were essential to the interests of the rural elite in the Restoration.

That Westerners, with [their] wealth, literature, military, science, and legal systems, predominate in the universe and are the leaders of the world is because Western people have put freedom into practice. That Orientals are losing their rights to independence, are regarded as barbarians, are ridiculed, hang their heads in but one corner of the earth . . . and are cowed into silence is because Oriental people have neglected freedom.

If we make our system a free system, reform the economy . . . secure the rights of the people, emancipate all occupations, leaving this to the free [choice of the] people, eliminate all traces of [state] protectionism and interventionism, deepen our harbors, reduce our tariffs, there is absolutely no doubt but that our nation's industries will prosper. . . . At once we will become like a great wharf in the Pacific, a great city of the Orient, a wholesaler of international commerce and the sun will be darkened by the smoke rising from thousands of smokestacks. . . . And all this will come just because there is this precious freedom.

I say, give [us] freedom. Give [the people] freedom quickly. Then the nation will instantly prosper. . . . And morality will be encouraged. . . . I am not satisfied with gaining just political liberties. I want to protect our civil liberties, protect our personages and protect our rights. . . . Proceeding from this we must sweep away the bad habits and evil practices of [the feudal] society, eliminate and level all artificial class distinctions, eliminate the oppression of prejudice, making the whole society replete with the atmosphere of freedom. And proceeding even farther, we must cut the chains that bind the minds of the people and develop human intellect, making all the people [really] free. . . . The ultimate objective of mankind is to become civilized. . . . Once having received freedom we must then use it, and I wish, encouraged by this freedom, to travel the route to civilization.

[Tokutomi, *Jiyū dōtoku oyobi jukyōshugi*; Pierson, *Tokutomi Sohō*, p. 114]

NATIONALISM

Even though the early Tokutomi espoused liberal ideals, he also was a nationalist. The preservation of national sovereignty was his ultimate goal. Believing that the nineteenth century demonstrated that an age of peace and democracy was at hand, Tokutomi rejected military expansion in *The Future Japan* in favor of pacifism, but he retained certain doubts about the degree to which the forces of peace had the upper hand against military might. The West, he admitted, still approached Asia with force.

The present-day world is one in which civilized people tyrannically destroy primitive people. . . . The European countries stand at the very pinnacle of violence and base themselves on the doctrine of force. . . . India, alas, has been destroyed, Annam has been destroyed, Burma will be next. The remaining countries will be independent in name only. . . . What is the outlook for Persia? For China? Korea? And even Japan? The future will be extremely critical. This, I feel, is unbearable.

[Tokutomi, *Shōrai no Nihon*; Kōsaka, ed., and Abosch, trans., *Japanese Thought in the Meiji Era*, p. 209]

SUPPORTING THE IMPERIAL STATE AND MILITARY EXPANSION

In the late 1890s, Tokutomi underwent a major transformation, which was shaped by two forces. One was the demise of the middle class of country gentlemen that he had idealized in his early writings. With the Matsukata deflation, the majority of these progressively inclined rural leaders, who had been moving away from agriculture, were once again transformed into landlords. Moreover, they now headed an unruly and unhappy countryside in which the majority of Japan's independent farmers had been turned into tenants. In short, the very class that had carried him to prominence and that he felt would replace Japan's samurai aristocracy as the leaders of the country was now in trouble. To protect itself, it needed the police and military power of the former samurai who controlled the center. The very men who had struggled against the central government through the Freedom and People's Rights movement now had decided to join the center in order to preserve domestic stability. Thus by the middle of the 1890s, not only was the Freedom and People's Rights movement dead, but the progressive men for whom Tokutomi spoke had turned conservative. He was not alone in sensing this change, which also influenced Fukuzawa Yukichi, the other leading voice for this class. Both men were influenced as well by the wave of aggressive Western imperial expansion that took place in the late 1890s, which they felt threatened Japan. Tokutomi's shift to statism, his support for Japanese military expansion, and his increasingly nationalistic vision should be seen in this context.

REJOICING OVER VICTORY IN THE SINO-JAPANESE WAR

The Sino-Japanese War of 1894/1895 strongly influenced Tokutomi. Shortly after Japan's victory he rejoiced.

We are no longer ashamed to stand before the world as Japanese. . . . The name "Japanese," like the names Satsuma and Chōshū after the Boshin [Restoration]

War, like the name of Wellington after Waterloo, now signifies honor, glory, courage, triumph, and victory. Before we did not know ourselves, and the world did not yet know us. But now that we have tested our strength, we know ourselves and we are known by the world. Moreover, we know that we are known by the world!

[Hayakawa, *Tokutomi Sohō*, p. 176; Pierson, *Tokutomi Sohō*, p. 236]

RESENTMENT RESULTING FROM THE TRIPLE INTERVENTION

At the time of the Triple Intervention in 1895, Tokutomi was on the Liaodong Peninsula, the territory that Japan had taken from China and that France, Germany, and Russia had forced it to return. Like many Japanese, the joy of victory suddenly soured for him when Japan was forced to give in to Western demands. He stated that he was "vexed beyond tears" and quickly returned to Japan, picking up a handful of gravel from the beach at Port Arthur, which he tied in his handkerchief. For years, he kept this gravel in a box on his desk as a reminder of Japan's humiliation. In 1896 he expressed his views on Japan's new Asian mission, which emerged from the hostility and resentment he now felt for the West.

The countries of the Far East falling prey to the great powers of Europe is something that our nation will not stand for. East Asia becoming a mire of disorder is something that our nation will not tolerate. We have a duty to radiate the light of civilization beyond our shores and bring the benefits of civilization to our neighbors. We have the duty to guide backward countries to the point of being able to govern themselves. We have the duty to maintain peace in East Asia for this purpose. As a man has his calling, so too does a nation have its mission.

[Tokutomi, "Jishuteki gaikō no igi," *Kokumin no tomo*, February 8, 1896; Pierson, *Tokutomi Sohō*, p. 241]

SUPPORT FOR THE IMPERIAL STATE, CRITICISM OF TAISHŌ SOCIETY

Tokutomi's nationalism expanded in the first decades of the twentieth century. He was now firmly committed to the Japanese empire under military domination as well as critical of the self-indulgence of the Taishō period (1912–1926).

In the Taishō period [the nation] lost its ideals and became intoxicated only with the present. . . . Those who did not succumb to this tendency fell into foreign ways and heretical ideologies [becoming] radical socialists, communists, and bolsheviks. . . . A world in which man has no ideals other than materialistic avarice is a world of mammonism. A world of mammonism is a world of lust

and hedonism. People say the world of politics is degenerate. But why is it degenerate? Is it not ultimately because ideals have been lost? People say the world of bureaucrats is degenerate. And why is it degenerate: is it not ultimately because ideals have been lost? People say the society at large is degenerate. Why is it degenerate? Is it not ultimately because of the loss of ideals? The loss of ideals is no small matter; it emasculates both man and society alike. . . . Those of our people who have not lost the spirit of being Japanese and who are not leading empty, vain lives are really rare!

[Tokutomi, *Shōwa ishin ron*, pp. 30–31; Pierson, *Tokutomi Sohō*, p. 356]

WORSHIP OF THE IMPERIAL HOUSE

Tokutomi tried to counter Taishō hedonism by a new spiritual revolution focusing on loyalty to the emperor. In 1927 he wrote the following in his call for a new "Shōwa Restoration."

Nothing is more urgent for the long-term future of Imperial Japan than cultivating in the hearts of the people the idea of loyalty to the Imperial House as being central to all things. . . . There must be encouragement of worship of the Imperial House and the nurturing of a spirit of loyalty to the sovereign and love of the country.

[Tokutomi, *Shōwa ishin ron*, p. 51; Pierson, *Tokutomi Sohō*, p. 357]

REJECTING THE WEST AND WITHDRAWING FROM THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

As the Triple Intervention showed, Tokutomi was often unhappy with Western responses to Japanese accomplishments. These concerns expanded in the 1920s and 1930s as Tokutomi began viewing the West in increasingly critical terms. He also felt that Europeans and Americans were hypocritical and often attacked Japan for acts they themselves engaged in. By the 1930s, Tokutomi had come full circle and rejected the form of Westernism that he had advocated in the early Meiji years. Instead, he now strongly backed what he called the "Imperial Way," which included Japan's expansion on the Asian continent. When Japan withdrew from the League of Nations in 1933, Tokutomi wrote the following in a newspaper article.

We are by no means withdrawing from the League simply because there is no purpose to our continued membership. We withdraw to proclaim our beliefs to the world. We withdraw in order to protest the tyranny of the League of Nations. . . . By our withdrawal from the League we give the wayward gentlemen of Europe and America an object lesson. That is, we awaken them to the ex-

istence in Asia also of a strong-willed people. Moreover, we promote the awareness among the races of Asia that, like Asian peoples, Westerners are also human [and therefore vulnerable]. Our withdrawal is therefore not just a matter of fulfilling our own aspirations, but it teaches Europeans and Americans that the world is not a place for them to monopolize, and it also shows Asians that they can be free from domination by Europeans and Americans. Our aims are . . . self-government for Asia, autonomy for Asia.

[Tokutomi, in *Ōsaka mainichi shinbun*, February 25, 1933; Pierson, *Tokutomi Sohō*, p. 371]

JUSTIFICATION FOR THE CHINA WAR

By the outbreak of the China War in 1937, Tokutomi had added anti-Communism to Japan's role in Asia, an approach to the China conflict that was shared by other Japanese intellectuals.

It is a serious mistake to view this war as a fight between Japan and China. Japan has not from the beginning regarded China as the enemy; and Japan holds no malice toward China. . . . Japan's concern with regard to China is not focused on China but upon the Soviet Union, which stands behind China. The Soviet Union is now attempting to expand and waits for an opportunity to eliminate Japanese influence from Manchuria. The influence of the Soviet Union encompasses nearly 70 percent of the Asian continent . . . and the fact is that the Soviet Union is now attempting to bring China and Manchuria into its fold. Both China and Manchuria are now very much threatened. Manchuria is a nation inseparably united with Japan and cannot be allowed to be touched by the Soviet Union. . . . If China should come under Soviet influence, it would be a serious threat to our country. . . . Our national policy is to promote the Imperial Way in Asia. . . . If communism grows in China, and China comes under the control of the Comintern, then Japan's position in Asia will be lost . . . and Japan itself will be endangered. Given this situation, it is the natural duty of Japan to use all of its strength, material and spiritual, to save China from communism, not only for the sake of China but for the defense of Japan itself. For these reasons, we regard this war not as a war between Japan and China but as a war against the Comintern . . . a war with communism.

[Tokutomi, *Senji gaigen*, pp. 10–12; Pierson, *Tokutomi Sohō*, p. 372]

AMERICAN–JAPANESE RELATIONS IN 1941

On the eve of the outbreak of hostilities between Japan and the United States, Tokutomi presented what he thought was the Japanese case for a righteous war.

America, which eighty-eight years ago pressured us into opening the country with its warships and cannon, is now blockading us with the ABCD encirclement, abrogation of the commercial treaty, freezing of assets, and other such policies. . . . If this process continues along its present course, we can only suffer the grief of being contained at the mercy of America. Japan's goodwill toward America has been exhausted. Japan has exhausted every possible means of working to achieve an understanding with America. . . . America is tightening the knot of encirclement and strangling us day by day. . . . I give but one example: Oil is essential to our life. If we do not have oil, we cannot live for even a day. . . . The policy [of an oil embargo] is clearly a hostile act against Japan! Even worse is the instance of blockading the shipment of Dutch East Indies oil to us. . . . Patience has its limits. . . . Japan cannot sit idly by and be resigned to the fate of confinement while being strangled to death. It is entirely appropriate for us as a nation to act freely in order to live. No matter how easygoing the Japanese may be, we are not ones to sit by meekly and stab our backs with the left hand while suffocating ourselves with the right hand. Japanese people! Strengthen your resolve for self-defense quickly!

[Tokutomi, in *Ōsaka mainichi shinbun*, November 4, 1941; Pierson, *Tokutomi Sohō*, p. 375]

COMMENTS ON THE IMPERIAL RESCRIPT FOR WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

Japan declared war on the United States and Great Britain by means of an imperial rescript that went point by point through Japan's grievances and argued that it had no alternative but to go to war. Shortly after this official proclamation, Tokutomi wrote an extensive commentary on the rescript. Exhorting Japan to become the Leader and Light of Asia, Tokutomi reveals the degree to which he now espoused the ideology of imperial Japan and the sacred imperial institution. As Tokutomi saw it, the war was clearly a moral campaign waged by the "moral" Japanese against the "immoral" West.

The Basis of the Imperial Way

The virtue of sincerity is represented by the Mirror, the virtue of love is represented by the Jewels, and the virtue of intelligence is represented by the Sword. . . . Then, it is not wrong to liken the Three Sacred Treasures to the three virtues of intelligence, love, and courage by saying that the Mirror represents the intelligence which reflects everything, the Jewel, the love which embraces everything, and the Sword the courage which judges between justice and injustice, honesty and dishonesty.

In any case, the basis of the Imperial Way lies in truth, in sincerity, and in justice. Its range is wide and there is nothing it does not embrace. It expels evil, subjugates injustice, absolutely maintains the tenets of justice, and itself occu-

pies a position which can never be violated. The August virtue of the divine imperial lineage has not a single instance when it did not arise from these three virtues. In other words, they form the national character of Nippon, and at the same time the national trait of the people of Nippon. Combining them all, we call it the Imperial Way.

The phrase "the three virtues of intelligence, love, and courage" may sound very much like a common ethical teaching, but when considered realistically, it gives us the reason why our country, under whatever circumstances, has never resorted to arms for the sake of arms alone.

Three Qualifications of the Leader of Greater East Asia

Now that we have risen up in arms, we must accomplish our aim to the last. Herein lies the core of our theory. In Nippon resides a destiny to become the Light of Greater East Asia and to become ultimately the Light of the World. However, in order to become the Light of Greater East Asia, we must have three qualifications. The first is, as mentioned previously, strength. In other words, we must expel Anglo-Saxon influence from East Asia with our strength.

To speak the truth, the various races of east Asia look upon the British and Americans as superior to the Nippon race. They look upon Britain and the United States as more powerful nations than Nippon. Therefore, we must show our real strength before all our fellow-races of East Asia. We must show them an object lesson. It is not a lesson in words. It should be a lesson in facts.

In other words, before we can expel the Anglo-Saxons and make them remove all their traces from East Asia, we must annihilate them. In this way only will the various fellow-races of Greater East Asia look upon us as their leader. I believe that the lesson which we must first show to our fellow-races in Greater East Asia is this lesson of cold reality.

The second qualification is benevolence. Nippon must develop the various resources of East Asia and distribute them fairly to all the races within the East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere to make them share in the benefits. In other words, Nippon should not monopolize the benefits, but should distribute them for the mutual prosperity of Greater East Asia.

We must show to the races of East Asia that the order, tranquillity, peace, happiness, and contentment of East Asia can be gained only by eradicating the evil precedent of the encroachment and extortion of the Anglo-Saxons in East Asia, by effecting the real aim of the co-prosperity of East Asia, and making Nippon the leader of East Asia.

The third qualification is virtue. East Asia embraces various races. Its religions are different. Moreover, there has practically been no occasion when these have mutually united to work for a combined aim. It was the favorite policy of the Anglo-Saxons to make the various races of East Asia compete and fight each other and make them mutually small and powerless. We must, there-

fore, console them, bring friendship among them, and make them all live in peace with a boundlessly embracing virtue.

In short, the first is the Grace of the Sacred Sword, the second, the Grace of the Sacred Mirror, and the third, the Grace of the Sacred Jewels. If we should express it in other words, we must have courage, knowledge and benevolence. If Nippon should lack even one of the above three, it will not be able to become the Light of Asia.

[IMTFE, International Prosecution Section, document 2402B, exhibit 1336 (Draft of Basic Plan for Establishment of Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere)]

ANALYZING DEFEAT

With the country he loved in ruins and personally under house arrest for his part in supporting the war, Tokutomi reexamined modern Japan's development.

All the moves of the Japanese Government, the people, or rather the entire nation since the Meiji Restoration were motivated primarily by self-survival. That is, the Japanese people began moving out of their country in search of livelihood—food and clothing. The second motive was self-defense. These moves were aimed at achieving complete independence, maintaining her prestige as an independent country, and safe-guarding such independence from foreign influences. . . . A third motive was self-respect, that is, a protest as a result of an explosion of dissatisfaction and discontentment with the unfair treatment the World Powers accorded Japan as an independent state. . . .

Suppose that the moves of Japan had been tainted with imperialism, who were they that taught the Japanese what imperialism is? They were the World Powers, I do not hesitate to say so openly. The history of Japan from the latter half of the nineteenth century to the early half of the twentieth century was not of her own [making] but closely interwoven with that of the world. It shows that Japan was constantly imitating what the senior powers had done, though she might have been clumsy in playing her part compared with the other powers. There is a Japanese saying, "People ruin themselves by trying to ape their betters." This saying may be applied to Japan, with this reservation that what the "ruined people" aped was not of their invention but of "their betters." The World Powers, if I may compare them to cormorants, dived into the water and caught fishes big and small. Japan followed suit but failed to catch any fish and drowned herself. The folly of the Japanese is indeed unsurpassed.

[Defense document 632, pp. 40–41; Pierson, *Tokutomi Sohō*, pp. 386–87]

FINAL ASSESSMENT

Tokutomi's final assessment was blunt and direct and was as much a judgment of himself as of his fellow Japanese.

If the Japanese are to be blamed, they should be for their misjudgment of China, the Anglo-American Powers, the U.S.S.R., Germany, Italy, and most of all Japan herself. The Japanese, as Sunzi said, "knew neither others nor themselves." This is the cause of the present disaster. Thus the Japanese have nobody to blame but themselves.

[Defense document 632, p. 42; Pierson, *Tokutomi Sohō*, p. 387]

OKAKURA KAKUZŌ: AESTHETIC PAN-ASIANISM

Okakura Kakuzō (1862–1913), later known as Tenshin, was the son of an Echizen samurai turned merchant in the treaty port of Yokohama. There, as a youth, Okakura profited from an excellent Western-style education which he later used to promote Japanese art, first as the distinctive expression of a Japanese spiritual culture and then as the quintessence as well as synthesis of Asian art as a whole—thus qualifying Japan to serve as the leader of Asia in resisting Western military and cultural imperialism.

Some of Okakura's basic ideas came from his teacher in the school that became Tokyo Imperial University, Ernest Fenollosa, who championed traditional Japanese art and its spiritual qualities over decadent Western art and the crass materialism of the modern West. In this, both Okakura and Fenollosa reacted against the "wholesale" Westernization of Japan in the 1870s and 1880s. Increasingly, however, with the rising tide of nationalism following the Sino-Japanese (1894/1895) and Russo-Japanese (1904/1905) Wars, Okakura's celebration of Japanese cultural superiority and its civilizing mission to the world lent itself to the service of a Pan-Asianism that, whether he recognized it or not, also served a growing Japanese imperialism claiming to defend Asia against the West.

Okakura's professional career was a checkered one, complicated by serious personal problems—drink, sex, and money—that led him to escape abroad and exploit his eloquence in English. In India, he found in Rabindranath Tagore a natural ally for his Pan-Asian views, and in America, as a curator at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, he gained a strong following among American collectors and art critics.

After returning from India in 1902, Okakura completed *The Ideals of the East, with Special Reference to the Art of Japan*, which opens with the aphorism "Asia is one." This book was followed by three others in English. *The Awakening of Japan* (1904, coinciding with the Russo-Japanese War) stresses the need for the Japanese to overcome their passivity and take a more active lead in defending Asia from Western militarism. *The Book of Tea* (1906) celebrates the tea ceremony and the "Zen" aesthetic of fifteenth-century Muromachi Japan and enjoyed a great vogue in the West. The third book, *The Awakening of the East*, originally written in 1902, was published posthumously in 1938.

As a curator at the Museum of Fine Arts from 1910 to his death in 1913,

Okakura helped the museum acquire a number of important artworks and propagated a new myth of Asia that meshed comfortably with the romanticized view of Eastern culture that was becoming prevalent in Europe and America at the time, emphasizing the spiritual and peaceful nature of Asia, especially of Japan, which he portrayed as among all Asian nations the one most in tune with the noble and refined spirit of the East. Although Okakura did not live to witness the two world wars, his thinking foreshadowed some of the imperialistic rhetoric of wartime Japan. The concept of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, which served to legitimize Japan's expansionism, was also predicated on the idea that "Asia is one," with Japan as its destined leader.

THE IDEALS OF THE EAST

In fifteen chapters, Okakura Kakuzō offers a chronological account of Japanese art history from antiquity to the Meiji period. His aim was not so much to explain stylistic developments as to elevate the status of Japanese art and, with it, that of the Japanese nation. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many Westerners saw Japanese art as no more than pretty objects, products of craft and industry and devoid of higher meaning. Okakura tried to change this view by constructing an elaborate network of geographical, religious, and historical relationships. In chapter 1, he identifies Japan as part of a much larger geocultural sphere that includes China, India, Persia, and other regions in Asia. He also claims it as the repository of all the best traditions born of this sphere. The book is replete with characterizations of Japan that emphasize its unique superiority. Indeed, he more than matches the condescending tone of some Western "Orientalists" in this regard.

Japan Is a Museum of Asiatic Civilization

Asia is one. The Himalayas divide, only to accentuate, two mighty civilizations, the Chinese with its communism of Confucius, and the Indian with its individualism of the Vedas. But not even the snowy barriers can interrupt for one moment that broad expanse of love for the Ultimate and the Universal, which is the common thought-inheritance of every Asiatic race, enabling them to produce all the great religions of the world, and distinguishing them from those maritime peoples of the Mediterranean and the Baltic, who love to dwell on the Particular, and to search out the Means, not the end, of life. . . .

For if Asia be one, it is also true that the Asiatic races form a single mighty web. We forget, in an age of classification, that types are after all but shining points of distinctness in an ocean of approximations, false gods deliberately set up to be worshiped, for the sake of mental convenience, but having no more ultimate or mutually exclusive validity than the separate existence of two interchangeable sciences. If the history of Delhi represents the Tartar's imposition of himself upon a Mohammedan world, it must also be remembered that the

story of Baghdad and her great Saracenic culture is equally significant of the power of Semitic peoples to demonstrate Chinese, as well as Persian, civilization and art, in the face of the Frankish nations of the Mediterranean coast. Arab chivalry, Persian poetry, Chinese ethics, and Indian thought, all speak of a single Asiatic peace, in which there grew up a common life, bearing in different regions different characteristic blossoms, but nowhere capable of a hard and fast dividing-line. Islam itself may be described as Confucianism on horseback, sword in hand. For it is quite possible to distinguish, in the hoary communism of the Yellow Valley, the traces of a purely pastoral element, such as we see abstracted and self-realized in the Mussulman races.

Or, to turn again to eastern Asia from the West, Buddhism—that great ocean of idealism, in which merge all the river-systems of Eastern Asiatic thought—is colored not only with the pure water of the Ganges, for the Tartaric nations that joined it made their genius also tributary, bringing new symbolism, new organization, new powers of devotion, to add to the treasures of faith.

It has been, however, the great privilege of Japan to realize this unity-in-complexity with a special clearness. The Indo-Tartaric blood of this race was in itself a heritage which qualified it to imbibe from the two sources, and so mirror the whole of Asiatic consciousness. The unique blessing of unbroken sovereignty, the proud self-reliance of an unconquered race, and the insular isolation which protected ancestral ideas and instincts at the cost of expansion, made Japan the real repository of the trust of Asiatic thought and culture. Dynastic upheavals, the inroads of Tartar horsemen, the carnage and devastation of furious mobs—all these things, sweeping over her again and again, have left to China no landmarks, save her literature and her ruins, to recall the glory of the Tang emperors or the refinement of Song society.

The grandeur of Asoka[5]—the ideal type of Asiatic monarch, whose edicts dictated terms to the sovereigns of Antioch and Alexandria—is almost forgotten among the crumbling stones of Bharhut[6] and Buddha Gaya.[7] The jeweled court of Vikramaditya is but a lost dream, which even the poetry of Kalidasa fails to evoke.[8] The sublime attainments of Indian art, almost effaced as they have been

5. Aśoka (r. ca. 265–238 or ca. 273–232 B.C.E.) was the last major emperor in the Mauryan dynasty of India. His vigorous patronage of Buddhism in the third century B.C.E. spread the religion throughout India and beyond.

6. Bharhut, a village in north central India, is known for a stupa (architectural reliquary) that dates to the time of Aśoka, with sculptural decorations that are among the earliest and most elegant specimens of Indian Buddhist art.

7. Buddha Gayā, also spelled Buddh Gaya or Bodh Gayā, is the Buddhist holy site in northeastern India where Siddhartha is said to have attained enlightenment.

8. Kālidāsa, a master of Sanskrit, was a poet and dramatist of the fifth century, sometimes considered one of the "nine gems" of King Vikramaditya (r. ca. 380–ca. 415) of Ujjian in northern India.

by the rough-handedness of the Hunas [Huns], the fanatical iconoclasm of the Mussulman, and the unconscious vandalism of mercenary Europe, leave us to seek only a past glory in the moldy walls of Ajanta,[9] the tortured sculptures of Ellora,[10] the silent protests of rock-cut Orissa,[11] and finally in the domestic utensils of the present day, where beauty sadly clings to religion in the midst of an exquisite home-life.

It is in Japan alone that the historic wealth of Asiatic culture can be consecutively studied through its treasured specimens. The Imperial collection, the Shinto temples, and the opened dolmens, reveal the subtle curves of Hang [*sic*] workmanship.[12] The temples of Nara are rich in representations of Tang culture, and of that Indian art, then in its splendor, which so much influenced the creations of the classic period—natural heirlooms of a nation which has preserved the music, pronunciation, ceremony, and costumes, not to speak of the religious rites and philosophy, of so remarkable an age, intact.

The treasure-stores of the daimyos, again, abound in works of art and manuscripts belonging to the Song and Mongol dynasties, and as in China itself the former were lost during the Mongol conquest, and the latter in the age of the reactionary Ming, this fact animates some Chinese scholars of the present day to seek in Japan the fountain-head of their own ancient knowledge.

Thus Japan is a museum of Asiatic civilization; and yet more than a museum, because the singular genius of the race leads it to dwell on all phases of the ideals of the past, in that spirit of living Advaitism which welcomes the new without losing the old. The Shinto [believer] still adheres to his old pre-Buddhist rites of ancestor worship; and the Buddhists themselves cling to each various school of religious development which had come in its natural order to enrich the soil. . . .

Art with us, as elsewhere, is the expression of the highest and noblest of our national culture, so that, in order to understand it, we must pass in review the various phases of Confucian philosophy; the different ideals which the Buddhist mind has from time to time revealed; those mighty political cycles which have one after another unfurled the banner of nationality; the reflection in patriotic thought of the lights of poetry and the shadows of heroic characters; and the echoes, alike of the wailing of a multitude, and of the mad-seeming merriment of the laughter of a race.

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9. Ajanta is a site in western India with Buddhist cave temples built between the first century B.C.E. and the seventh century C.E., celebrated for their painted murals.

10. Ellora is a site in western India famous for temples hewn out of rock cliffs during the Gupta period (sixth to eighth century C.E.), best known for the erotically decorated Kailasanatha Temple, dedicated to the Hindu god Siva.

11. Orissa was a thriving eastern kingdom in the time of the historic Buddha; in subsequent eras, it developed a rich artistic heritage exhibiting a broad array of techniques, styles, and media.

12. Probably a reference to Han or Chinese workmanship in general.

Any history of Japanese art-ideals is, then, almost an impossibility, as long as the Western world remains so unaware of the varied environment and interrelated social phenomena into which that art is set, as if it were a jewel. Definition is limitation. The beauty of a cloud or a flower lies in its unconscious unfolding of itself, and the silent eloquence of the masterpieces of each epoch must tell their story better than any epitome of necessary half-truths. My poor attempts are merely an indication, not a narrative.

[Okakura, *The Ideals of the East*, pp. 1–10; AY]

TEA, THE CUP OF HUMANITY

The Book of Tea focuses on the peacefulness of the Japanese aesthetic spirituality and the serenity of their classic art while minimizing the violence that in those days attended the growing cult of the samurai and ferocity of the Way of the warrior (*bushidō*).[13]

The philosophy of tea is not mere aestheticism in the ordinary acceptance of the term, for it expresses conjointly with ethics and religion our whole point of view about man and nature.

It is hygiene, for it enforces cleanliness; it is economics, for it shows comfort in simplicity rather than in the complex and costly; it is moral geometry, inasmuch as it defines our sense of proportion to the universe. It represents the true spirit of Eastern democracy by making all its votaries aristocrats in taste. . . .

Those who cannot feel the littleness of great things in themselves are apt to overlook the greatness of little things in others. The average Westerner, in his sleek complacency, will see in the tea ceremony yet another instance of the thousand and one oddities that constitute the quaintness and childishness of the East to him. He was wont to regard Japan as barbarous while she indulged in the gentle arts of peace: he calls her civilized since she began to commit wholesale slaughter on Manchurian battlefields. Much comment has been given lately to the Code of the Samurai—the Art of Death that makes our soldiers exult in self-sacrifice; but scarcely any attention has been drawn to Teaism, which represents so much of our Art of Life. Fain would we remain barbarians if our claim to civilization were to be based on the gruesome glory of war. Fain would we await the time when due respect shall be paid to our art and ideals. . . .

So much harm has been done already by the mutual misunderstanding of the New World and the Old, that one need not apologize for contributing his tithe to the furtherance of a better understanding. The beginning of the twen-

13. See de Bary et al., eds., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, chaps. 12, 18; vol. 2, chaps. 20, 31, 45.

tieth century would have been spared the spectacle of sanguinary warfare if Russia had condescended to know Japan better. What dire consequences to humanity lie in the contemptuous ignoring of Eastern problems! European imperialism, which does not disdain to raise the absurd cry of the Yellow Peril, fails to realize that Asia may also awaken to the cruel sense of the White Disaster. . . .

The heaven of modern humanity is indeed shattered in the Cyclopean struggle for wealth and power. The world is groping in the shadow of egotism and vulgarity. Knowledge is bought through a bad conscience; benevolence practiced for the sake of utility. The East and West, like two dragons tossed in a sea of ferment, in vain strive to regain the jewel of life. . . . Meanwhile, let us have a sip of tea. The afternoon glow is brightening the bamboos; the fountains are bubbling with delight; the soughing of the pines is heard in our kettle. Let us dream of evanescence, and linger in the beautiful foolishness of things.

[Adapted from Okakura, *The Book of Tea*, pp. 1–7, 13–14]

YANAGI MUNEYOSHI AND THE KWANGHWA GATE IN SEOUL, KOREA

While Okakura Kakuzō was meditating on tea as "the Cup of Humanity," celebrating the common aesthetic bonds among India, China, and Japan, the Japanese in Korea were engaged in a takeover of the country (following the Russo-Japanese War) that was increasingly subjugating the Koreans and their culture to the Japanese—even to the point of the latter's establishing the shrines of State Shinto in Seoul. When, however, this process threatened the destruction of a historic gate before the Korean royal palace, it brought an anguished protest from a young Japanese whose career followed closely Okakura's, although almost a generation later.

A graduate of the Peers' School (Gakushūin) and Tokyo Imperial University, Yanagi Muneyoshi (1889–1961), also known literarily as Sōetsu, became the founder and a leader of Japan's folkcraft (*mingei*) movement and, in 1936, established the Japan Folkcraft Museum (Mingeikan) in Tokyo. A member of the literary group Shirakaba, Yanagi was also a noted art critic. After several visits to Korea, first in 1916, Yanagi developed a profound attachment to and appreciation of Korea's artistic tradition and wrote extensively on Korean arts and folkcraft. He was one of very few Japanese whom Koreans loved and respected as true friends of Korea during Japan's colonial rule. Yanagi also did much to promote the appreciation of Okinawan arts and crafts.

When Japan began to build the massive Government General's office in front of the main audience hall (Kŭnjŏngjŏn) of the Kyŏngbok Palace in 1916, the Kwanghwa Gate was slated to be destroyed to make way for the new Western-style building. The Kyŏngbok Palace and its main front entrance, the

Kwanghwa Gate, were originally constructed in 1395, at the outset of the Chosŏn dynasty, but were destroyed during Toyotomi Hideyoshi's invasion in 1592. Then in 1867, they were rebuilt as a part of the Taewŏngun's efforts to revitalize the country. These structures thus symbolized Korea's past glory. The planned demolition of the Kwanghwa Gate was seen by most Koreans as a wrecking of Korea's heart and soul. But because of Japan's tight control over Korea, no one in Korea dared to speak out against the Japanese move. Faced with this situation, Yanagi published an article in the form of a personal letter to the Kwanghwa Gate, lamenting its impending death; the letter brought tears to the eyes of many grateful Koreans.

Yanagi's letter touches on at least three main points. First, he expresses his sincere sympathy with and respect for the Korean people, who were about to lose one of their cherished monuments; thus he is obliquely criticizing Japan's mistreatment of Korea. Second is his sympathy for the preservation of Asian arts. For him, the Kwanghwa Gate was a rare artistic treasure of Asia that should be preserved at all costs, transcending any political considerations. Third is his deploring of the destruction of natural surroundings and aesthetic harmony as a consequence of the demolition of the Kwanghwa Gate and the imposition of a massive Western-style building in its place.

First published in the September 1922 issue of the journal *Kaizō*, this letter led to the Japanese authorities' listing Yanagi as "a dangerous person," and for a time he was secretly followed by police detectives. Largely in response to criticism like Yanagi's, the Japanese authorities refrained from destroying the Kwanghwa Gate but in 1926 moved it to another location, east of the Kyŏngbok Palace. In 1968, it was restored to the original site, while the former Government General's building on that site was demolished in 1995 as part of the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of Korea's liberation from Japanese rule.

Yanagi's case is a reminder that in the midst of strong authoritarian, ultranationalist, and imperialist trends, there were independent voices among Japanese scholars and writers who spoke for cultural values that should be defended and preserved from both Western and Japanese hegemonism.

FOR A KOREAN ARCHITECTURE ABOUT TO BE LOST

The text of this letter is preceded by a parenthetical explanation of Yanagi's public statement.

(I think the time has come for me to make this letter public. I feel my heart is being strangled when I think about the senseless destruction about to take place against an example of old Asian architecture. Perhaps those who have never visited the Kyŏngbok Palace in Seoul, Korea's capital may have no feeling about the destruction of the Kwanghwa Gate, the magnificent main entrance to that palace. I am, however, inclined to believe that all readers of this letter possess

a heart that loves the artworks of Asia. Even if what happens in Korea may not stir any feelings in the readers' hearts directly, I wish you to read this letter on behalf of an old Asian artwork that is facing extinction. I am writing a mournful epitaph to the fate of an artwork that must not be lost and yet is about to be destroyed. At the same time, I am expressing my deep sympathies for a people who are compelled to watch with their own eyes the destruction of a work of art they had built!

If my readers are still unable to picture what I am talking about, I wish you to imagine the following. Suppose Korea was a rising power while Japan was weakened, leading to Japan's being annexed by Korea and its imperial palace's being reduced to a ruin, where a grandiose Western-style building would be erected as the Government General of Japan; please picture for yourselves the scene of the destruction of the white walls of the Edo Castle that loom beyond the green moat. Nay, please exert an extra effort to imagine that the day of its noisy destruction had now become imminent. [Faced with such a situation,] one would surely mourn the death of that unique example of Japanese architecture, an Edo monument. . . . Is it not true that people nowadays are incapable of building a structure as aesthetically refined as this? . . . [If this were to happen in Japan,] surely the entire people in Japan would be indignant over such a senseless act. But exactly the same thing is about to take place in Seoul now, amid the silence that is being forcibly imposed on its people.)

The Public Letter

Kwanghwa Gate, Kwanghwa Gate, your life is about to end in a matter of days. The memory of your existence in this world is about to be coldly wiped out forever. What shall I do? I am at a loss. There are not many days left before the cruel chisels and the heartless hammers start to destroy your body, piece by piece. There must be many people who feel pain in their hearts over this. No one, however, can save you now. Unfortunately, those who are in a position to save you are people who do not mourn your fate.

The world in which we live is an age of contradictions. No one who pauses in front of you to look up can deny your dignified beauty. But, anyone who tries to save you will be charged with treason. Those who know you well have no freedom to speak out. The people who produced you will suffer only unfortunate consequences if they speak out on your behalf. Therefore, all of them are now spending their days in darkness. But they love you all the same. I know that as the months and years pass by, their affection and yearning for you will only increase. They are now living in an age when they are not allowed freely to express such love. Nay, they are being compelled to give up such love. My heart is pressed with pain, but I cannot do anything.

Everyone is hesitant to speak out. But the misery in my heart is much too great to let you go in silence. Therefore, in place of those who cannot speak

out, I am writing this letter in order to let the world know of your existence once more before your impending death. . . .

I am not given the power to prolong the short life that this world has destined for you. I must, however, make you immortal in the realm of the spiritual world. I am not given the freedom to save and resurrect you from death. I am, however, allowed the freedom to make you immortal in the letter I am writing. Oh, I will engrave your name, form, and spirit so deeply that they will never be erased, just as the people who gave you birth had carved many sculptures in granite as monuments to eternity. . . .

In order to commemorate you with tenacity, I am transmitting this memorial letter to the general public. Kwanghwa Gate, my dear friend, you must feel sorrow facing an unexpected death. I am reflecting on the pain and loneliness you must be experiencing. O, thy spirit, come to me if you have no place to go. . . . Oh, many people are compelled to keep their silence toward you. Because of this, I am now exercising my freedom of expression in their place.

Oh, Kwanghwa Gate, Kwanghwa Gate, magnificent is thy appearance! . . . Anyone who sees it cannot help but be struck by its tranquil beauty and dignity, and it amply deserves to be the main gate to the largest palace of a nation. . . . In Kwanghwa Gate, one looks at the epitome of beauty of the Chosŏn dynasty. How simple and tranquil does it stand on the ground! All those who have passed through that gate have become awestruck by its commanding stature. Truly, it befits a monument that demonstrates the dignity of a dynasty. . . .

My brethren, love and respect the pure architectures of Asia. Isn't it true that we are no longer capable of building architectures that can match [their beauty]? We should not throw away artistic works lightly simply because they have no use in our daily life today. Art transcends egotistic interest. We must preserve whatever we find with beauty in it. Especially, we must love with zeal the pure Asian works for the sake of our own glory and pride. To preserve and protect them under whatever conditions is the true way of respecting our ancestors and appreciating the arts. Although Kwanghwa Gate was built in modern times, it is one of the rare examples of architecture in Asia. It is one of the five most distinguished gates in Korea. . . . No other structure in Korea can match this palace in its form and grandeur. It is the best representative, an exemplary model, of the spirit of Chosŏn dynasty architecture.

Politics must not be insensible to art. One must refrain from infringing on art in the exercise of power. . . .

[Kwanghwa Gate] enhances its beauty twofold as its architecture was designed carefully in consideration of the nature that surrounds it. The natural surroundings protect the architecture while the architecture adorns the natural surroundings, and men should not destroy their organic relationship. However, for unknown reasons, this harmony between nature and human work is about to be destroyed by those who do not understand such relationships. . . .

We can never again see the orderly structure and scenery [surrounding the

Kwanghwa Gate and the Kyŏngbok Palace]. The Kangnyŏng Hall and the Kyot'ae Hall, both representative of Chosŏn-dynasty architecture, have already been moved elsewhere, losing their original forms; smoke coming from *ondol* [Korean underfloor heating] chimneys now hovers over it, adding a sense of loneliness to the surroundings. We will never again be able to observe the Kŭngjŏng Hall [the main audience hall], the main and largest building [in Kyŏngbok Palace], from the vantage point of viewing it through the Kwanghwa Gate. Right in front of this hall, they are now rushing toward the completion of the building for the Government General, a massive Western structure that has no relation at all to Asian architecture. . . . A Western building totally devoid of creative beauty is now abruptly desecrating the sacred site in its place. . . .

Why have we been led to the point of thinking of destroying the Kwanghwa Gate? Oh, why have we driven ourselves to the predicament whereby we are obliged to remove it? Do we have a justifiable excuse to defend our action? Is this proper friendly action? Or is this based on correct understanding of an architecture? Where in the world can we find a positive excuse to justify its destruction? Oh, we must not hope for finding an answer where there can be no answer [to these questions]. We are, however, moving toward where we do not even feel it necessary to answer them. Time is pressing forward without hesitation toward the execution of the Kwanghwa Gate. . . .

I recall what Jesus said on the cross: "They know not what they do." If they had known what they are doing, they would not have committed the foolish sin of doing what they ought not to do.

Kwanghwa Gate, your life originally was meant to be long lasting, but fate is such that you are about to end with a short life. Surely, you must feel pain and sorrow. I will cross the sea to meet you one more time while you are still in a healthy condition. Please wait for me. But before that, I wish to write this letter. The people who produced you and are dear to you have been under order to be cautious with their words. Therefore, I wish to let you know before your death that there is someone in this world who loves and mourns you in their place. Anxious to do this, I am sending out these words to the general public. How pleased I will be if these words induce thoughtful people to reflect on your existence once more! And, if this letter helps the perpetuation of your memory, that will please you also. How delighted I will be if this is the case!

(Written on July 4, 1922, in Tokyo)

["Chōsen to sono geijutsu," in *Yanagi Muneyoshi senshū*, pp. 200–216; YHC]

Chapter 42

THE HIGH TIDE OF PREWAR LIBERALISM

The prewar Japanese liberal movement reached its height in the 1920s, when, for a time, it appeared that the principles espoused by that movement had become the guiding light of Japanese political life. These principles might be roughly stated as follows:

1. The government should be conducted by party cabinets responsible to the majority in the lower house of the Diet (legislature).
2. The lower house should be elected by universal manhood suffrage.
3. The people should be guaranteed the full exercise of their civil liberties.
4. Japan should abandon its policy of force and aggression in China and do no more than maintain the rights it already possessed in Manchuria.
5. Japan should follow a policy of international cooperation, particularly with regard to disarmament.

The movement's main vocal support came from five groups: party politicians, businessmen, journalists, educators, and certain diplomats. Of course, not all these principles received equal support from each of these groups. The party politicians insisted strongly on the principle of party cabinets, but they were not so enthusiastic about the other four principles. Indeed, when the

opposition of the Privy Council and the House of Peers to universal manhood suffrage suddenly evaporated, the party politicians displayed a surprising reluctance to enact the measure into law. To them, it merely meant further complications in the business of getting elected, a point not lost on the Peers, who seem to have been reasoning along much the same lines followed by Benjamin Disraeli when he extended the vote to English labor.

The liberal businessmen were concerned primarily with the first, fourth, and fifth principles. They favored party cabinets for the simple reason that they seemed to offer them a way to influence the government's economic and social policies, although the businessmen also had mechanisms through which they could work directly with bureaucrats to shape policy. In addition, those businessmen who traded with China or produced either for the China trade or in China felt they had suffered great losses from the boycotts that Japanese aggression had sparked. Consequently, they were eager for a more conciliatory policy to be adopted toward China. Japanese financiers also believed that Japan had to cooperate with the Western powers if it wished to retain access to international short-term credits and investment funds. For this reason, they wanted to have Japan demonstrate its peaceful intentions by entering into disarmament agreements.

The business world in general as well as agricultural interests also backed these agreements in the hope that the military budget, and therefore the tax burden, would be reduced. In their support of these international policies, they were joined by diplomats such as Baron Shidehara Kijūrō, whose study of the international situation in general and of the China situation in particular had led them to conclude that these were the only feasible policies for Japan. Although Shidehara was well known for his liberal position on international affairs, he never publicly expressed a correspondingly liberal view with regard to domestic politics.

The only persons who can be said to have given unqualified support to the whole liberal creed were the liberal journalists and educators. The journalists were the shock troops of the movement, and at several critical moments in its history they helped carry the day by using the news and editorial columns of their newspapers to arouse public opinion. The educators, particularly university professors like Yoshino Sakuzō and Minobe Tatsukichi, provided the intellectual foundations for Japanese liberalism and, in their writings, showed how the democratic ideal could be adapted to Japan. They also planted liberal ideas in the minds of their students, frequently taking the initiative in helping organize student groups dedicated to the spread and implementation of these ideas. During and after World War I, a number of these students, mostly the sons of wealthy landlord-, business-, or professional-class families, entered politics and contributed greatly to the attempt to establish responsible parliamentary government. They constituted the only group of politicians who were seriously concerned with the civil rights issue.

We have not included organized labor among the groups supporting the liberal movement. Organized labor did accept many of the principles of Japanese liberalism and was willing to cooperate with the liberals to achieve common objectives—for example, in the universal manhood suffrage movement. But Japanese liberalism was not much concerned about social and economic reforms, which were important to the labor movement. In fact, in these areas the thinking of most liberals tended toward a kind of paternalism that differed very little from that of the conservatives and the reactionaries, and they seem to have believed that universal suffrage would somehow solve all other problems. Consequently, organized labor devoted most of its political energies to the left-wing political movement, particularly after the achievement of universal manhood suffrage. In addition, because of their social programs, many of the ultranationalist groups also appealed much more to the lower orders than did liberalism. This failure to win labor's backing was a serious weakness of the liberal movement, which needed all the support it could muster in its struggle to reshape Japan's political life.

Japanese liberalism had to struggle against many unfavorable circumstances. First, the men who fashioned the Japanese constitution placed the Diet in a very weak position: it had neither the legal means to hold a cabinet accountable for its actions nor any effective financial controls over the cabinet. Moreover, what little power the Diet did possess, the elected House of Representatives had to share equally with the nonelected House of Peers. The popularly elected house was confronted with other well-established centers of power: the bureaucracy, the Privy Council, the military services, the informal council of elder statesmen (*genrō*), and the Imperial Household officials. Since most of these other centers of power had a legal veto over any attempt to curtail their prerogatives by law or by constitutional amendment, liberals had to work to establish within the existing framework extralegal customs that would give Japan the substance, if not the form, of a parliamentary democracy. They could do this only if they rallied the mass of the Japanese people behind their program. Yet the diffusion of liberal ideals among the people was trammeled by primary and secondary education systems that had been deliberately designed to foster a spirit uncongenial to the values usually associated with a democratic society. And the operations of most Japanese social groups did not engender the sense of individualism, personal responsibility, and self-confidence essential to the proper functioning of representative government.

The weaknesses that we have so far discussed might be regarded as due to environmental or external factors, but the liberal movement also was plagued by a number of internal failings. Of these flaws, the most important were those that impaired the strength of the political parties, for it was they that were responsible for proving the worth and viability of parliamentary government.

The party politicians' gravest defect was their opportunism. They rarely were ready to suspend their differences and unite to defend parliamentary principles.

If a party cabinet became involved in jurisdictional or policy disputes with one of the other centers of power, the opposing political party was more than willing to side with the latter in the hope that the occasion might be used to drive its opponents from office. They never seem to have cared that the ultimate result of these petty maneuvers would be to weaken the political party movement as a whole. In fact, there were only two instances in which united fronts were organized to defend the principle of party government (the third Katsura cabinet and the Kiyoura Keigo cabinet), and both times a substantial number of party members gave their allegiance to the antiparliamentarian forces. Undoubtedly, it was this niggling concern for office that persuaded party politicians to welcome into positions of party leadership Itō Hirobumi, Katsura Tarō, Katō Takaaki, Tanaka Giichi, and many other products of the civil or military bureaucracy. These men were able to assume party presidencies on virtually dictatorial terms, since the parties, convinced that the *genrō* would entrust office only to such leaders, believed this to be the one means by which even a modicum of political power might be achieved.

This type of leadership had an unfortunate effect on the character of Japanese political parties. No serious effort was made to reform the institutional obstacles to responsible party government (e.g., the House of Peers, the Privy Council, military independence, educational indoctrination). Party administration was bureaucratized, and policies were handed down from above on a take-it-or-get-out basis. Each party came to be held together by a panting eagerness for the crumbs of office rather than by a firm foundation of common principle. As a result, they had little to offer to the wider public and therefore never became mass parties but remained primarily aggregations of legislators and their immediate backers. Even if the principles had been followed, it is doubtful that the parties could have developed mass support, for the leaders were reserved men and seldom appeared before mass audiences. Moreover, when they did speak, they seemed incapable of articulating liberal ideas. Indeed, it is difficult to find among their cold speeches any stirring expressions of their credo. The most momentous occasions, such as the passage of the Universal Manhood Suffrage Law—a wonderful opportunity for publicizing parliamentary principles—brought forth only perfunctory and jejune phrases. Japan's party leaders thus must be charged with neglecting to educate the Japanese citizenry in the principles of parliamentary government. It matters little whether the failure was caused by a distaste for mass movements or by a feeling that the best way to advance the liberal cause was to go about one's business silently and thus avoid arousing the active opposition of the conservatives and reactionaries. The end result was the same: when the crisis came, the party politicians were generals without armies.

The public came to look on the politicians as men not only without principles but also without morals. It was a rare candidate for office who felt he could win on his own merits and did not have to spend thousands of yen buying

votes through professional "election brokers." Indeed, this practice was so widespread that only the most obtuse voter could have been ignorant of it. Faced with the need for huge campaign funds, a Diet member was glad to sell whatever influence he had for whatever price he could get. Those who could not obtain enough through their own efforts badgered the party headquarters for money. The party headquarters, in turn, accepted donations from businessmen who hoped to receive favors when and if the party formed a cabinet. Although great bribery scandals were continually coming to light and undermining the public's confidence in the parties, it is only fair to note that there were just as many scandals involving civil and military bureaucrats. In fact, widespread corruption among Diet members first appeared when Yamagata's political lieutenants, finding that they could not control the Diet through either violence or dissolution, turned to systematic bribery. Those who gave bribes were usually smaller businessmen who were not themselves powerful enough to command favorable treatment from the government. The greatest source of political donations—as distinct from bribes—was popularly supposed to be the *zaibatsu* (financial groups), with the Mitsui supporting the Seiyūkai (party) and the Mitsubishi, the Minseitō (party). These ties have never really been documented, but this hardly matters. The important thing is that it would have been difficult to find a Japanese who did not believe that these connections existed and that government by party cabinet therefore meant government in the interests of one or another of the *zaibatsu*.

There was another respect in which party cabinets—when they did come to power—proved a great disappointment to Japanese liberals. In their disregard of civil liberties, they were unsurpassed by any of the bureaucratic cabinets of the past. Under them, books and other publications continued to be rigorously censored. The cabinets of Hara Takashi and Hamaguchi Yūkō were formally charged by the newspaper profession with prohibiting the press's mention of more news items than any of their predecessors had. The Higher Special Police were regularly used to spy on the activities of political opponents. The home ministers of two party cabinets were forced to leave office as a result of their flagrant interference in general elections (1915, 1928). The greatest mass arrests of nonconformist thinkers in Japanese history were conducted under Minseitō and Seiyūkai cabinets. They also began the process of rooting out "dangerous thought" from the nation's school systems, and of course it was under a coalition party cabinet that the Peace Preservation Law of 1925 was enacted. This law made it a crime to advocate any change in either the national polity or the capitalist system. It was officially interpreted to mean that the public could not even discuss a constitutional amendment. By expansive interpretation, this law became the basis for developing an elaborate system of repression. Ironically, the very same Diet that passed this law also passed the Universal Manhood Suffrage Law. At the highest moment of the tide of Taishō democracy, the ebb had begun.

Perhaps this attitude toward civil rights was only to be expected of the party

cabinets, for from its very beginning the political party movement contained a strong element of ultranationalism. Whether from conviction or cunning, the founders of the early Meiji political societies (the Aikoku kōtō and the Risshisha) had argued that a parliament would strengthen the state in its task of national defense and expansion abroad. They had exalted the emperor's sovereignty and asserted that a parliament would unify the nation and so facilitate the execution of the imperial will. In the 1890s, the party politicians constantly berated the bureaucratic cabinets for not being aggressive enough in their foreign policy, and one of the shrillest voices was that of the liberal Ozaki Yukio. Nor should we forget that it was the liberal Katō Takaaki, serving as foreign minister under the liberal Ōkuma Shigenobu, who, against the objections of the conservative Yamagata, presented the infamous Twenty-one Demands to China. On some occasions in the early 1930s, the Japanese government was able, through the Achilles' heel of patriotism, to induce some prominent liberals to present in foreign venues a good face for Japanese aggression in East Asia. To all this must be added the prominent role played by politicians of every party in such ultranationalist organizations as the Kokusuikai, the Kokuhonsha, and the Seinendan. In view of these facts, it is not surprising that the political parties offered such ineffectual resistance to the militarists in the 1930s.

We should make three more points about Japanese liberals. First, although liberal ideologues believed that responsible parliamentary government required political parties and were always ready with advice for them, they themselves usually declined to join parties and participate in the hurly-burly of party life, fearing perhaps that it would compromise their objectivity as critics. Second, although they preached that government should be conducted in accordance with the will of the people, they did not trust the people to make the correct decisions on their own and therefore believed that means should be devised through which "wise men" like themselves could subtly and unobtrusively guide the people to the proper outcomes. Third, the liberals, with a few exceptions like Kawai Eijirō, never developed a philosophical or theoretical foundation on which to base their arguments for adopting liberal principles of government. Usually they simply contended that this was the trend of the world and that Japan had better not be out of step.

It is obvious, then, that the Japanese liberal movement was beset with great difficulties, and yet its failure was by no means a foregone conclusion. In the 1920s a new crop of younger politicians appeared who had come to maturity during the great upsurge of liberalism that had characterized the war and postwar period. These younger men had wholeheartedly accepted liberal principles and dedicated themselves to creating a true parliamentary government in Japan. They were not shy about asserting the supremacy of the House of Representatives and attacking as anachronisms the House of Peers, the Privy Council, and the independence of the military services. They even found some kindred spirits

among reform-minded bureaucrats (e.g., in the Social Bureau of the Home Ministry) with whom cooperation for social and economic reform was possible. If the world envisaged by the idealists of 1919 had come into being and achieved a degree of permanence, these younger politicians in time might have brought around the majority of the nation to their view, for the Japanese are a people given to searching out and adjusting to what they conceive to be the trend of world developments. As World War I ended, the signs seemed to read "democracy and peace": the victory of the Western democracies over German militarism; the fall of the czarist autocracy; the international enthusiasm for Wilsonian democracy; the war to end all wars and bring an era of peaceful international cooperation; the League of Nations; the spontaneous rice riots in 1918, which had toppled a reactionary cabinet and brought in a political party cabinet; and the creation of a large, white-collar middle class and a large, blue-collar labor class as a result of economic expansion during the war. All this was of inestimable help to the liberal movement. Unfortunately, by the early 1930s, world political and economic events had produced a situation that was, both objectively and psychologically, unfavorable to the further progress of Japanese liberalism.

DEMOCRACY AT HOME

MINOBE TATSUKICHI: THE LEGAL FOUNDATION FOR LIBERAL GOVERNMENT

Minobe Tatsukichi (1873–1948) graduated from Tokyo Imperial University in 1897 and entered the university's graduate program in law. In 1899 he was ordered to study for three years in Germany, England, and France. While he was away, he was appointed professor of comparative legal systems and, on his return in 1903, took up his duties. In 1920 a second chair in constitutional law was created for him. The first chair was held by Hozumi Yatsuka, who was succeeded on his retirement by his disciple Uesugi Shinkichi, both of whom were opponents of Minobe's theories. In 1934 at the customary age, he retired, having been appointed to the House of Peers two years earlier. In the summer of 1911, Minobe had been invited by the Ministry of Education to deliver a series of lectures on the Japanese constitution to an audience of administrators and teachers from schools of education and middle schools who were attending a summer short course sponsored by the ministry. In these lectures, he summed up ideas that he had been broaching in articles in scholarly journals over the previous decade. As a law professor, he, of course, covered in great detail all the technicalities of constitutional law. But he also gave an interpretive twist to the Meiji constitution, demonstrating that its spirit not only did not preclude

but rather led ineluctably to responsible party cabinet government. In 1913 these lectures appeared in book form under the title *Lectures on the Constitution* (*Kenpō kōwa*).

LECTURES ON THE CONSTITUTION (*KENPŌ KŌWA*)

Preface

It is almost beyond imagination that although some twenty years have passed since constitutional government was put into effect in Japan, there as yet has been no general dissemination of knowledge about constitutional government. Even among persons who discuss the constitution as scholarly specialists, we hear opinions that are still trying to advocate an absolutist ideology, under the cloak of "national polity," to suppress the people's rights and demand their absolute submission, and, under the guise of constitutional government, to carry on a despotic government. As a student of constitutional law I have for many years deplored this situation. If there had been an opportunity, I would have wished to write a book that, on behalf of the education of our people, clearly describes the essentials of our constitution. However, because of the press of official duties, I never had the leisure for this, something I have always regretted. That I have obtained the opportunity to lecture you gentlemen . . . on the elements of our constitution has enabled me to fulfill a portion of my ever present hope. . . . Above all, it will be my earnest endeavor to clarify the fundamental spirit of the constitution and thereby eradicate the advocacy of disguised despotism which prevails in certain quarters. [p. 33]

A constitutional form of government must always have a parliament consisting of representatives of the people. All the people must participate in governing the nation through a parliament. It is an expression seldom used today, but formerly we used the phrase *kunmin dōchi* government [joint governance by the monarch and the people] to express the idea of constitutional government. It expresses quite simply the distinguishing characteristic of constitutional government, that is, that we the people are not only the governed but are at the same time members of the governing group. While we submit to the authority of the state, at the same time we ourselves participate in the governance of the nation. Of course, not all the people themselves participate in these consultations. However, because the parliament, as representatives of the people, participates in governance, the people indirectly participate. When the monarch and the people jointly exercise state authority, a true constitutional monarchy exists. [pp. 36–37]

To say in a legal sense that the monarch is the one who possesses the governmental power means that the governmental power belongs to the monarch as his personal right. To have a right expresses legally the idea that the right

exists for that person's benefit. If one says that the monarch is the person who possesses the governmental power, it implies it is a right that exists for the monarch's personal benefit. To say that the monarch exercises the governmental power for his own benefit truly is contrary to our own history since ancient times and is most contrary to our present form of government. It is a salient historical fact that in our long history, successive emperors have always made the people's well-being their own well-being. Gracious imperial edicts have said, more than once, that to enrich the people was to enrich the monarch. If it were understood that the monarch was the person who possessed the governmental power, it would mean . . . the governmental power did not exist for the group's common objectives but only for the monarch's own objectives. The objectives of the monarch and the people could be completely different. Thus it would be incompatible with the idea that the nation was a single entity. In traditional Japanese thought about the state and especially in modern thought about the state, the governmental power exists for the benefit of the collective goals of the whole nation. . . . [All things] are planned for the benefit of the whole country; [all things are done] to advance the nation's interests and the people's welfare, not simply for the benefit of the monarch. . . .

Saying that the state is the holder of the governmental power and that the monarch is an organ of the state merely expresses this idea. Not only is it not offensive to our sense of reverence for the emperor, but on the contrary, it makes that sense of reverence more evident.

Therefore, from the viewpoint of legal theory, I believe it is a very mistaken idea to say the monarch is the possessor of the governmental power. . . . Still, the highest source of the empire's state authority is undoubtedly the emperor. [pp. 66–68]

The general principle for the emperor's prerogative is laid down in article 4 of the constitution. Although articles 5 through 16 stipulate its more important functions, the emperor's prerogative is not exhausted by those functions listed in the constitution. Those listed are only the most important ones. . . .

However . . . a theory very different from this has been widely adopted. . . . According to this theory, the emperor's prerogative is limited to those items enumerated in the constitution. . . . [According to this theory,] absolutely no interference by the parliament is allowed in connection with these items; that is, it is not permissible to decide any matter connected with these items by a law [passed by the Diet]. Second, this theory holds that matters [falling under these items] must be dealt with by the emperor personally and cannot be delegated to administrative officials. . . .

This is a theory that has been widely discussed and that my senior colleague, Dr. Hozumi, has been advocating especially zealously. However, I cannot believe that this theory has any basis. First, nowhere in the constitution can be found the view that it is not permitted to make decisions in connection with these items by means of a law [passed by the Diet]. The purport of the consti-

tution goes no further than that it is all right if these items are not always dealt by means of a law [passed by the Diet]. There is not the slightest implication that they cannot be handled by laws. . . . Laws also come into existence with the approval of the emperor, so even if matters of administrative organization were to have been decided by laws, there should not be the least objection to seeing this as the emperor's having made the decision.

The second point, that the emperor must personally decide everything with regard to prerogative items and is not permitted to delegate these matters to administrative officials, is, I believe, a theory with no basis. All administrative officials have been delegated a portion of [his] prerogatives by the emperor. Their authority is nothing more than the emperor's prerogative: administrative officials have no authority of their own. [pp. 88–91]

Our imperial house maintains a dignity unparalleled in the world, and the people's feeling of reverence and loyalty for the emperor will not be in the least shaken, no matter what political changes occur. One reason for this is that in fact in our form of government from ancient times the emperor has not personally undertaken the governance of the country. Of course, this was so in the Fujiwara period and in the period of military rule. However, even in the [ancient] period of direct imperial rule, the emperor did not personally conduct the government at his own discretion. There always were ministers to assist him, and he conducted the government in accordance with this advice. This is truly our national polity (*kokutai*), and through this system the dignity of the national polity is preserved. From this same motive it has also developed in our present system that the imperial family do not occupy positions of accountability. [pp. 96–97]

In our country there have always been persons equivalent to [modern] ministers and prime ministers at the side of the emperor who advised him. . . . In a [modern] constitutional state, if the emperor's official acts are, without exception, not based on a minister's advice, they have no legal validity. The constitution stipulates that the emperor's exercise of his prerogative must unfailingly be based on a minister's advice. It is absolutely impossible for the emperor to administer the country by personal acts not based on ministerial advice. . . .

No state business can be effected on the sole decision of His Majesty himself. . . .

The minister bears the responsibility for matters on which he has advised the emperor. . . .

No matter what the situation, the minister cannot escape his responsibility by pleading an order from the emperor. . . . Even if the emperor were to command something, if the minister thinks the command violates the constitution or the laws or is disadvantageous to the interests of the state, the minister must strongly remonstrate with the emperor. . . . If despite his remonstration the emperor commands him to countersign something that the minister believes is against the interests of the state, he must resign as minister on the

grounds the emperor has no confidence in him. If he does not resign but does what the emperor is commanding . . . then the minister must bear the responsibility for the act. [pp. 129–37, passim]

Some persons say that each minister may independently offer advice to the emperor without the necessity of consulting with other ministers or without having to go through the prime minister. However, this [idea] is a terrible mistake. . . . Whether it is diplomatic matters, military matters, financial matters, educational matters, or, in general, any matter of domestic administration, no important matter can be settled by only the minister within whose competence it falls. It must be settled by discussions of the entire cabinet.

The only exception to this is matters of military secrecy. In such matters the army minister and the navy minister may directly approach the emperor and seek his consent without discussions with [the rest of] the cabinet. This is generally referred to as the right of supreme command (*iaku jōsō*). And it is the sole exception. . . .

Since the imperial approval of all important state business is sought only after lengthy discussion by the whole cabinet, all the ministers must bear responsibility for acts that the cabinet has discussed. [pp. 132–35, passim]

With regard to ministerial responsibility, the Japanese constitution says only that the minister of state shall advise the emperor and be responsible for his advice. Since it does not stipulate that the minister will be responsible to the parliament for his advice, there are a number of different opinions on this point. Some persons say that according to the Japanese constitution, ministers are not responsible to the parliament but are responsible solely to the emperor. However, I believe that this is a big mistake. Even if it is said a minister is responsible to the parliament, this does not mean that the parliament can in any way make the minister retire from his position or that because of a resolution by parliament, the minister must, as a matter of law without fail, give up his position. It goes without saying the power to appoint and dismiss ministers resides exclusively with the monarch. To say that a minister is responsible to parliament means no more than it is possible for the parliament to raise questions about the minister's responsibility. . . .

According to Japan's constitution, the parliament can memorialize [the emperor] against a minister's malfeasance in his official duty and request his dismissal, or it can pass a resolution of no confidence, or it can interpellate a minister, or it can seek explanations from a minister. Especially in regard to this questioning of a minister and seeking explanations is the premise that a minister has a responsibility [to the parliament]. . . . [However, these] acts do not directly have any legal effects: because of them, a minister is not legally obligated to resign his position. What consequences, then, do these acts have? It becomes simply a practical [political] problem: the minister may resign; the parliament may be dissolved or prorogued; or there may be mutual concessions and compromise.

In sum, even according to the Japanese constitution, it is not open to question that ministers are responsible to parliament. Ministers are, of course, responsible to the emperor . . . but this is the same responsibility that all officials have to the emperor. Only the ministers have a special responsibility to the parliament. The parliament's right to question ministers, its right to vote ex-post facto approval or disapproval [of emergency measures by ministers], [and] its right to memorialize the emperor [regarding a minister's action] all are proof that Japan's constitution acknowledges this special responsibility [of the minister to the parliament]. [pp. 145–48]

In a constitutional government, it is impossible to maintain for long a cabinet that ignores the parties. There is an unavoidable natural tendency to gradually approach the parliamentary cabinet or party cabinet [system]. I think the main reason that a pure parliamentary cabinet has not yet appeared in Japan is that the strength of the political parties is largely confined to the House of Representatives and does not extend to the House of Peers; and there is absent in the House of Peers any sense of deference to the decisions of the House of Representatives as expressing the people's will. Furthermore, in Japan's present system, the army and the navy ministers must, without fail, be chosen from army generals and navy admirals. For this reason . . . they always have been appointed from outside the political parties and . . . are frequently carried over [from one cabinet to the next]. . . . This is one of the circumstances that hinders the establishment of a pure parliamentary cabinet government. . . . [But] the development of party cabinets is an inevitable tendency once constitutional government is in effect. [pp. 155–56]

Since the parliament represents all the people, it naturally follows that all or at least a portion of the parliament should be elected from among the people. . . . If all the people had equal ability and equal qualifications, the fairest thing would be to give equal voting rights to all the people. . . . But in reality the people are by no means equal. In their lineage, property, education, experience, and moral repute, people are infinite in their variety and actually are very unequal. To disregard their real inequalities, to treat all people as equal and give them equal voting rights, to publicly elect all representatives equally from among the whole people is not the way to obtain suitable representatives of the people. . . .

It is correct to say that the world trend is toward universal [manhood] suffrage. . . .

Today no one doubts that the theory of natural rights was completely wrong. The right to vote is certainly not a natural right of human beings. [The adoption of] universal [manhood] suffrage is not based on the unfounded fanciful idea that voting is a natural right. It was adopted because in today's general social situation the adoption of universal suffrage has become an unavoidable necessity. In a word, the main cause is the social condition of the working class and

their advancement in self-awareness. All political systems must keep in step with actual social forces. . . .

In Japan also it is certain that as the people's self-awareness spreads generally to the lower reaches of society, it will be necessary to expand the suffrage. . . . [pp. 166, 196, 199–202]

In Japan, since the inauguration of the constitution, there has not yet been a single instance of the emperor's declining to approve [a law passed by the parliament]. Since the parliament represents the mind of a nation's people, a law passed by the parliament represents, in my opinion, what the people desire. I humbly conjecture that this reflects an imperial wish to accede as far as possible to the people's will and sanction those laws that the people desire. [p. 226]

Constitutional government is government by the common people. In order to practice constitutional government smoothly, it is indispensable that the people's political thought develop and the people be aware of their own political responsibilities. . . .

The most important reason [for establishing local self-government] is that . . . [it] is indispensable as the foundation for a system of constitutional government. A system of local self-government must absolutely accompany the operation of a constitutional system.

[A local self-government system] causes the people in the localities to become proficient in governance and to become aware of their political responsibilities. . . .

[W]hether because of the national character of the Japanese people or the many years of historical practice, we have come to this point: the Japanese people have very little sense of respect for liberty or independence. Our institution of [local] self-government was implemented by the government in imitation of foreign systems rather than being rooted in a demand by the people themselves. It is to be regretted that the outcome . . . has not yet adequately achieved its objective. Even nowadays the government is too inclined to intervene beyond necessity. The local people rely on the government, and despite having, with much trouble, been given the right of [local] self-government, they have not made sufficient use of it. . . . [pp. 364, 366]

None of the administrative operations [of the state] are absolutely free and unlimited. All are legally subject to various limits. If you look at the law textbooks currently on the market, you will often find them saying that the state has an absolute and unlimited authority, that it can freely order subjects to do anything whatsoever, and that the subjects must obey. This, it must be said, is an egregious error. The authority of the state is, by law, subject to definite limits and can function only within those limits. Laws are, of course, made by the state itself. Once a law exists, even the state cannot violate it. . . . [p. 408]

Limiting the people's liberties by an administrative act must be in circum-

stances in which it is permitted by law. . . . When there is no such provision in law or regulations, it is completely impermissible to use an administrative act to impose a duty on subjects or to restrain the liberties of subjects. . . . The constitution lists a variety of liberties, such as the freedom of speech and publication and the freedom to change residence, and it stipulates that these liberties cannot be infringed except by law. Constitutional countries also generally recognize as a natural basic rule that all freedoms beyond those listed in the constitution also cannot be infringed except in accordance with law. . . . The liberties of the subject are not necessarily only those enumerated in the constitution. Beyond those listed are various liberties, not all of which can be listed. For example, freedom of marriage, freedom of contract, freedom of occupation, freedom to engage in business, freedom of education, academic freedom, inviolability of one's body—none of these are listed in the constitution. . . .

No liberties of the subject, whether or not listed in the constitution, can be arbitrarily infringed by administrative acts. This is one of the most important basic rules in modern constitutional countries. . . . What we call a law-governed country is based on this fundamental principle. As a basic rule we have the right to do whatever pleases us. We can also safely possess and enjoy our lives, our persons, our property, our honor and all other rights and advantages. [pp. 410–12]

Some persons say the state is all-powerful and can freely make any kind of law it wants to. This is an egregious error. . . . If people are ordered to do something that does not basically conform to our ordinary ideas of social life, this law cannot be effective as a law. . . . A law carried out as a law is based on the social conviction of us ordinary people. A law that completely contradicts these convictions, even though it is the will of the state, basically can have no power as a law.

For this reason it is a great mistake to say law is the command of the sovereign or law is the will of the state. . . .

In interpreting the law, present-day Japanese legal scholars emphasize the letter of the law. No matter how contrary to common sense, no matter how contrary to the idea of justice, they blithely say a bad law is [still] the law. They interpret the letter of the law only according to its letter and think that that is the law. This way of thinking is very mistaken and is exceedingly dangerous for society. As the protector of justice and the public good, the state makes law in order to maintain justice and improve the public good. Laws that are contrary to justice or harm the public good are not what, by their nature, they ought to be. If a law judged from its literal wording seems to be contrary to justice, it should naturally be seen as not the true will of the state. Since there is room for interpretation, one must construe it as far as possible in a way compatible with justice and thus harmonize the law and justice. The narrow interpretation of law is a common evil in Japan's legal world. In France and Germany . . . it has gradually become popular to assert that law must be freely interpreted and

that it is insufficient to place emphasis strongly on the literal wording of a law . . . to regard the literal words of the law as a golden rule is to forget the essential objective of the law and is a very marked evil. That "law is justice" must not be forgotten for an instant by those who apply the law. [pp. 485, 497–98]

[Minobe, *Kenpō kōwa*, pp. 33–498; see also Miller, *Minobe Tatsukichi*, pp. 64, 133; AET]

The power of the state exists in order to advance the interests of the state and the people. It does not exist in order to suppress the people. If the government abuses its power in order to suppress the people, there cannot be any greater misfortune for the state and the people. . . . Constitutional government is government that rests on respect for the will of the people. There must be an opportunity for the will of the people to be freely expressed. That is the essence of the constitutional system. . . . If power is used arbitrarily, if the expression of the people's will is muzzled, and if from the first the people are denied any opportunity to declare their will, that is an abuse of power, and the basis of constitutional government is endangered. We regret very much that we have seen at the termination of the Russo-Japanese War that kind of abuse of power. In order to repress the people's will, which opposed the government's diplomatic policy, the government prohibited meetings, limited speech, revived the suspension of newspaper publications, and, on the first day of peace, placed the capital under martial law.

[Minobe, "Kenryoku no ranyō to kore ni hankō"; text from Ienaga, *Minobe Tatsukichi*, pp. 203–4; AET]

Freedom of speech is both the basis of social progress and a source of social disturbance. . . . [But it is] discontent with society that constitutes the chief threat to the peace and order of society. If the discontent mounts steadily and all society is consumed by it, then to limit free discussion in an effort to maintain social order will, on the contrary, strike at the very basis of order. Furthermore, since social progress usually results from the stimulus of a variety of ideas, if the expression of ideas is restricted, very likely social progress will be checked. A society that does not have freedom of speech . . . is a dead society. . . . [Under the present law] penalties are fixed for persons who publish articles that are disrespectful of the imperial household. It is unnecessary and dangerous that there should be additional sections fixing penalties on persons responsible for articles that disturb the public order. Since men differ according to their individual positions on what constitutes a disturbance of public order . . . it is very disquieting to find such a matter left to the discretion of the police. Some people will say that those who advocate democracy endanger public order; others will say that the supporters of Shinto and the defenders of national polity are a threat to public order. . . . To put the question in the hands of a police court with

power to impose a prison sentence of up to six months means that no one can take up a pen in peace.

[Minobe, "Shinbunshi hō kaisei mondai"; trans. adapted from Miller, *Minobe Tatsukichi*, p. 152]

The principle of monarchical sovereignty and the principle of popular sovereignty are really only constitutional principles, merely differences in the form of government. Regardless of either, governmental power is a right always vested in the state, and only the state possesses that power. Under popular sovereignty the people govern as an organ of the state, and even under monarchical sovereignty it is as an organ of the state that the monarch is the highest source of governmental power. . . . The [term] "sovereignty" means, strictly speaking, "the highest organ." . . .

In our constitution the principle of monarchical sovereignty must be construed in this manner, meaning that the monarch is the highest source of governmental power as chief of state and its highest organ.

Constitutional government rejects oligarchical government. Because constitutional government is conducted with the assistance of the people, it is the basic principle of constitutional government that the cabinet, which is responsible for the governance of the state, must always have the confidence of the people. Thus even though legally the designation of the prime minister rests with the free choice of the sovereign, politically it is not based on the sovereign's personal confidence but always must have the confidence of the people as the criterion for selection. Since under constitutional government the institution that represents the people's opinion is the parliament and especially the House of Representatives, the political basis for the cabinet's existence must always be the confidence of the parliament and particularly of the House of Representatives.

[Minobe, *Chikujō kenpō seigi*, pp. 17–18, 535–36; trans. adapted from Miller, *Minobe Tatsukichi*, pp. 84, 131–32]

To view the military authorities and the military as identical, to consider criticism of the military authorities' attitude as a direct attack on the military, and to allow no outsider criticism of the proceedings of the military authorities, all must be termed a manifestation of a . . . (censored) [way of] thinking and is an egregious restraint of [freedom of] expression.

The following was written in response to the army's pamphlet *On the Basic Meaning of National Defense* (*Kokubō no hongi*).

[How can an army publication] use such expressions as "to root out individualism, liberalism, and internationalism"! Since the Meiji Restoration, individualism and liberalism have been our empire's fundamental national policy . . .

the establishment of the constitution proclaimed these two things as basic constitutional principles. . . . Our country's rapid development since the Meiji Restoration, a development that has astonished the world, is principally nothing but the fruit of this individualism and liberalism. How could it have been possible to bring about such a speedy cultural development if our people had been constrained in a life of slavish obedience? Truly individual freedom is itself the father of creation and the mother of culture. It is actually because of this that the articles of chapter II of the constitution guarantee the liberties of the individual. If the talk about the necessity of eliminating individualism and liberalism is to be taken literally, then it is nothing less than a real attempt to destroy the constitution.

[Minobe, "Dai rokujūgo gikai no kaiko" and "Rikugun happyō no kokubōron o miru"; text from Ienaga, *Minobe Tatsukichi*, pp. 212–13; AET]

In that work [*Nihon kenpō*, vol. 1], Minobe recognized that the modern state was responsible for positively developing a society's culture. However, he held, this cannot be used to construe that the state can engage without limits in whatever function it cares to. Despite the state's cultural responsibilities, there must certainly be definite limits. In the field of scholarship, the arts, religion, and other intellectual aspects of culture, development can occur only through the free investigation of individual persons. The state's function in this regard is the negative one of eliminating external obstacles that would interfere with such investigations. Its positive function is limited only to protecting and encouraging this development. Any attempt to use the state's power to decide the direction of these intellectual aspects of culture must be said to be an instance of the state's exceeding its responsibilities.

[Minobe, *Nihon kenpō*, vol. 1; quoted in Ienaga, *Ichi rekishigakusha no ayumi*, pp. 69–71; AET]

YOSHINO SAKUZŌ: DEMOCRACY AS MINPON SHUGI

Yoshino Sakuzō (1878–1933) graduated from Tokyo Imperial University in 1904. In 1906 he went to China as the private tutor of the eldest son of Yuan Shikai, then the dominant political figure in China. In 1909 Yoshino returned to Japan and became a professor of political history and theory in the Faculty of Law at Tokyo Imperial University, a post he held until his resignation in 1924. In 1910, he was sent abroad to study in Germany, England, and the United States. On his return in 1913, he began to write articles analyzing the problems of democratic government. For a number of years, these articles appeared periodically in *Chūō kōron*, an important journal of opinion. "On the Meaning of Constitutional Government," one of the most significant of these articles, was published in January 1916. It was a powerful reaffirmation of faith in the inevitable

triumph of democracy and represented a reaction against the belief current in certain Japanese circles that Germany's successes had proved the superiority of the Prussian pattern. Yoshino describes what he believes to be the most important characteristics of democracy. He demonstrates that democracy is fully compatible with the concept of the emperor's sovereignty, a principle that had become so sacrosanct as to be unchallengeable. Yoshino considers the special problems confronting democracy in Japan and suggests ways to resolve them. All the problems he touches on were extremely important at the time he wrote: political corruption, nonparty cabinets, the rise of a plutocracy, universal suffrage, the need for popular education in the ways of democracy, and so on.

"ON THE MEANING OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT AND THE METHODS BY WHICH IT CAN BE PERFECTED" (KENSEI NO HONGI O TOITE SONO YŪSHŪ NO BI O SEISU NO TO O RONZU)

Preface

Whether or not constitutional government will work well is partly a question of its structure and procedures, but it is also very much a question of the general level of the people's knowledge and virtue. Only when the level is rather mature can a constitutional government be set up. . . . However, since the trend toward constitutional government is worldwide and can no longer be resisted, advanced thinkers must try to establish it firmly. They should voluntarily assume the responsibility, without delay, of instructing the people so as to train them in its workings. If they do not, constitutional government can never function perfectly, however complete it may be in form. Therefore, the fundamental prerequisite for perfecting constitutional government, especially in politically backward nations, is the cultivation of knowledge and virtue among the general population. This is not a task that can be accomplished in a day. Think of the situation in our own country. We instituted constitutional government before the people were prepared for it. As a result there have been many failures, failures that have caused those with high aspirations for government to feel that we have accomplished very little. Still, it is impossible to reverse course and return to the old absolutism, so there is nothing for us to do but cheerfully take the road of reform and progress. Consequently, it is extremely important not to rely on politicians alone but to use the cooperative efforts of educators, religious leaders, and thinkers in all areas of society.

The United States and Mexico illustrate how two countries with equally well developed forms of constitutional government may be at opposite ends of the scale in their operation, in accordance with the different levels of knowledge and virtue attained by their people. [pp. 4–6]

I. What Is Constitutional Government?

The word "constitution" invariably means a nation's fundamental laws. However, when used as a modern political term, it has certain additional connotations. . . .

First, one usually assigns to a constitution greater force than to ordinary laws. . . . Since a nation's fundamental laws are of great importance, the idea has persisted from antiquity that there should be a distinction between them and ordinary laws. However, there is another reason why modern nations give such special weight to constitutions. The intention is to prevent the reckless infringement, at some later time, of the rights that [constitutions] describe with great care. Whatever they ostensibly may be, modern constitutions have in fact appeared as a result of the long struggle for popular rights that was waged against those who in the past monopolized political power, those rightly called the privileged classes. [pp. 13–15]

Second, a constitution must include as an important part of its contents the following three provisions: (1) guarantees of civil liberties, (2) the principle of the separation of the three branches of government, and (3) a popularly elected legislature. . . .

1. The fifteen articles of chapter II of the Japanese constitution concern the "Rights and Duties of Subjects." As the title indicates, some of these articles prescribe duties, but most of them enumerate those rights and liberties that are indispensable to the people's material and spiritual happiness and progress. . . . They clearly state that these rights and liberties may not be arbitrarily restricted by the government but can be limited only by law, in whose enactment the Diet participates. [pp. 16–17]

2. If it is defined theoretically, the principle of separation of powers becomes a very troublesome problem. Generally speaking, it means that the executive, judicial, and legislative powers are exercised by separate organs of the government. . . . It is true for all countries, without exception, that the intention of the principle . . . is best shown in the area of judicial independence. However, nowadays its application to relations between the executive and legislative branches differs substantially from country to country. Of course, the executive and the legislative branches should be independent of each other, but if there is no provision at all for negotiations between the two, constitutional government cannot be expected to function smoothly. [pp. 18–19]

3. More than any other factor, [provision for a popularly elected legislature] . . . is regarded by the public as the most important characteristic of a constitution. Indeed, many people think of it as the only essential characteristic of a constitution. . . . Why is this provision so important? Because the popularly elected legislature is the only branch of government in whose composition the people have a direct voice. The members of the other two branches are experts

appointed by the government. The people have almost no direct concern in naming them. With the legislature it is just the opposite. Its members are directly elected by the people. Naturally, the people can influence it and thereby make it express the popular will. . . .

These are the [three] indispensable elements of a modern constitution. . . . If they are present, then there is a constitution. When such a constitution exists and is the guiding principle of political life, we have a constitutional government. [pp. 21–22]

II. What Is Meant by the Perfection of Constitutional Government?

Living as we do under a constitutional government, we must work all the harder for its perfection. But we must not work blindly. The task requires a strenuous effort based on the same . . . ideology that originally brought about the establishment of the constitution and on the fundamental spirit concealed in its innermost depths. . . .

What, then, is the spirit of a constitution? No generalization is possible, for it varies from one country to another. . . . In some countries the privileged classes survive as relics of a bygone age and still continue to exercise their influence. Where this is so, even though the pressure of world trends has forced the promulgation of a constitution, many people try to implement it so as not to injure their antiquated political ideology. These people stridently emphasize the principle that their nation's constitution has nothing in common with that of any other but instead has its own peculiar traits. We frequently see this in our country, where there is a tendency in constitutional theory to assert as the basis for the political structure a peculiar national morality of our own, attempting in this way to avoid interpreting the constitution in accordance with Western constitutional ideas. . . . Of course, each country's constitution reflects that country's peculiar characteristics. It would be difficult to summarize the unique qualities of each country's constitution, but it is possible to infer from the history of modern world civilization the spiritual basis common to them all. . . . The common spiritual basis that I discover in all constitutions is democracy. [pp. 26–28]

III. The Spiritual Basis of Constitutional Government: Democracy

The Japanese word *minpon shugi* (democracy) (people as the basic principle) is of very recent use. Previously, *minshu shugi* (people's rule principle) seems to have been generally favored, and even *minshū shugi* and *heimin shugi* have been used. However, *minshu shugi* is likely to be understood as referring to the theory held by the social democratic parties that "the sovereignty of the nation resides in the people." *Heimin shugi* implies an opposition between the com-

mon people (*heimin*) and the nobility, and it risks being misunderstood to mean that the nobility is the enemy and the common people are the friendly forces. By themselves, the words *minshū shugi* are not open to such a misinterpretation, but they represent an overemphasis on the masses (*minshū*). Since . . . the basis of constitutional government is a universally accepted political principle that emphasizes the people at large but does not differentiate between nobles and commoners or distinguish between a monarchical and a republican national polity, I suspect that the comparatively new term *minpon shugi* is the most suitable. [pp. 28–29]

I think [the Western word] "democracy," as used in the fields of law and political science, has at least two distinct meanings. In one sense it means that "in law the sovereignty of the nation resides in the people." In the other it is used to mean that "in politics the fundamental end of the exercise of the nation's sovereignty should be the people." . . . I would like to use *minshu shugi* and *minpon shugi*, respectively, as the suitable translations for these two senses of "democracy." [pp. 30–31]

In our country many people are prevented by the "popular sovereignty" aspect of *minshu shugi* from properly understanding democracy. This has unavoidably led to a prejudice that has noticeably retarded the development of democracy. Consequently, I believe that in order to have the people strive for the advancement of a constitutional government with a correct understanding of democracy, it is extremely important to clarify the distinction between the two meanings of the word.[1] [pp. 31–32]

IV. The Distinction Between Popular Sovereignty and Democracy

Even "popular sovereignty," if we examine it closely, is seen to be of two kinds. . . .

The first has been set forth in the following form: In the corporate body known as the nation the original and natural locus of sovereignty must be the people as a whole. This I call absolute or philosophic popular sovereignty. . . .

The second kind is set forth in the following form: In a specific country it has been decided by interpretation of the constitution that the sovereignty resides in the people. This I call popular sovereignty by mutual consent or by interpretation. . . . Both types, however, concern the legal location of the nation's sovereignty. Consequently, there cannot be the slightest doubt that the words "popular sovereignty" are inappropriate to a country like ours, which from the beginning has been unmistakably monarchical. Therefore, I believe it is very clear that while "popular sovereignty" and "democracy" may seem

1. From here on, *minshu shugi* will be translated as "popular sovereignty" to distinguish it from *minpon shugi*, the term that Yoshino prefers for "democracy."

similar, they differ a great deal in substance, for "democracy" raises no question of republicanism or monarchism and constitutes the fundamental spirit common to the constitutions of all modern countries. [pp. 32–38]

V. Misinterpretations of Democracy

Democracy is not contingent on where legal theory locates sovereignty. It merely implies that in the exercise of this sovereignty, the sovereign should always make it his policy to value the well-being and opinions of the people. . . . There is no doubt that even in a monarchy this principle can be honored without contravening the established system in the slightest degree. . . . Nevertheless, many people think that democracy and the monarchical system are completely incompatible. This is a serious misconception. [pp. 38–39]

Most of the misconceptions about democracy arise from emotional arguments that have no theoretical basis. This is especially true of the small class that up to now has possessed special privileges and monopolized political power. . . . In the past the system made them rulers of the common people. In the new age they must yield this formal dominance to the people and be content with the substance of moral leadership. . . . As long as they alter neither their attitudes nor their motives to accord with the change in the times, no true progress can be expected in constitutional government. The public is prone to say that constitutional government has failed to develop as we had hoped because the thought of the people has not developed. But whether the people's thought develops is really determined by whether advanced thinkers properly guide it. When the small class of leaders holds to its narrow-minded views, it is impossible to implant in the hearts of the common people sound constitutional ideas, no matter how much the necessity of spreading constitutional thought is preached. In this connection I must turn to the small enlightened intellectual class in the upper ranks of society and express the hope that they themselves reach a true understanding of constitutional ideas and become conscious of their duty to guide the common people. [pp. 39–41]

In addition to misinterpretations based on emotional arguments, there also are criticisms of democracy that have a somewhat theoretical basis, or what would outwardly appear to be such. First, some persons confuse democracy with popular sovereignty and see no clear difference between them. They therefore think that democracy is opposed in theory to the principle of the sovereignty of the emperor. . . . Second, some persons look at the history of democracy's development, see that it has invariably gone hand in hand with popular sovereignty, and conclude from this that it is incompatible with the monarchical system. . . . Up to a point, this theory is true. Indeed, if we look at the history of the development of constitutional governments, we see that for the most part

they have passed through a revolutionary stage. . . . But it would be a mistake to conclude that because constitutional government originated in revolutionary democratic thought, it must always be dangerous. This is as illogical as it is to argue that since man is descended from the monkeys, he will always have the monkey's inferior characteristics. . . .

If we hesitate for fear of possible evil effects, progress and development will never be achieved. If something is necessary for the advancement of the nation and society, we must quickly search for a method to attain it. And we must strive greatly to prevent the abuses that we fear may result. We should not live in inaction, bound by our old established ways. Progress requires strenuous effort. As a people with constitutional government, we must willingly throw open our doors to world trends and actively seek the greatest progress and development for our nation and society. Yet at the same time, we must resolve to reject and fight to overcome whatever harm may accompany this. This is truly the glorious responsibility borne by the advanced thinkers in a constitutionally governed country. As long as they are determined not to shirk it, I believe we need have no fear whatsoever for the future of the nation under democracy. [pp. 41–44]

VI. The Substance of Democracy: Political Objectives

Earlier I defined democracy as the policy in exercising political power of valuing the profit, happiness, and opinions of the people. On the face of it, this definition reveals two aspects of democracy. First, the object of the exercise of political power . . . must be the people's welfare. Second, the policies that determine how political power is exercised . . . are settled in accordance with the people's opinions. . . .

The first requirement of democracy, then, is that the ultimate end of the exercise of political power be the good of the people. . . . In ancient times the objective of government was the survival and prosperity of a small number of powerful persons or the preservation of their authority; it was never the well-being of the people as a whole. . . . To the feudal mind, the land and people of a country were no more than the personal property of the royal family. But in the feudal period it became quite clear that land and people were the foundation on which the royal family stood, so the people gradually came to be valued. . . . In general, international competition further deepened the ruling classes' feeling of dependence on the people. . . . Accordingly, the feudal state came to treat the people with a great deal of consideration. . . . From our point of view today, the people were, in the final analysis, like servants happy under a kindhearted master. They were not permitted to claim consideration for themselves as a matter of right. . . . Our democracy is opposed to placing the people in such a position. It demands that the ultimate goal of government must

change and become the welfare of the people. It further demands that . . . [their welfare] absolutely never be used as a means to some other end. In modern politics it is certainly not permissible to sacrifice the general welfare to the interests of a small number. [pp. 44–48]

Some people still may denounce democracy as contravening the idea of loyalty to the emperor, a sentiment dating from the founding of our country. . . . Some people may ask whether democracy would oppose setting aside the people's welfare even if this were to be done in the interest of the imperial family. In my answer to these criticisms I would make the following two points. First, there is absolutely no contradiction nowadays between the "interest of the imperial family" and the interest of the nation, [an interest] standing at the very top of the people's well-being. . . . Since the imperial family is the unique head of the national family, it is utterly unthinkable that it should become necessary, "in the interest of the imperial family," to disregard the interest of the people. Consequently, I believe the interest of the imperial family and the interest of the people can never conflict with each other. Second, let us yield the point and suppose such a conflict to have arisen between the two. Since democracy relates to the sovereign's way of using his powers, there is nothing to prevent him from establishing the basic principle that he will not arbitrarily disregard the welfare of the people. . . . It is the determination of the Japanese people to willingly go through fire and water for the sake of the emperor. However, if the state systematically exploited this devotion to secure the people's acceptance of acts that disregarded the people's welfare, might not a certain cheerlessness come to characterize the subjects' spirit of loyalty? I would therefore like to make it a principle that whenever the state demands from the people sacrifices beyond a certain level, the choice of whether or not they are to comply should be left entirely to their moral judgment. . . . Our loyal people will never, for fear of their own safety, hesitate to strive for their emperor and country. Loyalty to the emperor is a spirit dating from the founding of our country; it is the essence of our national polity. Reinforcing it by erecting it into a system would, I believe, lead to many evils but bring no advantage. [pp. 48–50]

Democracy does not permit the welfare of the people to be sacrificed for any purpose whatsoever. However, if we ask whether today this point has been completely realized in every country, [the answer is] most assuredly no. . . .

In our own country, unhappily, the people do not yet comprehend this problem and have not progressed to the point of insisting on [the principle]. Conversely, although in general the privileged classes have, little by little, come to understand the demands of the people and thus may be considered to be aware of how to meet them, there still are narrow-minded persons in these classes who value themselves highly and are condescending to the people. . . . In order that the place of these classes in a democracy be peacefully settled and a trend toward a healthy development of society thereby created, it is necessary that on the one hand we work for the development of the people's knowledge

and that on the other we urge the upper classes seriously to search their hearts. [pp. 51–53]

In recent times there has been a trend in our country and others for certain new privileged classes to appear in addition to the historic ones. Chief among these is the plutocracy. . . . It is contrary to the objective of democracy for economically superior and inferior classes to develop and, as a consequence, for profits to become the monopoly of a single class. Therefore, without touching on the fundamental problem of whether the organization of society should be basically reconstructed, it has recently been considered necessary in government to resort temporarily to moderate measures directed against these economically privileged classes. . . . To consider now the situation in our own country, in recent times capitalists have gained strength and with their huge financial power are finally on the point of wrongfully trampling on the public interest. It is true that this tendency is not so strong [in Japan] as it is in America and Europe, but recently the influence of the capitalists has increased markedly. After the Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War, their power grew especially quickly. Wealth has never lacked a certain degree of power, but before the Sino-Japanese War the money power was in fact completely under the control of the political power. In the early years of the Meiji period, wealth bent its knee at the door of political power and under the latter's shelter worked by degrees to increase financial power. . . . The Sino-Japanese War forced, for the first time, political power to beg aid from wealth. In this way wealth first achieved a position of equality with political power. With the Russo-Japanese War, the government of Prince Katsura kowtowed to the capitalists in all matters and sought their financial aid. Consequently, in one jump, wealth became strong enough to control political power. The bestowal of peerages on rich men dates from this time. . . . In this way the wealthy put pressure on political power and, for the profit of their own class, demanded the passage of various unfair laws. As a result, various kinds of financial legislation are in force today that are very disadvantageous to the general public and serve only the interests of the capitalist class. Thus in our country, a new privileged class has recently appeared whose interests are unfairly protected by law. In the future, this kind of privileged class will conflict with the demands of democracy; how the two will be harmonized is a matter that engages our most anxious attention. Since the moneyed class is concerned with material things, they do not readily listen to the ordinary people. Consequently, if there are great difficulties in solving problems in the area of [constitutional government], will they not in all likelihood arise from this problem of the financially privileged class? If the plutocracy were by some chance to make common cause with the traditional privileged classes in confronting democracy, there could be no greater misfortune for the nation. In this connection I must incessantly arouse the attention of the intellectuals and entreat the reflection of the nobility and plutocrats who are flouting the affections of the nation. [pp. 53–55]

VII. The Substance of Democracy: Determination of Policies

Democracy not only implies that the purpose of government is the welfare of the people but also demands that in the final determination of policies, the people's opinions must be valued highly. This certainly does not mean that in each individual case the opinions of each individual person must be heard. It is an overall principle according to which nothing is done in opposition to the views of the people and no political action is undertaken without their general approval—expressed or tacit. [p. 56]

This second essential [purpose] of democracy is strongly criticized. If we examine these criticisms closely, [we will find,] I think, that they are of three kinds.

The first is the idea that democracy is opposed constitutionally to the principle of imperial sovereignty. . . . Yet, democracy is a theory of politics, not of law. From a legal standpoint, sovereignty resides in the emperor. Democracy comes in when one asks what principle should guide the emperor in the exercise of his sovereignty. It is in no way inconsistent with monarchy. Of course, I too agree that in order to protect the imperial institution, we should reject the dangerous theory of popular sovereignty. But opposition on this account to the advance of democracy—so similar in name to popular sovereignty but so different from it in substance—is a serious problem for the future of constitutional government. [pp. 57–58]

Another criticism is the notion that, even conceding democracy to be a political concept, if in the exercise of his power the sovereign must by custom always take into account the general will of the people, his sovereignty is thereby limited and the free exercise of his authority is prevented. However, those who believe this ignore the fact that in a constitutional country the sovereignty of the ruler is always limited in some way. It is because the word "limitation" is used that this impression is produced; how would it be if the word "Way"[2] were used in its place? Assume that constitutional government is a system under which a sovereign rules not by arbitrary whim but in accordance with the "Way." Is not this "Way" a sort of limitation on the free exercise of sovereignty? Well, the "Way" manifests itself both legally and politically; in other words, constitutional countries make it a rule to limit the power of the sovereign in both legal theory and political practice. . . . Practically speaking, there is no country in the world today in which the sovereign decides all the policies of state by himself. . . . [Thus] the real problem is what kind of limitations there should be on the ruler's authority. Should he be limited by concern for the will of the people generally or by the opinions of two or three of his confidants? Concern for the will of the people may or may not limit the ruler's sovereignty,

2. Yoshino is using the Confucian concept of the "Way."

but I find it a one-sided argument not to admit that other limitations exist even when there is no such concern. Let us assume, for example, that the cabinet has changed and that custom demands that the responsibility for forming a successor cabinet be left to the leader of the political party that commands a majority in the parliament. It is objected that this practice imposes limitations on the ruler's sovereignty. . . . The ruler's complete freedom of action, if applied literally on such an occasion, would imply that without consulting anyone else, he alone could decide who was to be the prime minister. . . . Yet whether or not such a method would be practical, in fact the usual practice is for him to consult with two or three of the experienced persons of his court. . . . As I see it, both the appointment of ministers according to party majorities in parliament and their appointment on the advice of elder statesmen are limitations of the ruler's authority. . . . The question that arises here is *which* sort of limitation should the ruler accept? Should he consult a small number of people, or should he consult at large with great numbers of people? Consequently, it is improper to reject democracy on the grounds that it limits the emperor's sovereignty and is therefore bad. If one wishes to reject democracy validly, one must go a step further and clearly demonstrate that it is always bad to take counsel with many men and always good to take counsel with a few men. In Japan since early Meiji, however, it has been the fundamental national policy to take counsel with large numbers of persons. His Majesty, the Meiji emperor, decreed at the beginning of the Restoration that deliberative assemblies should be widely established and all matters decided by public discussion. Thus the spirit of democracy, which consists of the just and equitable conduct of government in consultation with the majority of the people, has been our national policy since early in the Meiji [period]. Those who today deny this and advocate the principle of minority advice are moving against the general trend of political evolution. [pp. 58–61]

It is said that the enlightened are always likely to be a minority; that therefore the best government must be government by the minority; and that conversely, majority rule deteriorates into mob rule. This . . . is partly true. However, we must not forget that minority rule is always government in a dark chamber. However splendid a person's character may be, when others do not observe him, he is likely to commit excesses. . . . Some point to the corruption of the Diet and its members and say that there are bound to be evils in majority rule. . . . But in general, since government by the minority is secret government, many of its evils never come to the attention of the country, while since majority government is open government, there is a tendency to magnify its most minute deficiencies. [pp. 65–66]

It may be mistakenly thought that majority government makes no use at all of the enlightened minority, but this is absolutely not so. . . . [This minority] can best fulfill their function as truly enlightened people when they modestly identify themselves with the majority, ostensibly following the majority will and

yet, as the spiritual leaders of the majority, quietly working for the public good. . . . In all formal respects, the majority forms the basis for the exercise of governmental power, and they must be the political rulers, but within their ranks they in fact need spiritual leaders. . . . If the enlightened minority are truly to serve the national society, they must resolve to use their wisdom to guide the masses spiritually. At the same time they must resolve to enlist themselves in the service of the masses and, by making their own influence prevail, work for the public good. . . . Only when these two groups work together can a constitutional government develop perfectly. Seen politically, this cooperation means that the country is ruled by the will of the majority, but seen spiritually, it means that the country is guided by the enlightened minority. . . . It is government by the people, but in one sense it can also be called government by the best. Thus one can claim that constitutional government reaches its most splendid perfection when there is a harmonious reconciliation of political democracy with spiritual aristocracy. . . . In this respect, I am thoroughly disgusted with the attitude of Japan's elder statesmen and other bureaucratic statesmen. Although they enjoy the special favor of the imperial house and the esteem of the nation, they sometimes use their exalted position to interfere irresponsibly in political affairs. They will not reach down from their eminent position to establish contact with the masses but instead take a hostile attitude toward democratic influences. It is regrettable that they thus fail to understand the true meaning of modern political life, but one must say it is especially unfortunate for the nation that they neglect the social function of the enlightened minority by not assuming the responsibility of popular leadership. After all, surprisingly enough, the ordinary people actually pay excessive respect to honors and titles. When the aristocrats who inherit historical and social authority are at the same time highly capable in point of actual ability and jointly undertake the leadership of the people, the people gladly submit to this leadership. For the sake of the healthy development of constitutional government, nay, say rather for the sake of the future success of our society and nation, I beg the enlightened minority to reflect deeply on this. We must hope that the aristocrats and plutocrats will respond to the handsome treatment they have received from the nation, not only by giving great thought to how they should conduct themselves, but also by giving serious attention to the education of their children and younger brothers. [pp. 67–70]

VIII. Representative Government

In this section, Yoshino argues the merits of representative government against those who claim that it does not go far enough toward meeting the demands of true democracy. Syndicalism and the popular referendum, he notes, have been the two methods most commonly advanced for achieving more direct popular government, but both of them, he believes, are impractical and unnecessary.

IX. The Relation of the People to the Legislators

The most important point regarding the relation between the people and the legislators is that the people always occupy the position of master of the house, while the legislators are necessarily transients. The proper maintenance of this relationship is absolutely essential to the functioning of constitutional government. The abuses of constitutional government generally stem from the inversion of this relationship. And it is not just a question of the relation between the people and the legislators. The same truth holds as between legislators and the government. Whenever the legislators, who should supervise the government, are puppets of the government, many evils arise. Likewise, whenever the people, who should supervise the legislators, are instead manipulated by them, the operation of constitutional government is replete with innumerable scandals and corruption. If the government seduces legislators with offers of gain [and] if legislators also lead the people astray with offers of gain, then the proper relationships will be inverted, and the structure of constitutional government will be filled with abuses. If we wish to clean up political life and see a normal evolution of constitutional government, the first thing we must do is to pay strict attention to rectifying the relationship between the people and the legislators. There are at least three measures that must be adopted in order to accomplish this. [p. 87]

1. Inculcation of election ethics. . . . I do not think that the ethics of the Japanese are, broadly speaking, especially low. But because elections are a new experience for them, they have, regrettably, greatly ignored morality in conducting them. I feel it is necessary for us to inculcate the principles of election ethics in the people of the nation.

This being the case, what points should the people be made to understand especially? One of them is that although a single vote seems to be of very little importance, it actually is of great consequence to the fate of the nation. It is too sacred to be subject to influence by bribes or intimidation. A second point is that one votes in the interest of the nation, not for the profit of a single locality. To vote with only local interests in mind is likely more often than not to result in sacrificing the interests of the whole nation. A third point is that voting is our prerogative, not something to be done at the solicitation of the candidates. It is up to us to recommend proper candidates to the nation. Nowadays it is extremely important to drive these three points deep into the minds of the people. [pp. 88–89]

2. The necessity of adopting and enforcing strict election regulations. When legislators manipulate the people, invariably corruption and bad government flourish. Only when the people control their legislators does the operation of constitutional government follow the proper course. Therefore, it is especially important to impose strict penalties on the corrupt practices that may be carried

on between the legislators and the people. . . . In this respect, a rather strict election law has been adopted in Japan; the only thing to be regretted is that it has not been rigorously enough enforced and that the government tends to be lax in dealing with the activities of its own party. [pp. 91–92]

3. The necessity of extending the suffrage as widely as possible. If the suffrage is limited, corruption will be rampant. When the suffrage is extended as far as possible, there can be absolutely no distribution of bribes and the like. Moreover, only when it has become absolutely impossible for candidates to fight one another with money and things of value will they compete by sincerely and frankly presenting their views and personal qualifications to the people. Consequently, the people will have an opportunity of receiving a political education through this means. When suffrage is limited, as it is today, there is a chance of winning a contest without presenting one's views and qualifications. Therefore the political parties pay little heed to the political education of the people. . . . There is no doubt that Diet members truly represent politically all the people of the country. Therefore, they should not be the representatives of only one class. It is logical, then, that the scope of the electorate should be as broad as possible. . . . Today, as in the past, the basic political consideration is to hold elections that result essentially in representing the overall interests of the people generally. We think it proper on this ground that the suffrage should be extended as widely as possible. Naturally this is not to say that suffrage should be unlimited. We must admit that from the standpoint of necessity and convenience, several kinds of limitations should be set if the objectives of elections are to be achieved. To begin with, we must probably exclude infants, the insane, criminals, persons on public relief, bankrupts, and so forth. . . . Whether or not women should be excluded is, in the final analysis, a problem for the future. Today, suffrage is generally the exclusive possession of men. Of course, some countries do extend political rights to women. [pp. 93–95]

Nowadays the two ways that have actually been adopted to weed out those unsuited [to exercise voting rights] are educational qualifications and property qualifications. . . . However, these days, formal education by itself is not what distinguishes between those who have and those who do not have the training proper to humanistic [moral] cultivation. In a time like today when formal education is extremely widespread, I suspect that this standard is of little practical value. Making educational requirements an absolute qualification is behind the times. . . . Furthermore . . . limitation [on the basis of taxation or property] has become meaningless in the present age. Practically, it is impossible to use a fixed amount of property as a criterion for distinguishing between those who have and those who do not have an upright character. . . .

Most of the world's civilized countries have seen fit to adopt universal [manhood] suffrage. The only civilized countries . . . that impose comparatively great limitations on suffrage are Russia and Japan. In all other civilized countries,

universal suffrage is already a settled issue and no longer comes up for political discussion. In Japan the agitation for extending the suffrage has recently increased, but apparently it will take a long time before the idea becomes generally accepted. Recently when the Ōkuma cabinet introduced a temporizing bill that would have reduced the present ten-yen tax-voting qualification to five yen, there was violent opposition in certain political quarters. Hence, I cannot help feeling that the establishment of universal suffrage is a long way off. Many Japanese intellectuals have an incredible misunderstanding of and violent antipathy to universal suffrage. Of course, in the beginning it was mainly the Socialists who advocated the system. This is, by and large, the probable reason for the misunderstanding. It is not surprising that the upper classes are not pleased with the system, but it is very surprising that the ordinary people do not welcome it wholeheartedly. A bill to adopt universal suffrage passed the House of Representatives in the twenty-seventh Diet in 1911, but at the time it was said that it was passed in the firm belief that it would never be approved by the House of Peers. As expected, the House of Peers rejected it by a huge majority. If we do not dispel this misunderstanding of universal suffrage and instill in the people the deep, heartfelt conviction that constitutional government cannot possibly develop properly unless universal suffrage is adopted, then the prospects for constitutional government are indeed gloomy. As a consequence of our present suffrage limitations, no more than 3 percent of all Japanese are enfranchised. In the general elections in March of last year [1915], only 1,544,725 persons had the right to vote. [pp. 102–3]

Thus, the extension of the suffrage and the strict enforcement of electoral laws are the most pressing matters facing Japan. The history of other countries shows that these two actions have often effected a cleanup of political life. If they are neglected, the ideal of constitutional government cannot be realized, no matter how much one preaches about election ethics and prods the conscience of the people. The argument for extending suffrage is a subject that we must study most earnestly, and we must henceforth advocate it most fervently. Insofar as the public has misconceptions, we must, on the one hand, appeal to the intellectuals to reconsider the issue and, on the other, dispel the confusions of the political world. We must work diligently at these two things so that in the near future, universal suffrage may become a reality. [p. 104]

X. The Relation of Parliament to the Government

It is the government that takes direct charge of state affairs. Only when parliament oversees the government can there be just and equitable administration. But since the government wields real power, it is likely to use its position to control and manipulate the legislators, thereby reversing matters and ordering about as it pleases the very persons by whom, properly speaking, it should be supervised. Many hidden evils spring from such a situation. . . . Therefore,

it is essential to the healthy functioning of constitutional government that the government be kept in a state of strict subordination to the parliament. [pp. 107–8]

Hence we consider it necessary to sharpen the moral conscience of office-holders as much as possible. . . . Fidelity to conscience and regard for integrity are the very life and soul of a politician. For a politician there is no greater crime than to change his opinion for the sake of dishonest gain. It is surprising that such affairs should be problems in a constitutional country. It is more than surprising; it is shameful. Under constitutional government, worthless individuals should not become legislators in the first place. Government is fundamentally a very exalted calling, one that can be undertaken well only by persons of high cultivation. Therefore is it not an insult to a politician merely to investigate his character? It is the practice in Western countries that men about whose character there is some doubt are never accepted as politicians in the first place. . . . The frequent occurrence of corrupt behavior among legislators is probably a peculiarity of Japan. With such a state of affairs it is absolutely impossible for constitutional government to progress in Japan. To prevent [corruption], as I have said again and again, it is necessary to keep the people from committing errors at the very start in the elections. Moreover, it is necessary that the people inflict the severest punishments on representatives who defile their offices. By means of the law, we must not only sternly punish any representatives who defile their offices; we must also resolve to use the power of public opinion to bury them in political oblivion.

In this regard, one point I wish to emphasize is that the offense of one who tempts [an official] is far more serious than that of the one who is tempted. [pp. 109–10]

Making the legislators morally independent of the government is only the first step. If we are to persuade the legislators to discharge their supervisory responsibility and thoroughly inquire into the government's transgressions, it also is necessary that the government be made to fulfill its political responsibility to the parliament. . . . If the principle of responsible cabinets has not been firmly established in political institutions or usage, it is impossible to achieve the proper relationship between government and the parliament. Consequently, the requisites for democracy cannot be fully met.

In contrast to the responsible cabinet system, there is also the principle of the nonparty cabinet. According to this idea, the cabinet should rise above the wishes of parliament and occupy a position of absolute independence. Under this system, no matter how much the government is opposed by parliament, no matter even if there occasionally are votes of no confidence [in parliament], the government unconcernedly continues in office. To put the theory in its worst light, it is a pretext that enables the government freely to commit any kind of arbitrary misrule. Thus it is inconsistent with the principle that final decisions on policy should depend on the views of the people generally. There-

fore, the nonparty cabinet system is decidedly not the normal rule in constitutional government. Of course, under our constitution, theoretically the ministers of state are responsible to the sovereign alone, so it is not absolutely necessary for them immediately and as a matter of course to resign their posts when the Diet opposes them. That is to say, [this practice] cannot be called unconstitutional. However, it is clear from the foregoing that it is contrary to the spirit of constitutional government. [p. 112]

The usual method used nowadays for calling the responsibility [of the government] into account is the parliamentary cabinet system. In most countries it has recently become the practice for the government to be formed by the leader of the political party that has a majority in parliament. In this sense most governments are today party cabinets. . . . In countries that have just two major parties, this system works well, but in those that have many small parties, it does not. . . . In order that the wisdom of the party cabinet system may be demonstrated, it is absolutely necessary to encourage the establishment of two major parties. The establishment of two major parties, however, is a matter determined by the course of events and cannot very well be controlled by a constitution's theory. As a result, the workability of the party cabinet system always varies from one country to another. Hence the problem arises as to whether party government can really work smoothly in Japan. . . . Since I am interested in the progress of constitutional government in Japan, I should like to present to the nation the reasons why the natural trend toward a two-party system should be promoted and why the factors that stand in its way should be removed with the utmost vigor. Unfortunately, a number of politicians are in the grip of petty feelings and deliberately point up their differences. These men are too narrow-minded to discard petty differences and form a union based on greater common interests. They are sulky political malcontents who hide behind beautiful phrases such as "remaining loyal through ten years of adversity." The great misfortune of Japan today is the narrow-mindedness of politicians. . . .

I have explained why we must have a fully responsible cabinet system if constitutional government is to reach its most perfect development. In the West this matter was settled long ago and is hardly an issue any more. If there were a place where this became an issue today, that place would be unexpectedly showing itself to be far behind the times in the development of constitutional government. [pp. 113–20]

As I see it, Japan is generally on the right track in this respect. Although we do not yet have a responsible cabinet system, today everyone seems to believe firmly that a vote of no confidence in the Diet would inevitably result in the cabinet's resignation. Consequently it has become the practice for the government always to dissolve the Diet as soon as it sees that a no-confidence motion is about to be passed. Since December 1885, when Count Itō first instituted the present cabinet system, there have been about twenty cabinet changes. The great majority of them resulted from clashes with the Diet. Even in the begin-

ning, when the principle of nonparty cabinets was asserted, no cabinet could maintain its position in the face of parliamentary opposition. . . . At that time, a nonparty cabinet seems to have meant a cabinet that stood apart from the political parties in the Diet; it does not seem to have meant a cabinet uninfluenced by Diet decisions. Halfway through this thirty-year period, Katsura and [Kinmochi] Saionji began the custom of alternating with each other as prime minister. Since that time, although the principle of party cabinets has not yet been fully implemented, it has become impossible for anyone to enter the cabinet without allying himself in some fashion or other with the majority forces in the Diet. We should try to promote this tendency and more thoroughly enforce [the idea of a] party government. From this point of view, I believe that even though good results might temporarily be achieved with a national unity cabinet, such as has been advocated from time to time, or with the cabinet of "talents" that some schemers have occasionally dreamed of, we must firmly reject these for the sake of the progress of constitutional government. Therefore in this area today, we must struggle and contend on an even larger scale. If we are to have the Diet adequately supervise the government and thereby make the Diet in fact the central force in government, I believe it is absolutely essential that we eradicate the bigoted views [of party cabinets that prevail].

It is essential to the operation of constitutional government that parliament be the central force in government. This is why we have preached the principle of responsible cabinets. Yet the West has gone ahead to a still further stage of development. Namely, in one or two countries it is no longer the government that is the powerful obstruction to making parliament, especially the popularly elected house, the central political force. If there is anything today that still somewhat stands in the way of the political supremacy of the popularly elected house, it is the upper house. Hence it now is advocated that the lower house be made supreme over the upper house. . . . Originally the upper house [was established as a body whose] duty it was to give further consideration to the decisions of the lower house because it was felt that the people, whom the lower house represents, were not yet sufficiently well informed. Some among the masses today, however, are extremely advanced. Accordingly, from the practical point of view, no great harm would come if the restraining powers of the upper house were eliminated and the supremacy of the lower house were recognized. [pp. 122–24]

The advanced nations of the West believe the popularly elected house is extremely important to the functioning of constitutional government. They believe this because the essence of constitutional government is, after all, democracy; and the complete realization of democracy, presupposing as it does the various reforms I have mentioned, ultimately consists of making the lower house the central political force. Thus intellectuals in all countries are extremely anxious to give the lower house, in both form and fact, a position of supremacy over the upper house and the government. In Japan, the meaning of a respon-

sible cabinet is only now becoming clear. Although this is cause for rejoicing, we must at the same time regret very much that the authority of the lower house, which directly represents the power of the people. is not very important. This is partly because the legislators who comprise it are not yet endowed with knowledge and dignity. No matter how important the lower house ought to be in the governmental system, the authority of the nation will never be vested in it if those who actually make up its membership consist solely of mediocre, unprincipled fools. Because able men are not attracted to it, it lacks the authority to deal with the upper house; and when a cabinet is formed, the unseemly truth is that at the very least the prime minister must be sought outside the lower house. As long as the lower house lacks able men, it will lack power; as long as it lacks power, men of promise will seek careers elsewhere. In this vicious circle, the wisdom of the responsible cabinet system cannot be fully demonstrated. Under the present circumstances, it is useless for the lower house to assume an air of importance. Screaming that the lower house should be respected will not give it any actual power. In this matter, on the one hand, we must earnestly seek self-respect and strenuous effort from the legislators; on the other, we must ardently hope that the people will not go astray in elections and that they will not neglect to spur on, indirectly and directly, the legislators whom they have chosen. In regard to the elder statesmen and other upper-class politicians, we must earnestly hope that they do not assume an attitude of detached loftiness, of useless disparagement of the lower house, and of disdain for the power of the people's representatives. We must earnestly hope that as Japanese, they too will, like us, cooperate for the sake of the nation in the task of strengthening the lower house. [pp. 128–30]

[Yoshino, *Minpon shugi ron*, pp. 4–130; AET]

KAWAI EIJIRŌ: A REBUKE TO THE MILITARY

Kawai Eijirō (1891–1944) graduated from Tokyo Imperial University in 1915 and in 1916 entered the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce as a factory labor expert. In 1920 he left the bureaucracy and became a professor in the Faculty of Economics at Tokyo Imperial University. He made extended visits to study in the United States (1918–1919) and England (1922–1925). Kawai was a non-Marxist socialist with a firm commitment to democracy, and his major work was developing a reform program that combined socialism and liberalism. He also was a frequent commentator on current political events. The following is his powerful rebuke of members of the military who staged the attempted coup of February 26, 1936, an action during which they occupied the government sector of Tokyo and murdered and wounded a number of the highest government and imperial household officials. From the mid-1930s on, Kawai became a target of the ultranationalists. In October 1938, several of his books were

banned, and in January 1939 he was suspended from his university post. In July 1939, he was brought to trial for subversion and ultimately (1943) was found guilty and sentenced to pay a fine of three hundred yen but with no jail time.

CRITIQUE OF THE FEBRUARY 26 INCIDENT

1. In the general election of February 20 [1936], the majority of the people demonstrated their opposition to fascism and their support of the [Keisuke] Okada cabinet as a barrier against it. Furthermore, they expressed their will most impressively in the rise of a proletarian party. The February 26 incident, however, breaking out a few days after the election, was an attack on several persons holding important positions and brought about a political change in disregard of the people's will.

2. First, I feel it is our duty to express our heartfelt condolences for [the death of] Keeper of the Privy Seal Saitō [Makoto], Finance Minister Takahashi [Korekiyo], and Inspector General Watanabe [Jōtarō], who were murdered by [those with] weapons. A number of politicians [Hamaguchi Yūkō, Inoue Junnosuke, Inukai Tsuyoshi, and others] were in recent years victims of violence; but when these men fell, the nature of antiestablishment ideology was not clear, and therefore their deaths were regarded as adventitious. However, since the May 15 incident [in 1932], fascism, especially fascism in the military, has become an unconcealable public fact. The persons who suffered the current misfortune had made it their conscious goal to counter this fascist tendency, and their deaths were probably predictable. Nevertheless, they continued to squarely face the death that would come and, with their bodies, tried to stem the tide of fascism. I did not know these men personally, and to the best of my knowledge I do not have exactly the same ideology as they did. Still, on the one point of resisting fascism, they were aged colleagues of ours. At an age when people are often inclined toward conservatism and protection of their own interests, these men resolved to face danger and stand by their convictions. When I heard the news of their unfortunate assassination, I felt the upsurge in my breast of an inexpressibly poignant emotion.

3. The evil of fascism is, above all, that the few resort to violence and overrun the will of the many. Love of country, knowledge of statecraft, and courage to uphold convictions unto death are not the fascists' exclusive possession.

Their views have never been tested in a public forum. We do not remember having ever been defeated [in discussion] by them. On what grounds do they claim to have the prerogative to establish their views by force?

The difference between them and us lies in this one point: They have access to means of violence, and we do not. Why is the chance possession of the means of violence the basis on which they carry out their personal convictions? What is the logic allowing them to trample on the will of the majority of the

nation's people? These few [men] are permitted to bear arms in order to maintain public order for us. For this reason, the law forbids us to bear arms. If on this basis alone they can, while we sleep, trample on the will of the many, it is best to distribute arms equally among the people and decide our victory or defeat on the basis of equality in violence.

Some persons might say that although their means may be evil, since the goal was reform, [these officers] cannot necessarily be blamed. But what was their goal? That still is not clear to us. Not only is its content vague and hard to grasp, but insofar as we do know it, it is filled with contradictions and inconsistencies. It just conveys the impression of some kind of reform. Lack of clarity in content is a key to why fascism attracts people. Persons with many different goals see their hopes reflected in fascism and become intoxicated with self-satisfaction. Persons of impetuous impatience who fervently hope to smash the existing state of affairs cannot discern the direction they ought to take. Previously, they ran after Communism, and now they are ardent admirers of fascism. In this age, which has forgotten calm, intelligent decision making, that [kind of behavior] is a singular evil.

4. The evil of fascism doubles when it emerges from the military. Originally the military was given the responsibility of protecting our land against foreign enemies. It was allowed to bear arms in order to fulfill this responsibility; the people voluntarily put down their arms and entrusted the defense of the land to the military. Unexpectedly, the weapons that should be used against foreign enemies were directed against our own people. And the people, who had trusted the military and entrusted weapons to them, were taken unawares in their own homes and attacked by the military.

The military has a mission so weighty in itself alone as to be unbearable. Is the military so lacking in duties to be performed that soldiers are free to be transformed into politicians? If circumstances do not allow them to achieve the perfection of national defense, as is their duty, there must be some other suitable method by which they can honorably present their case. Japan's people do not have such a cold indifference toward the fatherland as not to listen to the military's words. If the military oversteps their special function of discussing national defense and meddles in ordinary governmental administration, it cannot be said that their past education or the environment of their present life in any way adequately qualifies them for that. A military man is inevitably restricted to his particular point of view as a military man.

When military men deviate from their proper functions and busy themselves with other matters, that in itself is already objectionable. Further to be deplored is the division within the military into two antagonistic factions, a situation that impairs the trust of the military by both our people and foreign countries. And most worrisome is the impact of the military's domination of governmental affairs. When and if our country were to stand on the brink of war, doubts might arise among the people as to whether the war was in fact caused by ineluctable

destiny or had been brought about for some other purpose of some group among the military. At a time when the fate of the nation is in danger, a time when the whole nation must be united, there [must] be no suspicion like this. If military men are to be truly loyal to their proper function of national defense, we earnestly wish that they will carefully reflect on this point.

5. Who actually is responsible for the fact that a group of one thousand to two thousand officers and men have been allowed to become a mutinous force? This incident did not suddenly spring into existence just today. Its origin lies in things that developed in the past. If there had just been the proper man in the military, he would have long since decided quickly to suppress the fascism that has been developing in the military since the Manchurian incident. [Four lines censored.][3]

Is the nation's military's proper function national defense, or is it political change? Should governance depend on the general will of the people, or should it depend on the violence of the military? These two views are totally opposite, and there can be no compromise or temporizing between them. If you adopt one of these opposing views, you must be prepared to carry through with it. However, no one among the leaders of the nation's military has that capacity. The upshot of irresolute glossing over things and procrastination is, finally, bankruptcy. Persons who in the name of so-called responsibility resign their office on occasions like this do not in the true sense discharge their responsibility. If there is not, by good fortune, someone among the nation's military who uses this occasion to come forward and take drastic measures to eradicate this source of evil, is it not likely there will be constant repetition of this deplorable event?

6. At this time, the left wing, after wasting their time and energy in meaningless divisive strife with one another, has at last abandoned the principle of revolution by force and formed a united political front. At this same time, in the right wing, the illusion of violence hovers as before. Until their illusion is swept away, many bloody scenes must be enacted. How pitiable is the state of the nation's people.

The nation's people are now standing at the crossroads of a choice between the collective will of the people and the violence of the minority. Along with settling this major question, it is an urgent necessity to elect to the Diet political parties and talented persons capable of reforming society. The general election of February 20 is in itself still not sufficient to satisfy us, but it has brought a

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3. The suggested substance of the censored material is based on court records: "Up to the May 15 incident, this sort of thing was prevented from occurring. At the trials for that incident and for the assassin of Major General Nagata Tetsuzan, the military defense counsel was permitted to publicly acclaim the persons involved as patriotic men of noble purpose. When this sort of thing is allowed to pass, can the military authorities be said to have adequately repressed Fascism among the military?" (*Kawai Eijirō zenshū*, vol. 12, p. 373).

dawn to Japan. Although this dawn is obscured for a while by an ominous cloud, our hopes for the future hang as always on these factors.

At this time we hear the intellectuals whispering about how powerless we are before this violence. However, in this feeling of powerlessness lurks a dangerous psychology of admiration for violence. This in itself is a hotbed for producing fascism.

Although violence may rule the world for a time, it will collapse of its own self-destructive functioning. Even if truth is smeared with mud, God's eternal time is a thing of truth. This faith is itself a weapon to which we must hold fast. For the first time it will enable us to rise up before violence in unyielding independence.

[Kawai, in *Teikoku daigaku shinbun*, March 9, 1936, in *Kawai Eijirō zenshū*, vol. 12, pp. 45–50; trans. adapted from Hirai, *Individualism and Socialism*, pp. 162–63]

ISHIBASHI TANZAN: A LIBERAL BUSINESS JOURNALIST

Ishibashi Tanzan (1884–1973) graduated from Waseda University in 1907. At Waseda he was strongly influenced by his teacher, the liberal Tanaka Ōdō, who had studied with John Dewey at the University of Chicago in the 1890s. Ishibashi first took a job as a reporter for the *Mainichi shinbun*, but in 1911 he joined the staff of the *Tōyō keizai shinpō* (*Oriental Economist*), a business journal with strong Waseda connections that was considered a bastion of ultraliberalism. By 1924, Ishibashi had risen to editor in chief, a position he held until the end of World War II. During the years of his editorship, almost every important event or problem evoked a trenchant, liberal comment from him. Although well known as a liberal, Ishibashi was so highly regarded by the government authorities for his economic expertise that even as the repression intensified and war came, they frequently called on him to serve in various advisory capacities. After the war, he entered party politics and played a major role in reconstructing the Japanese economy. He was finance minister from May 1946 to May 1947 and minister of international trade and industry from December 1954 through December 1956. In December 1956, he became prime minister but had to resign two months later because of ill health. Nevertheless, until his death he continued to help shape policy.

The postwar Japan that ultimately emerged was very like the Japan that Ishibashi envisaged in the following selection. In a July 13, 1921, editorial discussing the policy that Japan should adopt at the forthcoming Washington Conference, Ishibashi confused his readers by suggesting that Japan should announce to the conference that it was going to give up all its overseas possessions and spheres of influence. Shortly thereafter, he wrote the following essay to explain in detail why he saw that course as Japan's best possible future.

"THE FANTASY OF GREATER JAPANISM" (DAI NIHONSHUGI NO GENSŌ)

Part 1: Discard Korea, Taiwan, and Sakhalin! Stop Interfering in China and Siberia!

The following two arguments will probably be offered by persons who oppose my proposal actually advocating making these slogans the basis of our policy toward the Pacific Conference:

1. If our country does not securely maintain control of these places, it will be impossible for us to be economically and militarily independent. At the very least we will risk jeopardizing our economic and military independence.

2. All the powers possess vast overseas colonies. In the case of America, where this is not so, the homeland itself is extensive. Also, the powers have put up walls around their vast resource-rich territories and do not allow in persons from other countries. In view of these facts, it is unfair that only Japan should discard its overseas possessions and spheres of influence.

To these counter arguments, I offer the following responses: the first argument is a fantasy; the second argument is the captive of small ambitions and displays ignorance of the path to accomplishing great ambitions.

To argue the first point, is it really advantageous for our country to continue to control Korea, Taiwan, and Sakhalin and to meddle in China and Siberia? I will divide "advantageous" into economic advantages and military advantages. First, looking at it from the economic viewpoint, how much economic profit do these lands contribute to our country? The quickest way to answer that is to look at the trade figures. Now for 1920 the trade of Korea, Taiwan, and Kwantung with Japan proper and Sakhalin were as follows:

	Exports	*Imports*	*Total*[a]
Korea	169,381	143,112	312,493
Taiwan	180,816	112,041	292,857
Kwantung	196,863	113,686	310,549
Total	547,060	368,839	915,899

[a] 1,000 yen units.

Source: Governments General of Korea and Taiwan; for Kwantung, *Japan Monthly Trade Figures*.

Together, these three lands had trade with Japan proper and Sakhalin of only 900 million yen. That same year, trade with America totaled 1.438 billion yen; with India, 587 million yen; and with England, 330 million yen.

If we look at either Korea or Taiwan or Kwantung, our trade with any one of them is less even than our trade with England. If we turn to America our trade there is more than 520 million yen more than with all three of these

countries combined. In regard to trade figures, we have a greater economic advantage with America than we do with Korea, Taiwan, and Kwantung combined. With India and Britain, respectively, compared with any one of the trio, we have a superior economic advantage. If we speak of economic independence, we must say that America by itself, India by itself, and England by itself are countries indispensable to our economic independence.

A case might be made that though the overall amount of trade is limited, the goods produced in these lands are indispensably important to our industry or to our people's daily life, and in that respect, the trade has a special economic advantage. However, happily or unhappily, there are no such products in Korea, Taiwan, or Kwantung. The most important raw material for our industry is cotton, which comes entirely from India and America. In the food category the most important item is rice, which comes almost entirely from French Indo-China, Siam, and places like that. As for other important items—coal, oil, iron, wood—for the supply of not one of them can we look solely to Korea or Taiwan or Kwantung. For instance, last year we imported 57 million *kin*[4] of iron from Kwantung. However, that same year our imports of iron exceeded 2 billion *kin*. Compared with that, 57 million *kin* is insignificant. Even with rice, Korea and Taiwan together can barely supply us with 2 million or 3 million *koku*.[5] For these amounts of imports why should our people hang on to Korea or Taiwan or Kwantung? . . .

The preceding has been about Korea, Taiwan, and Kwantung. We do not need a detailed explanation of Sakhalin. Everybody knows that after more than ten plus years [*sic*] of occupation, it has not been possible to produce any economic gain. For the northern part of Sakhalin [Russian territory occupied by Japan] there are said to be considerable hopes, and for that reason we have occupied the port of Nikolaevsk [on the Siberian mainland]. However, I fear it is probably rhetorical hype like the publicity ten years ago about great hopes for southern Sakhalin. What now remains to be discussed are the China and Siberian questions.

From an economic point of view, our policy of meddling in China and Siberia has undoubtedly been very disadvantageous for us. The Chinese and Russian peoples' antipathy toward our country is a great obstacle hindering our economic expansion in those lands. So long as we do not end our policy of meddling in those lands, our country cannot eliminate this antipathy. There may, of course, be some partially advantageous results from our meddling. For example, it stops the Chinese from raising the import tariff on [our] cotton yarn, and to that extent our export of cotton yarn to China has been made easier. However, if we were to ask how much our meddling has helped us successfully

4. One *kin* equals 1.323 pounds.

5. One *koku* equals about five bushels.

develop our overall trade, the increase over the last ten years has been only about one-third the increase of our trade with America. . . . What results will come of meddling in Siberia is a question for the future. If it is worse than the Chinese precedent, it clearly will not be good.

Well, the theory is that possessing Korea, Taiwan, and Sakhalin; having a leasehold in Kwantung; and meddling in China and Siberia all are indispensable to our economic independence. This theory, as just explained, is absolutely untenable. The economic relations of these lands with our country are, in both amount and character, below those we have with America and England. To think that because we maintain control over these lands we will reap great profits is only a fantasy that has arisen because the realities are not clearly understood. This being so, what about the point that these lands are militarily essential to our country?

Nowadays, various theories are in vogue concerning armaments. However, in my opinion the necessity of preparing armaments arises in only two situations:

1. Are you invading another country?
2. Are you afraid of being invaded by another country?

If you have no intention of invading another country or if you have no fear of being invaded by another country, there is absolutely no use for a military force beyond the police—both land and sea. Now if that is so, what circumstances are anticipated in which our country would prepare armaments? Politicians, military men, and journalists unanimously say that the objective of our armaments is definitely not to invade other countries. And [since they say it is so,] that, of course, is the way it must be. I also certainly do not think our armaments have been accumulated with the objective of invading other countries. Now, at this point what always becomes a question is if we do not have the objective of invading another country and if we do not fear being invaded by another country, then should our country have any need to accumulate armaments? In heaven's name, by what country do we fear being invaded? Previously, it was said to be Russia. Now it seems to be America. It is this case I would like to inquire about further. Whether it is America or some other country, if they attack our country, what area of it will they try to conquer? To my mind, there is not a person who would answer that they will come and seize a part of Japan proper. Even if you just simply made a present of it, there is probably no country that would accept [the gift]. Consequently, whether America or some other country, there is no fear of an attack on Japan proper. The attack would in all probability be against our overseas possessions. But even those territories would probably not be the problem. The greatest danger of an outbreak of war is probably with respect to China or Siberia. If our country tries to do as it pleases in China or Siberia, America will try to prevent this. Or if

America tried to spread its influence in China or Siberia, our country would probably try to restrain America. If war comes, war will break out there. However, out of this will come the danger that our overseas possessions and Japan proper will also be attacked by enemy forces. If we rid ourselves of the ambition of trying to make China or Siberia our sphere of influence and if we adopted the attitude that we had no need for Manchuria, Taiwan, Korea, and Sakhalin, then absolutely no war would occur. Consequently, our country would definitely not be invaded by another country. Some argue that keeping these lands as our possessions and maintaining our sphere of influence are necessary from the standpoint of national defense. In reality, keeping these lands or trying to keep them is itself what gives rise to the necessity for a national defense. Possessing them is the reason that armaments are necessary. The necessity of possessing them does not arise from the needs of a national defense.

Thus people confuse the cause and effect. They think that Taiwan, China, Korea, Siberia, and Sakhalin are our national defense fence. But can this be so? This fence itself is in fact a dangerous barrier consisting of combustible grass. Yet in order to protect this "fence," our people are diligently preparing a so-called passive national defense. As I have explained, if we discarded the fence, there would be no need for a national defense. Some say that if our country discarded these lands, other countries would probably seize them. . . . However, if these are lands no longer necessary economically for our country to hold, is it not all right for some other country to take them? In reality, however, it would be absolutely impossible for a country to seize China from the Chinese or Siberia from the Russians. If Japan discarded Korea and Taiwan, there is definitely no country that in place of Japan could seize these lands from the Koreans and the Taiwanese. People say that because Japan has been militarily strong, China has been saved from being divided up among the powers, and thus peace has been maintained in the Far East. Perhaps in the past there was that connection, but now the situation is rather different. Now because Japan is militarily strong and has ambitions in China and seems to act as if it owns the Far East, the powers, which cannot afford to lose out, are keeping a keen eye on China and the Far East.

Part 2

As I explained previously . . . Greater Japanism, that is, the policy of trying to expand possessions and spheres of influence outside Japan, has no merit economically or militarily. Yet some people may say that my argument . . . is short of proof. For example, the amount of trade with Japan proper may be comparatively small. However, in addition to trade there are the Japanese who have migrated from the homeland and are making a living in these regions. Critics say that even though [their] trade with Japan proper is small, we cannot speak of these regions as having no economic value. To the extent that there is a

relation to the solution of the population problem about which our people are so apprehensive, I think many people reasonably emphasize this point. However, here again, I argue, is a fantasy that does not clearly see the reality. Let us look at the figures. According to recent research, 149,000 Japanese from Japan proper are living in Taiwan; 337,000 in Korea; 78,000 in Sakhalin; 181,000 in all Manchuria (including Kwantung); 8,000 in Russian Asia; [and] 32,000 in China proper, a grand total of around 800,000. From 1905 . . . to the end of 1918, our population increased by 9.45 million. Assuming that all the Japanese living abroad moved there after 1905, 800,000 is about 8.6 percent of 9.45 million. Of course, it can be said that even if only one person was sent abroad, the population problem has to that extent been solved. However, if you consider how many tangible and intangible sacrifices have been paid, there is probably another road that should have been chosen [to relieve the population problem]. The [number of] persons living in the other lands amount to 800,000; persons living in Japan proper amount to 60 million. In my opinion, it is important not for the sake of 800,000 to forget the well-being of 60 million.

Good God, it is a mistake to try to solve Japan's economic and population problems simply by sending large numbers of human beings abroad. If you send human beings abroad in large numbers, somehow or other, ordinary working people will end up being sent. In today's enterprise system, whatever the country to which workers are sent, their incomes will be very small. They cannot possibly earn a lot for the mother country. Usually the workers receive barely enough for their food. Thus whether it is to a foreign country or one of our possessions it is foolish to rely on methods like these to use other lands for our economy. A special case is when the indigenous population is small and there are no local workers to use. When this is not the case, the workers used for Japanese enterprises abroad should be the inhabitants of the other lands. [Japanese] should go bringing only capital, technology, and entrepreneurial know-how. . . . To put it in the worst terms, bring capital, technology, and entrepreneurial skills and exploit native labor. . . .

If sending a great many human beings abroad is accepted as useless, then the economic profits yielded by overseas possessions and spheres of influence should be generally reckoned in the amount and character of the trade [with them]. For . . . no matter what enterprise we carry on in those lands, the outcome must unfailingly come to be directly or indirectly expressed in trade. That is why previously I held back on a general exposition and relied on trade figures to explain the worthlessness of adhering to Greater Japanism. . . .

Some people may say, "Your argument is all based on present-day conditions. Whether it is Taiwan, Korea, or Kwantung, may they not develop greatly in the future?" If the materials I presented previously had been studied seriously, this kind of doubt should not arise.

I will simply say this. Taiwan has been in our possession for twenty-five years, and Korea and Kwantung have been under our power for fifteen years. In that

time our people have expended very great efforts on these regions. . . . After all the great effort, our trade with none of these areas has reached even the level of increase with India. Doesn't this imply that predictions about future trade development with these areas are problematical?

Well, the preceding is the gist of my argument that Greater Japanism has no value. But despite this discussion, perhaps some of the public do not accept my theory. In all probability, without any clear reasoning or calculation, they simply yearn for an expansion of the nation's territory. They probably assume all that I have explained was a mistake on my part. They probably imagine Greater Japanism is very profitable for us. However, for the sake of those persons who are fixated on expanding [into other nations'] territories, let me once more try to explain how they can be mistaken. Although they blindly believe Greater Japanism to be a profitable policy for us, the fact is that from now on and for a long time to come, such a policy would be confronted by circumstances under which it would be extremely difficult to carry it out. In the old days when England and others were eagerly expanding overseas, the inhabitants of the lands being invaded were not yet awake to the sentiment of national independence. Consequently, it was comparatively easy for England to do as it pleased in such lands. However, after that period this [kind of behavior] has not gone very well. With the development of world transportation and communication facilities, the air of civilization has penetrated to even the remotest places and taught the inhabitants the rights that they must assert. That is why their condition has become difficult for people in India, Ireland, and other places to bear. I believe that henceforth no matter what the land, it will be absolutely impossible to make new agreements by which people of different ethnicities or nationalities are annexed and subjected to the rule of another nation. And where such annexations have been carried out in the past, it probably is inevitable that the subject peoples will gradually be liberated and given independence or self-government. In Ireland that time has already been reached. In India there is a question of how long the present condition will continue. Confronting such an age, how will just our country alone maintain in perpetuity the present state of affairs in Korea and Taiwan? How can our nation keep up its obstruction of autonomy in China and Russia? The Korean Independence movement, the Movement for a Taiwanese Parliament, [and] the anti-Japanism in China and Siberia all already bespeak changes in the future. I maintain these movements will never be kept down by police and military interference and oppression, just as it has not been possible by interference and oppression to repress the workers' movement against capitalism.

The peoples will not end these movements until in one form or another they finally achieve the satisfaction of autonomy. They will, without fail, have a day when they achieve satisfaction. Consequently, for those who are oppressing them, the only difference is whether we will voluntarily give them autonomy today or whether autonomy will be wrested from us by them tomorrow. No

matter how much profit Greater Japanism may offer us, we cannot pursue it for long. That being the case, to vainly persist [in this policy], to squander public monies, to be regarded as an enemy by four neighboring peoples of different ethnicities and nationalities—this situation, it must be said, is the old story of not seeing what is before one's eyes. If one is fated to be required to discard something anyway, then it is wise to throw it away quickly. I think that whether it is Taiwan, Korea, or China, if Japan adopts a policy of liberation and freedom, these people will never be estranged from Japan. In all likelihood, they will surely look up [to Japan] and make Japan their leader. They will continue an economic and political intimacy with Japan, an intimacy as close as if we were all one and the same people. The feelings of the Chinese, the Taiwanese, and the Koreans are surely these. They are angered only because Japan has assumed the position of the whites, is imitating the whites, is oppressing [its Asian neighbors], and is constantly trying to make them prey for its eating. They hope that the Japanese will somehow change their attitude and treat them as brothers and friends. If this were so, they would be happy and follow Japan's orders. "He among you who wishes to become great must serve you—he who wishes to become head among you must become your servant." Surely, today that must be the attitude that Japan should adopt toward its four neighbors. . . .

If our country does not do this but persists in the present attitude for any length of time, then the day may not be far off when we completely lose the hearts of our four neighbors. . . . At that time, regrets will be useless. The wise policy is to liberate Korea and Taiwan in any way and as quickly as possible and to adopt the principle of peace with China and Russia, thus gaining the moral support of our four neighbors. With this kind of beginning, our country's economy will be able to fully utilize the raw materials and markets of the East. With this kind of beginning, our nation's national defense will be perfectly secure. . . . Here I have reached my conclusion about the value of Greater Japanism.

To sum it up, as I see it, Greater Japanism fails to advance our economic interests, and in addition we have no hope [of sustaining] this policy in the future. To persist in this policy and thereby throw away the profits and preeminent position that can be obtained from the very nature of things and, for its sake, to make even greater sacrifices; that is decidedly not a step our people should take. Also, from a military point of view, if we persist in Greater Japanism, [greater] armament will be necessary. If we discard this policy, [greater] armament will be unnecessary. To say that Korea and Manchuria are necessary for our national defense is to completely confuse cause and effect. . . .

Part 3

The second point made in the argument against my proposal was this: It is unfair for the powers to possess vast colonial territories or vast home territories

while Japan is cooped up in a very small homeland. According to the explanation I already gave, I believe that the reader can surmise that my advocating that our country discard Greater Japanism does not at all mean a small Japan should be cooped up in its homeland. On the contrary, I am saying that we must discard Greater Japanism so that our Japanese people can make the whole world their homeland and be active [worldwide]. My suggestion is in no way a proposal to make our homeland small. Just the opposite. It is a proposal to widen it to include the whole world. . . . [In presenting a racial equality clause at Versailles,] our country was proposing something that it itself did not do and yet wished to press on others. Therefore the resolution was opposed by England and America, but from China and other quarters sincere support could not be secured. If it had gained heartfelt support from such countries, I believe that the proposal would definitely have not been so sadly defeated.

Some will probably say: Even if all the powers liberated their overseas possessions, there would still be countries like America whose own homeland is immense. Also, all the various liberated countries might close their borders and not allow persons from other countries to enter. What can be done about that? To which I answer as follows: America does not allow Japanese or Chinese into its vast land. But that restriction applies only to immigrants. There is no obstacle of any kind to merchants doing business in America. As explained previously, 800 million yen, or 900 million yen worth of goods annually come to our country from America. This is matched by goods from our country [to America]. In our trade statistics, America is actually our number-one trading partner. Why is it constantly said America excludes our people? When we look at it from the point of ordinary economic relations, the idea has absolutely no factual basis. It is only with regard to immigrants that complaints of one kind or another can be made. If one looks at immigration from the viewpoint of the people of the other country, it is not an unreasonable policy. In our country also, manners, customs, and languages are different. Imagine if large numbers of very uncultured foreign workers formed villages here. A great deal of annoyance would be felt. . . . Our country, thinking only from its own point of view, sends workers to foreign countries as immigrants and has them compete against the foreign workers with our workers' low standard of living as their sole weapon. . . . This behavior is never profitable, nor is it honorable. . . .

For these reasons, I assert that giving up Greater Japanism will not be a disadvantage at all to our country. On the contrary, not only will it not be a disadvantage; it will bring us great gains. If we give up lands like Korea, Taiwan, Sakhalin, and Manchuria and if we make vast China a friend, then of their own volition the whole Far East and all the weak and small countries of the world will become our moral supporters. . . . The quintessence of strategy is harmony. No matter how much armament one or two arrogant nations have, our country—the leader of the free and liberated world and backed by the hearts of the Far East and the whole world—could not possibly be defeated in this

war. If in the future our country goes to war, it must be exactly this kind of war. Moreover, if our country resolutely moves ahead and gives up all small ambitions, perhaps even without war the arrogant countries will come to ruin. This present Pacific Conference is truly the great stage on which our country ought to try out this great policy.

[*Ishibashi Tanzan hyōronshū*, pp. 101–21; AET]

"BEFORE DEMANDING THE ABOLITION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION" (JINSHUTEKI SABETSU TEPPAI YŌKYŪ NO MAE NI)

On February 5 [1919] more than five hundred public-spirited persons representing more than thirty organizations gathered in the Seiyōken [restaurant] in Ueno Park and adopted the following resolution: "The Japanese People resolve that at the Peace Conference the racially discriminatory treatment up to now practiced internationally be abolished." The text of this resolution was cabled to our ambassadors extraordinary at Paris and to Clemenceau, the chairman of the Peace Conference.

In this resolution were brought together public-spirited persons from the various political parties . . . and the army and navy reservist associations, journalists, and representatives from other influential organizations. By this action, the strength of our people's feeling about the demand for the abolition of racial discrimination was amply displayed. The people of Japan, Chinese persons, Indian persons, and others do not receive the same treatment as whites do in North America, Canada, Australia, Africa, and other places. About this discrimination instituted by whites in the treatment of people of color, the resolution said: "Not only does this violate the noble cause of liberty and equality, but it also preserves into the future this evil root of dissension. If this is allowed to continue unchanged, though a hundred thousand treaties be piled one on the other, it will be like a tower built on sand. Universal world peace will be absolutely impossible to attain." From my innermost heart, I also think the same thing. Therefore I advocate more strongly than anyone that this racial discrimination be ended without the loss of a single day.

However, when I look at how our own people are behaving, I think it is shameful, and I must regretfully speak out about it. What's going on here? This racial discrimination that these public-spirited persons have powerfully criticized and rejected, . . . this racial discrimination that is an evil root that will destroy peace, this very racial discrimination is practiced by our own country both at home and abroad.

First, by its regulations on the entry of foreigners into Japan, our country . . . has in fact prohibited the use of Chinese workers in Japan. Actual examples occurred in Kyushu and Kobe in 1907 when Chinese coolies were prohibited from entering. Without being aware of the existing regulations, the Chūgoku

Ironworks . . . imported two hundred Chinese coolies. . . . Later they discovered the ban existed and . . . they had wasted 50,000 yen. . . . Is it not clear that our country has instituted discrimination in its treatment of the Chinese? . . .

There are, of course, other examples: our government has adopted a permit system with regard to the entry into Japan of Koreans and Taiwanese, persons who have the status of inhabitants of Japanese national territory: foreigners are prohibited from owning land, [and] foreigners cannot conduct coastal trade. There are many such examples of discriminatory treatment of foreigners and Japanese subjects. While we smugly practice discriminatory treatment of our brethren, what authority can there be in these public-spirited persons passing and cabling to the Paris Conference a resolution to abolish whites' discriminatory treatment of people of color? The resolution will earn only a derisive smile directed toward those who are unaware of their own failings. . . .

[*Ishibashi Tanzan chosakushū*, vol. 3, pp. 37–39; AET]

"THE ONLY METHOD FOR PROPER GUIDANCE OF THOUGHT IS TO ALLOW ABSOLUTE FREEDOM OF SPEECH" (GENRON O ZETTAI JIYŪ NARASHIMURU HOKA SHISŌ O ZENDŌ SURU HŌHŌ WA NAI)

The Fourth Japan Communist Party roundup [in 1932], recently revealed to the public, was on an astonishingly massive scale. It reached the large number of 2,200 persons throughout the country and, in Tokyo alone, 687 persons, of whom 107 were women. From what we have heard, the authorities seem to have intended by this sweep to have thoroughly smashed the Communist Party in our country. . . . However, to this reporter's way of thinking, the idea that this effort has destroyed the Japanese Communist Party will not last very long. At least that would seem to be so from past history. If we call this the fourth sweep, the mass arrests in 1928 were the first (March 15), the mass arrests in 1929 were the second (April 16), and the mass arrests in 1930 were the third (February 24). In the case of each of these three prior mass arrests, the authorities, of course, believed at the time that they had thoroughly rooted out the nests of Communist Party members. Nevertheless, their expectations were mistaken, and after each mass arrest, the Communist Party's activities, contrary to expectations, expanded and became more virulent. . . .

To a certain degree this [failure of the government's efforts] has already been recognized even by the government. In a speech to the Diet the other day Prime Minister Saitō [Makoto] confessed that "prevention" is "very difficult." This being so, if we ask what policies other than suppression the government has, [the answer is that] there are no plans other than suppression. One thing that is easily cranked out is the incantation "Proper Guidance of Thought." A number of agencies have operated along these lines, but to absolutely no effect.

In the speech just quoted, Prime Minister Saitō explained, "I think I would like to aim at the extirpation of this scandalous matter by henceforth striving more and more for proper guidance of thought in politics, education, and every other area." Among our people there is probably not a one who feels any real conviction behind the prime minister's words.

Why are both repression and the proper guidance of thought ineffective? To this reporter, the answer is very clear. It is because in today's society, as the Communists are pointing out, there undeniably are certain shortcomings. Many persons who abhor Communism know only the petty talk and actions of the rank-and-file Communists and make the hasty judgment that this is Communism. However, it is the way of the world that if many human beings are engaged in some activity, among them will necessarily be persons of inferior quality and also persons who are needlessly extremist. Even in the Meiji Restoration movement, the rightness of which is not doubted by any of our people today, there were in fact some very questionable characters on the prowl among the heroes. In no school of thought whatsoever is there absolute perfection. Without fail, each will run to some extreme. That is because the life of human beings is arranged in such a way that thought is channeled in this direction by the real necessities of life. Therefore no matter what sort of persons may have entered among today's Communists and no matter how extreme their style of thought may be, it is a mistake on those grounds to reject the whole out of hand. Why do our people not display their liberality by listening calmly to what the Communists say [and] from out of that adopt what they can accept and thereby rectify the defects of our society? . . . Be it Communism, fascism, militarism, pacifism, or any other type of thought, it is good to allow all to freely discuss their ideas just as they are. By means of natural selection, society will accept the correct and discard the mistaken. . . .

John Stuart Mill offered the following three reasons for absolute freedom of speech:

1. If the opinion is correct and society is wrong, by not allowing the expression of this opinion, society has lost the opportunity to discard the false and move to the true.
2. If the opinion is wrong, by not allowing the expression of this opinion, society has lost the opportunity to further improve a truth held by society, as well as to clarify and deepen its meaning.
3. However, in most cases neither of the two preceding situations arises. Usually it is a situation in which several conflicting opinions exist and each of them includes some truth and some error. Only when free speech is allowed is it possible to discover the error in each opinion and unify into one the truths that exist in each opinion only separately.

These reasons, as they stand, are also true today.

If in our country today this absolute freedom of speech were permitted and protected (of course, suppression of speech by nongovernmental forces must be eliminated), 80 or 90 percent of today's political and social darkness would probably be cleared away. In an open society, bad thought cannot thrive. The number one condition for making a society open is absolute freedom of speech.

[*Ishibashi Tanzan hyōron senshū*, pp. 280–83; AET]

KIYOSAWA KIYOSHI: WHY LIBERALISM?

Kiyosawa Kiyoshi (1890–1945) had an unusual background for a Japanese intellectual. After finishing elementary school in rural Nagano Prefecture, he attended for two years a small private school with a strong Christian flavor operated by a disciple of Uchimura Kanzō. In 1906, at age sixteen, Kiyosawa emigrated to Washington State. While supporting himself with odd jobs, he graduated from Tacoma High School. He also attended courses at Whitworth College and the University of Washington, although he did not graduate from either institution. Meanwhile, he had begun a career as a reporter for a number of Japanese newspapers that had started publishing on the Pacific coast. In 1920 Kiyosawa returned permanently to Japan, where he had a position as foreign affairs reporter for the *Chūgai shōgyō shinpō* (*Journal of Foreign and Domestic Commerce*; the present-day *Nihon keizai shinbun*, Japan's preeminent business newspaper). In 1927 he became deputy chief of the Planning Section at *Tōkyō Asahi shinbun*. However, in 1929 he had to resign this position as a result of ultranationalist attacks for having published an imagined dialogue between the anarchist Ōsugi Sakae and his murderer, Gendarmerie Captain Amakasu, which reveals that they are brethren under the skin. By this time, Kiyosawa had gained a reputation as an astute observer of and commentator on foreign affairs as well as of the political and social scene. Consequently, he was able to become a well-paid freelance writer. As such, he often traveled to the United States, Europe, and East Asia and conducted numerous interviews with important leaders. As the repression of freedom of speech tightened during the 1930s, Kiyosawa switched to writing diplomatic history, mostly by commission from the *Tōyō keizai shinpō* (*Oriental Economist*), which had appointed him as adviser in 1938 and whose editor in chief, Ishibashi Tanzan, had become his very close friend. Kiyosawa died just before World War II ended. During the war, he kept a very detailed diary recording his impressions of events and drawing lessons that he hoped would be useful in constructing a better Japan in the postwar period. The diary was published in Japan in 1970 to 1973, and in 1999 an English translation appeared.

PRESENT-DAY JAPAN (*GENDAI NIHON RON*)

Introduction

Although I was born and raised in Japan and every day for some forty years have been closely studying the state of Japan, few enigmas are as difficult for me to penetrate as Japan. Occasionally when one has settled on what one thinks the answer is, it slips away in an instant, like an eel grasped in your hand.

It is said that the Japanese are a progressive people. A people who have progressed so much in such a short time must be progressive. Because the Japanese are progressive, they have been responsive to foreign cultures and influences. Walking the streets of Tokyo, we are conscious above all that here, more than in any other capital city, is centered the world's vanguard.

For all that, this progressive Japan is at the same time a startlingly conservative Japan. By way of experiment, open any newspaper convenient to hand and read its political section, its social section, and then its foreign affairs section. Instead of the date 1935 on each page, insert the date 1866. Would you be able to detect any great differences? Seeing the phenomena on the one side of an issue does not warrant rejecting the phenomena on the other side: Japan is both conservative and at the same time progressive. . . .

[O]ur Japan has, as the Japanese people, an ancient culture. We can even take pride that only in case of necessity have we taken sustenance from other worlds. We pray that by this ancient culture's putting on the attire of a new age, the rising eastern sun will brightly illuminate the world.

Yet at the same time this hard-core native culture has not coalesced with Western culture, and we must be cautious that the native culture does not somehow break through the veneer and appear in its old form. When the old form appears on the home scene, it becomes a feudalistic reaction; when it appears on the foreign scene, it becomes a mistaken foreign policy out of touch with the times. If such an outbreak is not now subjected to the white light of criticism, it is a sign that our Japan is about to be driven into danger.

Today, what is most wanting in Japan is self-criticism. Everyone assembles, sits around in a circle, praises one another, drinks self-congratulatory saké, and then parts. That is the present situation. As a result, the scene is inevitably dominated by the dogmatism and shortsighted views of those with an exaggerated and unrealistic idea of their own abilities. We fear that only this dull, vulgar dogmatism will enter the heads of the active masses, the university students, and the children and will become the received wisdom of our Japan. If both individuals and society as a whole fall into the habit of emphasizing one side of a problem and forgetting the other side, then their psychological attitude will be impaired and unavoidably crippled. As a result, everything will be dealt with only halfway and will lack the insight that comes from looking at the whole. In

other words, the critical attitude will be lost, and conceptual blindness will become the norm for actions. Isn't this harmful practice to be seen in present-day Japan?

This book has been written in order to restore some measure of criticism in a Japan where criticism has been lost. . . .

This book probably expresses a minority view. However, my hopes will be fulfilled if I gain company among patriots who think that to develop a country on a grand scale, the quickest path is a roundabout way using methods approved by the peoples of the world.

Early summer 1935.

[Kiyosawa, *Gendai Nihon ron*, pp. 1–6; AET]

WHY LIBERALISM? (*NANIYUE NI JIYŪSHUGI DE ARU KA?*)

Let us first try to advance our conversation by considering what our aims in life are. . . .

For me the most important thing is living. I think agreement has been gained on the point that material stability is required in order to make life happy. Looking at this socially, the inequities and abuses in society show up most frequently in connection with wealth. As I will explain later, I do not regard wealth as wholly evil so long as one is not blinded by one's own social special privileges. I think that one cannot doubt that an ideal society is one in which, as Bernard Shaw said, the daughter of the local carpenter can marry the son of the neighboring great landowner. However, experience up to now has made clear the uselessness for attaining such a society of a system that produces and distributes in pursuit of private profits only. In times when the world is still in difficulty because of inadequate production, a system is appropriate that allows the individual's desire for profits to operate freely. And more than anything it is capitalism that has brought about our present civilization. However, we now have come to understand that this anachronistic chaos [of capitalism] will not maintain forever the well-being of humanity. . . .

Concretely speaking, the world we are envisaging is a world without private profit, a world in which all production and consumption and wealth are used for the social community, a world in which no matter how much is produced, there is no oversupply. In this world, production will, of course, be consumed, share and share alike by all. No longer will individual persons be able to use vast wealth to control other people's lives. If great accumulations of wealth do not exist, social inequities will probably diminish somewhat. . . .

How do we bring forth the ideal society without discarding what we presently have and with the least possible sacrifice of human beings? . . . The first necessity is developing the new age in consonance with the national character.

Regardless of their origins and beginnings, the national characters of the various nations that we see before our eyes all are different. Therefore we do not think that something suitable to Russia is valid for China or something fit for Japan is perfectly adaptable to France.

On this point we differ from the Marxists. They think that economic considerations transcend races and national boundaries. They think the proletariat and bourgeoisie unite and cooperate laterally across such boundaries with other proletariats and bourgeoisies. They think that the workers fail to be liberated only because of their chains. Consequently, by discarding all things like patriotism and nationalism, the same class in each country will unite across borders with one another. In general, it is their point of view that economic laws operate unconditionally throughout the world. But we do not believe this. When it comes to ethnic differences derived from history and tradition, we do not think the world is divided only laterally [by class].

If the question is, do you think, as do conservatives in every country, that the law of nature common to all peoples ceases to operate in your country alone, [the answer] is, of course, no, [the law of nature operates everywhere]. We cannot stop laughing at our ultranationalists who place Japan, and only Japan, completely outside the law of evolution. To think that something applicable to the West, some intellectual theory bred in the West is entirely unsuitable to Japan, is, I think, an error equivalent to thinking it is correct to apply a principle worldwide and unconditionally.

On the one hand, we oppose Marxism's formulism, and on the other, we oppose our right-wing ideologues with their nativistic supremacist absolutism that emphasizes Japan's exceptionalism. While we recognize this strength of tradition and history, we nevertheless acknowledge the laws that are common to all humanity. We will advance adhering to this line and using it as the path to progress. We will pursue the well-being and progress of humanity with eyes that never see national boundaries. At the same time, we intend not to distance ourselves from the existing conditions of the masses, who, as a result of a mistaken education, are illiberal, dogmatic, and thoughtless to an extent almost the same as in the *bakumatsu* [last days of the Tokugawa] period. . . .

If all the abuses of the present day have come from capitalism, it is thought that it would be good if capitalism were overthrown. And since Marxism has such an extraordinary passion for overthrowing capitalism, it would be fine if Marxism alone were adopted. However, I do not believe this. Compared with the earlier view of history, which gave importance only to the human, Marxism was certainly insightful to have called attention to the importance of economic necessity. But to attribute all causation to economics alone is, I think, really a stretch.

It is necessary that we overcome feudalism [reactionary thought] with the same ardent force applied to overcoming capitalism. If a Marxist opens his

mouth, he says that the task of overcoming feudalism has been left to be shouldered by the bourgeoisie. For all that, do Marxists have the kind of qualities required to overcome feudalism? As we see it, we think that believers in feudalism are ultimately the same as Marxists. . . .

Take a look at how adherents of feudalism and Marxism resemble each other. In order to accomplish their wills, both approve the appeal to violent revolution. Both also advocate dictatorial rule by a minority. They believe in the absolute nature of the state and society and advocate the extreme suppression of the individual. The left wing and the right wing similarly approve the abandonment of the individual rights embodied in the constitution. Furthermore, they both are the same in making liberalism their enemy. . . . The difference lies in this point: the left wing uses the dialectical theory to clarify its ideology, and the right wing makes a weapon of historical sentiment. Consequently, it is not rational to use the same thing to overcome the same thing. It is liberalism alone that can overcome both the right and the left. . . .

Even though we recognize the abuses in modern society and hate capitalism, we nevertheless cannot favor using violence to bring them down. At present it cannot be said that the danger of such an eventuality is entirely absent. If the present educational policy and the present politics continue, we think it very possible that there could be such a danger. We think we must expend every effort to avoid paying the great sacrifice of human life entailed in such an event. . . .

The number-one reason is this: although a new system can be established by means of a revolution, there is no guarantee it will be a better system than the existing one. Of course, in a violent revolution, capitalism will probably disappear. But as I explained before, the abuses of the present do not come from capitalism alone. Both the dominant class that governs and the people who are governed are the same [human] material. Do you think that because the economic organization has changed . . . the extremists . . . will disappear? No. The temptation [for corruption] of the governing classes will become proportionately greater and greater as their power grows greater. Nowadays there are outlets for public opinion, media that will publicize and complain about such things, but in that [new] epoch you must be prepared for the fact that speech attacking the ruling class will absolutely not be allowed. . . . I do not know about the distant future, but if there is someone who believes there will be a left-wing victory in the near future, I would think this was a person blinded by formulism who cannot look squarely at the facts. What about the intelligentsia who are predominantly left wing? Well, think about what has happened in Germany which is *the* place in the world where Communism has flourished the most. Third, if today there is a social revolution, it is not Communism and it is not socialism. It is a turning back to barbarism. . . .

My opposition to the means used by the right wing and the left wing does

not end with what I have just said. There is a somewhat more fundamental reason [for my opposition], and that is my view of the matter as it relates to the progress of humanity and society.

I think the progress of humanity is the product of education and research. Freedom of speech ought to be looked at from that point of view: in itself, freedom of speech is not sacred. On behalf of the general progress of society, of course, the individual's interests have to be sacrificed. In civilized societies, freedom of speech has been purchased at a high price simply because it is believed to be necessary for social progress.

However, whatever else you may get under either right-wing or left-wing dictatorships, there is not the least freedom of speech or research. Because Einstein is a Jew, his theory of relativity is not considered valid in Germany. Recently, a thirty-seven-year-old scholar was appointed rector of Berlin University. His specialty was veterinary medicine, and up to now he has been a completely unknown person. He is not a good scholar, but he is a Nazi. Any number of similar examples can be given.

It is quite unnecessary to seek such examples at a distance. Recently, in our present period of national emergency, has not a scholarly theory of long standing been easily junked?[6] If this . . . [censored] trend becomes strong, we must be prepared for the phenomena that will appear.

However, it is not fair to make the right wing bear the sole responsibility for the repression of freedom of speech. On that score, the left wing is [equally responsible]. Can anyone possibly assert that in the Soviet Union there is freedom of speech? . . .

If we are honest about it, the intellectual class always tends to be more sympathetic to the left wing than to the right wing. It is a fact that compared with our vehement criticism of the conduct of the right wing, we tend to pass over the conduct of the left wing. In this respect, the world's intellectuals have a double standard. The problem is that to that extent we are frittering away the value of our judgment on the point of which of these two groups in its ultimate ideal is rational and better. . . .

If it is assumed that you accept the argument that free inquiry and discussion give rise to the progress of the world, then you can no longer go to either the left wing or the right wing. The only way for you is to come straight to liberalism. At present, other than liberalism, there is no ideology that tolerates arguments and theories opposed to itself.

Finally, let me once again reiterate why I am a liberal and what liberalism is.

First, I believe that the mission that capitalism had to perform is over and that in a new society a new structure is needed. In that new society, the means of production naturally cannot be as it is at present; that is, it cannot exist for the profits of individuals. Therefore, socialism is to be desired.

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6. Reference to the Minobe incident.

Second, just as capitalism must be ended, it is, speaking from the present state of affairs, as likely as not that we must go far beyond that and overcome feudalistic [reactionary] principles. However, as [I] explained earlier, the tendencies in Marxism are the same as in feudalistic thinking, so it is impossible for Marxism to fight against feudalistic thinking. Only liberalism can overcome it. This is why in every country whatsoever, resistance to the extreme right wing is the liberals and not the Marxists.

Third, liberalism opposes Marxists. Liberals who do not want to lose the cultural privileges they currently hold, of course, oppose Marxism, an ideology that rushes into risky adventures, whose outcome is not clear. As some people say, liberals are people who try to reconstruct the railway station while the trains are running. They are opposed to stopping the operation of the trains in order to reconstruct the station.

Fourth, liberalism does not make . . . [censored] things. Marxists do not admit the slightest error in Marx. Liberals have no doubt that at least in some places Marx got it wrong. Right-wing ideologues also absolutely cannot think that their nation can make a mistake. Liberals hazard the thought that since human beings run their country, sometimes they can make mistakes. At the same time, liberals do not think they have a monopoly on patriotism. They recognize that among persons who differ in thought from liberals there are many who have an equal love for their country.

When one thing alone is believed to be the absolute truth, there is no progress there. Discovery and improvement come from recognizing there can be defects and striving to achieve perfection. Freedom to investigate is therefore significant. For liberals, all things are relative. Liberals do not fashion idols, as do both the right wing and the left wing.

Fifth, liberals love peace. Some have said the best war is worse than the worst peace. Although liberals dislike such grandiloquent words, the liberal rejection of the left wing and the right wing lies in the point that the left wing wages "war" domestically and the right wing continually wages "war" against foreign countries. Because liberals are peaceful, they tend toward self-examination. They oppose persons who always trace causes to foreign sources and do not reflect on their own responsibility and their own country's responsibility. However, even though liberals are pacifistic, they are not, of course, passive. They are inferior to no one in fighting with enthusiastic vigor for what they believe to be true.

Sixth, liberals think that other than liberalism, there are no strong working principles for carrying on practical governance. Until the dictatorship of the proletariat has arrived, Marxism has no policy other than simply obstruction and destruction. Fascism brushes aside the constitution that was bought with blood and sweat. They have no plan other than restoring some sort of ancient spirit. If we return to the spirit of such an age, for what purpose have we, raised in the glorious Meiji period, done our best to get where we are? Which period should be the one to whose spirit we return?

That aside, sandwiched as we are between the right wing and the left wing, the single practical principal of operation can only be moderate progressivism. From a historical perspective, this plainly and clearly will advance the age's program.

[Kiyosawa, *Gendai Nihon ron*, pp. 1–24; AET]

IENAGA SABURŌ: THE FORMATION OF A LIBERAL

Ienaga Saburō (1913–2002) was one of postwar Japan's most distinguished historians. He was also, by any test, a liberal. To the general public he was best known for bringing a lawsuit against the Ministry of Education in 1965 challenging as unconstitutional the ministry's practice of reviewing all textbooks and denying permission for use in schools to any considered to contain objectionable material. Ienaga also sued in connection with a history of Japan he submitted that the ministry refused to approve because he would not make some three hundred changes that it had demanded. The case dragged on for many years and became a cause around which many intellectuals rallied.

Ienaga graduated from Tokyo Imperial University in 1937 and immediately was engaged as a researcher in the university's Historiographical Institute. In 1941 he left the institute for a teaching post in Niigata. In 1943 he returned to Tokyo and became an editor for an Imperial Academy–sponsored history of the imperial household system, of which the chief editor was Minobe Tatsukichi. In 1944 Ienaga was appointed professor at the Tokyo Higher School of Education, where he remained for many years.

A HISTORIAN'S PROGRESS, STEP BY STEP (ICHI REKISHIGAKUSHA NO AYUMI)

One of the most interesting things about Ienaga Saburō is that this postwar liberal went through a school system aimed at indoctrinating him with all the shibboleths of the official prewar ideology, and yet his own experience controverted this indoctrination. The following passages are from Ienaga's autobiography.[7]

1. A Taishō Classroom

[Mr. Okano] had only recently graduated from Aoyama Teachers School, and as might be expected of a young man in the middle of the Taishō period, the education [he gave us] was rich in personal peculiarities.

7. For a complete English translation of this work, see Ienaga, *Japan's Past, Japan's Future*.

Mr. Okano announced that the morals textbook had nothing but worthless things written in it, and therefore we need not read it. We did not use the morals textbook even once. . . .

Mr. Okano's not using a morals textbook was an excellent idea. That was not all he did. He also told us that it was not necessary to buy the science textbook. His reason was that science was something you studied by experiment and observation and that reading a book was not studying science. This must also be said to have been an excellent view.

Mr. Okano undertook to explain the word "democracy" to us second-year elementary school students. Because of this memory, the scholarly phrase "Taishō democracy" is for me not simply an objective historical term. The definition he gave was simply treating everyone fairly and without partiality, and equality before the law. It did not include the principle of the people's sovereignty. However, you can understand the atmosphere of that time from the fact that in any event the word "democracy" was taught to second-year elementary school children.

Something like the following also occurred. Once Mr. Okano fired this question at us students: "What on earth is the goal for which you people are studying?" Some of my classmates suggested such answers as "because life would be difficult if when they became adults they were illiterate," or "because they would be inconvenienced if they could not handle their money accounts." Mr. Okano summed up such answers by saying, "In the end, the idea is that you are studying for your own sake." Perhaps because I was a little conceited and around that time had embraced a nationalistic feeling, I answered, "For the sake of Japan." However, Mr. Okano said even that was wrong and finally expressed his own conclusion. This was that a person studied on behalf of the world. If all the people of the world studied very hard and became wise, foolish things like war would be lessened, and the world would be at peace. That is the way Mr. Okano settled the discussion.

Looking back from today when our peace constitution has been established and world peace has been elevated as the ideal of our people, I cannot but be deeply impressed when I recall that in the late Taishō period there was a teacher who taught children in this kind of spirit. . . .

For the time the Meiji constitution was in force, even though the age of Taishō democracy was an exceptionally liberal period, elementary school education . . . was tightly controlled by the state authorities. The education I received—viewed in the total picture—was probably an absolutely most rare exception.

Mr. Okano gave us a liberal education similar to that of today, but our education in history was drawn from the required textbook. . . . [W]e just learned Japanese history from the official textbook called *Elementary School National History*. . . .

Looking back at it today, how did we accept with no doubts at all the myths

. . . which in common sense could not be? Even I myself do not understand the psychological state of that time. At least among my friends there were none who doubted these "truths."

Right after I entered middle school, I read Dr. Nishimura Shinji's *The Yamato Period*. I remember with what great surprise I learned for the first time the vast difference between the history learned in school and objective history. For persons like me, by reading a book such as this it was possible to free myself comparatively quickly from the unscientific history education received in school. But didn't the large majority of our people become adults without any opportunity like mine and thus no alternative to believing what they had been taught in school? . . .

[With regard to the prewar history textbook] . . . it can only be thought that a policy had been adopted of teaching nothing about domestic political problems coming after the promulgation of the [Meiji] constitution. From today's perspective, at the mention of "the Taishō period," the first thing that comes to mind is Taishō democracy and immediately in association with that such things as the maturation of the capitalist economy, the evolution of the labor movement, the rise of party politics, and the development of constitutional government. Not a single line appears about such things. Just seeing this probably makes one understand how distorted the prewar history education was. . . .

Nevertheless, thinking back, I was after all truly fortunate to have received . . . a most valuable elementary school education. At least in the later process of the formation of myself as a human being, I have been able to get to the present without being swallowed up in a fanatical myth-rooted ideology. Wasn't this thanks to the fact that at that starting point—although there were limitations—I received what for that time was the maximum liberal education? [pp. 19–29]

2. A Middle School Student Discovers Minobe

While still in middle school, Ienaga came across and read Minobe Tatsukichi's *Constitutional Handbook* (*Kenpō satsuyō*), a textbook that his older brother was using in a course taught by Minobe.

I was attracted by Dr. Minobe's logical clarity. But it cannot be said that it necessarily went so far as to my being influenced by the intellectual concept of Dr. Minobe's theory of the state as a juridical person or the emperor as an organ of the state. However, there is no doubt that at least Dr. Minobe's thought on constitutionalism entered my mind without resistance. For that reason, although in my mind I was loyal to the *tennōsei* [emperor system], a brake was at once installed that checked my falling into a fanatical *tennōsei* ideology based on the divinity of the emperor. Although it was an outcome based on fortuitous circumstances, my being able as early as my first year in middle school to come

into contact with Dr. Minobe's book must be said to be the lucky event of my life.

However, Dr. Minobe's influence cannot have been advantageous for me in every respect. Even though from a legal point of view Dr. Minobe considered the emperor as an agent [organ] of the state and clearly stated that there were limits to the emperor's prerogative, he, on the other hand, recognized the existence of the concept of the polity as a historical and moral idea, and he chose to shut the concept of the polity out of the world of legal theory as a means of trying to protect the constitutionalism of the emperor-as-agent [organ] doctrine. Thus as a legal theorist Dr. Minobe displayed a very constitutionalist—in today's terms, democratic—attitude. At the same time psychologically he had a side of him in which in his heart he was a loyal upholder of the *tennōsei* ideology. Affecting me in this way, on the one hand he planted in me a critical awareness toward the divinity-based *tennōsei* ideology. On the other hand he created a disadvantage in that it was not possible for me to have an objective and totally critical attitude . . . for a few decades. Thus for a long time this materially delayed my seizing opportunities for opening my eyes to a correct view of the true nature of the *tennōsei*.

In any event, in middle school, I was blessed by an opportunity to learn a bit about the limitations of the orthodox morality, but in spite of this I finished the final year of middle school and advanced to higher school continuing as usual to, on the whole, believe with no doubts the orthodox morality. [pp. 57–58]

3. "A College Student Defends Minobe"

The following is an essay published by Ienaga in November 1935 in his middle school's alumni journal, *Dai ichi chūgakkō no dōsōkai zasshi* (*Journal of the First Tokyo Middle School Alumni Association*).

When it comes to the emperor organ theory problem, we are more than indignant: we are totally disgusted. I am by no means a supporter of Minobe's theory. Nevertheless, it must be emphatically said that it is absolutely impermissible to use power and force, under the guise of morality, to suppress another person's convictions. To hand down narrow-minded, pernicious, and arbitrary interpretations of the "national polity," and then when others differ in the slightest from these interpretations to say that they are traitors guilty of lèse-majesté, that is an attempt to inflict a cowardly persecution. To do this is to take the "national polity," which is revered by all the people of Japan, and make it one's private possession. Under the guise of the sacred it gives free rein to bias. Moreover, when one listens to what is being said, none of it goes beyond the theory of imperial sovereignty. Although they say it is bad to discuss the "national polity" from the standpoint of rights and obligations, whatever is sovereignty? Furthermore, for them to attack the juridical person theory found in state law and to

consider the state simply as an abstraction entails the glaring contradiction of falling unknowingly into the very individualism that they attack. They say that the organ theory is a direct import from Western scholarship. But on that score, the same is true of the theory of sovereignty. If you go into the real particulars of the substance [of their ideas], it is in the end nothing but a disguised absolutism.

There are those who regard Japan's national polity as identical with the absolute monarchies of China and the West. (Among them are even persons who glorify the book burning by China's first emperor.) They are persons who end up protecting a ruling class that inserts itself between the imperial house and the people and that thereby obstructs the everlasting development of our empire. It is this kind of conduct itself that threatens the national polity. It is an attitude that should be rigorously curbed. When I think about the exalted tradition of our country, I feel extremely blessed to be born on Japan's soil. I cannot remember being in any manner carried away by the elaborate language in which they devise their schemes. That is because what they say is all withered and ossified sophism without any roots in the sincere living sentiments of the people. These exalted persons hurl abuse in the speech of street hooligans, thus advertising the vulgarity of their own character.

There are words in the last half of this essay that extol Japan's national polity. That is because at that time I really thought that way. They are not at all the "words of a slave." Still, even I, who had such a viewpoint, could not tolerate the persecution of Dr. Minobe.

To continue with this article, I included a strong criticism of the idea of rejecting Western thought, a rejection that was beginning to become fashionable at that time and ended up as follows:

Even if the intellectual basis of the recent ultranationalist trend is an error, it has brought about the stimulation of research into Japanese culture, a gratifying phenomenon for us who specialize in that field. The strange thing is that simultaneously from these same quarters come various affronts to the Japanese classics. These persons find fault with *The Tale of Genji* (*Genji monogatari*), try to meddle with St. Hōnen's writings, forbid instruction in nō chants, etc. . . . Their contempt for the classics, which are the very things transmitted to the present as . . . the glorious heritage of our ancestors and the crystallization of Japan's spirit, that contempt for the classics belittles our ancestors and destroys the Japanese spirit. . . . [pp. 80–82]

4. Questioning the Official Accounts of Early Japanese History

In my shifts in thought, I was always influenced by the old behind-the-times thought of the period immediately preceding [the one I was currently in], rather than by the newly minted fashionable thought of the moment. Is not there

reflected in this an obtuse personality that cannot be at the leading edge of a period?

Conversely, was it not for this very reason that I was not influenced during the war by the ultrafashionable militaristic thought, that I held fast to anachronistic liberalism and thus was able to escape engaging in any shameful opportunistic conduct. . . .

By chance about the time [I was reading Nishimura's book], Kitagawa Saburō's translation of H. G. Wells's *The Outline of History* was published. Reading these two books was instrumental in greatly changing my view of history.

Wells's history of world culture begins with the coming into existence of the universe and then takes up in order the formation of the earth, the evolution of living things, the appearance of human beings, and the evolution of civilization. Dr. Nishimura's *The Yamato Period* . . . begins with the coming into being of the universe and the appearance of human beings and then advances from the Jōmon period to the formation of the Japanese state. . . .

When I read *The Yamato Period* I first learned that Japan's history did not begin with the Age of the Gods but that one had to take as a starting point the life of the Stone Age. Dr. Nishimura had borrowed from the critical research on the *Kojiki* (*Record of Ancient Matters*) and the *Nihon shoki* (*Chronicle of Japan*) by Dr. Tsuda Sōkichi. At that time I had not read the actual works of Dr. Tsuda, and basically I could not grasp the true nature of the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki* as revealed by Dr. Tsuda's studies. However, at least I knew for the first time that a history of Japan that began with Amaterasu Ōmikami, as taught in school, was not an objective history of Japan. To have been able already in the first year of middle school to understand the beginnings of scientific history must be said to have been a great good fortune for me.

Still, I knew only that the stories of the Age of the Gods were not objective historical fact. At this stage it did not yet enter my head to criticize overall the moral thought involved in the concept of national polity, a concept that had been solidly constructed on the foundation of these stories of the Age of the Gods. The orthodox morality of the people under the *tennōsei* as before had great authority for me. I was such a loyal supporter of the *tennōsei* that I thought of becoming a historian precisely to defend it. . . .

[In 1932] I began to read the German Southwest school of philosophy.[8] At that time I was very fond of reading Rickert's *Der Gegenstand der Erkenntnis*.

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8. The Southwest school was a school of Neo-Kantian philosophy exemplified by Wilhelm Windelband and Heinrich Rickert. Its basis was a dualism that sharply distinguished between "what is" (*sein*) and "what ought to be"(*sollen*) and advocated an approach stressing value as the source of the normative power of *sollen*. It was a philosophy widely favored in Japanese philosophical circles during the Taishō period.

That does not necessarily mean that I got this or that specifically from this one book. But inasmuch as the German Southwest school of *sollen* philosophy was a world to which I had up to [then] never stretched my thinking, its influence was decisive. The concept of *sollen*, which was not *sein* but rather was in opposition to *sein*, was somehow a thought that was fresh and attractive.

The concept of "national polity" (*kokutai*), which had been drummed into us from infancy until middle school, rested on the logic that the Japanese state was a national polity unique in the world and had the blessing of being ruled from time immemorial by one imperial line. In sum, it had a logical structure that through past history justified a present-day system. Therefore historical fact was the basis of "what should be" (*sollen*), and it became an arrangement by which the norms of behavior were deduced from the facts. The German Southwest school of philosophy, which argued that "what is" and value were to be sharply distinguished and that there was a well-defined break between them, was useful in thoroughly destroying this logic of from fact to *sollen*, from history to [current] practice. . . .

This philosophy had the power to destroy thoroughly the orthodox morality that over many years had controlled my mind. Through this *sollen* philosophy I was able to be spiritually reborn. Through the mediation of the philosophy of the German Southwest school, I was able to bury the traditional Japanism-centered state morality and began to walk the path of a new life as a liberal. The history of my mind can be sharply divided into two parts: before and after 1932.

Although it is true to say that I became a liberal, it was, looking back from today, nothing more than a revision of traditional nationalistic beliefs. However, at any rate I was completely saved from the danger of sinking into fascism, and yet I did not join up with Marxism. It was possible for me to stand in an independent position of my own. For this reason, 1932 is a point in time that has a very important significance in my life. . . .

The influence on me of Dr. Tsuda [Sōkichi]'s criticism of the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki* as well as his research in intellectual history was immense. His . . . four-volume work, *Studies on the Thought of Our People as Expressed in Literature* (*Bungaku ni arawaretaru waga kokumin shisō no kenkyū*), which I read after graduating from Tōdai (Tokyo University), was especially a shock beyond description. I had the impression that my view of the world changed completely after I had read this work. . . . [pp. 50, 54–56, 67–69, 94]

5. Saved by a Diversion to Religion

Early on I gave great attention to the state. I accepted without resistance the orthodox morality. But this was not simply because it was poured into me by an external authority through the "pipe" of education. The groundwork was

already there because I myself had the habit of always thinking about matters with the thought in mind that the state was superior to the individual. . . . From my youth my mind was inclined toward nationalism. This meant that . . . my thinking about the individual began not from [the point of view of] the internal and individual problem but from thinking about things on the level of the state and society. . . .

As a person who entered the life of intellectual speculation with my discovery of the Neo-Kantian school of philosophy, I did not at first think that a theoretical worldview was to be found outside Western philosophy. To have learned [upon my discovery of the thought of Shōtoku and Shinran] that such a superior type of thinking existed even in Japanese thought opened new mental horizons for me.

Through both Shinran and the Bible I came to grapple seriously with the question of religion. This was the background for my deep appreciation of Shōtoku's words: "The world is illusion. Only Buddha is true." . . .

I gradually became absorbed in religious problems and little by little lost any great interest in the problems of the state and society. This [kind of] stance I still continued for several years after graduating from university [March 1937]. . . . [In the meantime] the Japanese intellectual world became more and more deeply right wing. It became so extreme that if you were not a supporter of Japanism you were considered to be a traitor. Because I had by chance become diverted from the problem of state and society, I was able to escape being entangled in these kinds of developments. That occurred because of circumstances . . . and not because my intellectual convictions were especially firm. It is not a story to be too proud of. . . . My obtuseness always led me to follow anachronistic thought out of sync with the fashion of the current period. Thus contrariwise I did not jump on the bandwagon when the whole nation was turning to the right. That certainly must be called an irony of fate. [pp. 87, 90–92]

6. "Self-Censorship"

Under Tsuda's influence, Ienaga wrote an article on a topic drawn from the *Nihon shoki* and submitted it to a journal edited by his colleagues in the Historiographical Institute.

If I put things together from subsequent events, on seeing the title the editors undoubtedly were frightened. But the editorial board sent it just as it was to the printer, and it reached the proofs stage. At that point the editors, apparently concerned that publication might be prohibited if the article were printed as it stood, sought a change in the title. The ostensible reason for this was that the present title would be too conspicuous [and attract the censor's attention.]

Thinking I could not avoid making at least this much of a compromise, I changed the title . . . and thought that would do the trick. At this point, the editors seemed to become increasingly worried, and after consulting with our seniors they finally asked me to withdraw the article. I had to face squarely my first ordeal of deciding whether to fight for academic freedom or to compromise. . . .

The younger members of the Historiographical Institute all agreed that it should not be published. One senior colleague said to me, "You have written an article that commits lèse-majesté, haven't you?" Another said, "Even if you don't publish this article, there are lots of other research subjects." These things gave [me] insight into the nature of the scholarship of the historians in the Historiographical Institute. . . . I did not really take seriously the possibility of what I had written becoming a problem. Even if I received some punishment, I had secretly determined to resign myself to it. However, depending on how the problem developed, responsibility could spread not only to the writer [me] but to everyone involved in publishing the article. Even though whatever happened to me was all right, I thought I must, after all, not cause trouble for my colleagues. So I swallowed my pride and withdrew the article. This manuscript, which was to have been printed as my first scholarly work, was in the end buried in galley proofs, and until the end of the war I could do nothing but preserve it with great care.

In my first step in my life as a scholarly researcher, this is the experience I went through. Isn't it possible that this became one of the formative experiences shaping my behavior today? At the time I had a low level of awareness, and I was not so seriously conscious of the necessity of guarding academic freedom. However, in that first step in my academic research life, I was made personally aware of how severe under the Meiji constitution the control of academic freedom and freedom of expression was. . . .

When all is said and done, the most painful thing in my scholarly life was that [my] freedom of learning and freedom of expression had been taken away. This was truly a great problem for me, who was specializing in Japanese history, a field over which there was severe scholarly and intellectual control. [pp. 103–5]

[Ienaga, *Ichi rekishigakusha no ayumi*, pp. 19–29, 50, 54–56, 57–58, 67–69, 80–82, 87, 90–92, 94, 103–5; AET]

PEACEFUL COOPERATION ABROAD

SHIDEHARA KIJŪRŌ: CONCILIATORY DIPLOMACY

Shidehara Kijūrō (1872–1951) is so closely identified with the peaceful and cooperative policies that Japan usually followed in the 1920s that they have come to be designated as "Shidehara diplomacy." From 1915 to 1919, he was the vice

minister of foreign affairs. In 1921 and 1922, he was the chief delegate to the Washington Conference, a gathering whose outcome typifies his diplomacy, since it provided for naval disarmament, security in the Pacific through international agreement, and conciliation with China by settling the Shandong question. From 1924 to 1927 and again from 1929 to 1931, Shidehara held the post of foreign minister in the Kenseikai and Minseitō cabinets. Largely as a result of the high regard in which he was held by foreign opinion, Shidehara played a prominent role in Japan's political life after World War II, serving as prime minister in 1945/1946.

A RAPPROCHEMENT WITH CHINA

The following is an extract from a policy statement that Shidehara Kijūrō presented to the Diet on January 21, 1930. It is a good illustration of his conciliatory attitude toward China and his sympathetic regard for the problem created by the Nationalist revolution.

In China, endless scenes of internal commotion and strife have in the past from year to year presented themselves. They have not only caused untold misery and hardships to the Chinese people themselves but have also exercised a most harmful influence upon our political and economic relations with China. Nothing was more gratifying to us than to witness the measure of success which the Nationalist government, through tremendous efforts, was able to attain in 1928 in the great enterprise of effecting a national unification. Having regard, however, to the historical and geographical background of China, and other conditions surrounding her, we are not blind to the many difficulties with which any attempt at the establishment of peace and unity in all parts of that vast country will necessarily have to grapple. As a matter of fact, the political situation in China began once more to show signs of unrest in the spring of last year. Recent indications are more reassuring, but the future alone can tell if the crisis has been averted once and for all.

We in Japan have only to look forward with sympathy and patience to the achievement of their task by those who have been devoting their attention and energy to composing China's existing difficulties. We cannot, however, dismiss from our mind an apprehension borne out by various instances in history that in any country faced with similar troubles, the temptation may grow strong for men in power to resort to an adventurous foreign policy with a view to diverting the minds of the people from internal to external affairs. It would be needless to point out that in our modern world, a policy repugnant to all sense of reason and moderation can scarcely tend to enhance the prestige of a nation or to serve the purpose for which it is intended. I sincerely trust that the responsible statesmen of China will avoid all such temptations and will proceed to work out their own country's destiny by steady and measured steps.

The future of Sino-Japanese relations is variously viewed in this country. There are pessimists who maintain that however fair and liberal a course Japan may steer, China will never meet us halfway but will be swayed by considerations of domestic politics and assume toward us an attitude more wanton than ever, which would only be calculated to aggravate the situation. Others entertain a more optimistic view. They hold that all the suspicion and mistrust which the Chinese people have hitherto harbored toward Japan rest on no substantial grounds and that with better understanding on China's part of our real motives, there must come a better relationship between the two peoples. They further anticipate that the stabilization of the internal political status of the Chinese government will be followed by a reorientation of China's foreign policies upon more moderate and normal lines.

I am not here to pass judgment either way upon these conflicting views. In any case, whatever response we may receive at the hands of the Chinese, we are determined to exert our best efforts to regulate our relations with China on a basis which we believe to be just and fair. Our peculiarly close relations with China, and more especially the complexity and variety of their ramifications, are naturally bound to give rise to questions from time to time calling for diplomatic treatment and tending to excite the feelings either of the Japanese or of the Chinese people.

If, however, one takes a broader view of the future well-being of both China and Japan, one will be satisfied that there is no other course open to the two nations than to pursue the path of mutual accord and cooperation in all their relations, political and economic. Their real and lasting interests, which in no way conflict but have much in common with each other, ought to be a significant assurance of their growing rapprochement. If the Chinese people awaken to these facts and show themselves responsive to the policy so outlined, nothing will more conduce to the mutual welfare of both nations. Should they, on the contrary, fail to understand us and seek trouble with us, we can at least rest assured of our strong position in the public opinion of the world.

[*Documents on International Affairs*, 1930, pp. 180–82]

YAMAMURO SŌBUN: CALL FOR A PEACEFUL JAPAN

The following is from a speech delivered in December 1929 by Yamamuro Sōbun (1880–1950), an important Mitsubishi executive who was at that time the president of the Mitsubishi Trust Company. It indicates one important source of support for Shidehara Kijūrō's policies and the reasons for that support. Shidehara was married to a member of the family that owned the Mitsubishi enterprises, and the Minseitō was popularly believed to receive a substantial part of its funds from Mitsubishi.

SPEECH

When we consider [the state] of Japan's national economy, when we think of our scarcity of natural resources, when we reflect on today's international situation, [the solution to our problems might seem to lie in] either the seizure of dependencies under a policy of aggression or the establishment of a Monroe Doctrine. Nevertheless, there is absolutely no place in Japan's future for [these policies]. Japan can remain a going concern only through international cooperation. Under this policy of international cooperation we can get along by producing goods of the highest possible quality at the lowest possible price, thereby expanding our foreign markets to the greatest [extent] possible. A country as deficient in natural resources as Japan buys raw materials from foreign countries at low prices and processes [these materials] at a low cost. Of course, circumstances peculiar to Japan have [modified] our development. For example, silk has been an important item. However, in addition to encouraging the expansion of this industry, we must endeavor through a policy of international cooperation to establish our country as an international industrial producer of international commodities. To that end we must do our best to create an amicable atmosphere in international relations. If we have the reputation of liking war or of being militarists, [a policy of] international cooperation will be impossible. We must resolutely follow a policy of peace. It is essential to make all foreigners feel that the Japanese have been converted from their old religion and have become advocates of peace. For that reason we must, as far as possible, eliminate international barriers. In that sense, a commercial treaty with China is probably necessary. For this same purpose, the abolition of unnecessary tariffs is also required. I wonder if the best way to manage the post-resumption[9] financial world isn't to eliminate the various international barriers [and] to adopt a viewpoint as similar as possible to that of the foreigner and to maintain close cooperation with foreigners.

[Yamamuro, *Waga kuni keizai oyobi kin'yū*, pp. 292–93; AET]

9. That is, after Japan returned to the gold standard, in January 1930.

Chapter 43

SOCIALISM AND THE LEFT

"There is no way," wrote the Marxist economist Uno Kōzō, "to industrialize in the abstract."[1] In Uno's day, as in ours, the dominant mode of industrialization was capitalist. Capitalist industrialization, however, has occurred in various and complex ways. Timing and location are crucial, as is speed: the rapidity or compressed character of the transition reflects the urgent choice by some national elites to attempt industrialization without completely transforming the existing structure of society. Thus whether a nation came "early" or "late" to capitalism and where it was situated—within whose sphere of influence, and in what broader sociohistorical sense—formed its destiny in important ways.

Modern socialism is a product and a critique of capitalism, but not necessarily of industrialization. It is—or was—held to be the antithesis of capitalism. No society, Japan's included, that has tried to industrialize in the capitalist mode has failed to generate an indigenous socialist movement. Whether Christian or guild socialist, anarchist or revolutionary Marxist in character, vernacular socialisms have always and everywhere been part of a self-consciously international workers' movement. In their formative years, they draw on their predecessor and contemporary movements for models of discourse, organization, and

1. Uno, "Shihonshugi no seiritsu to nōson bunkai no katei," *Chūō kōron* (November 1935), in *Uno Kōzō chosakushū*, vol. 8, p. 38.

action. At the same time, as an indigenous movement, socialism naturally and inevitably borrows traditional (precapitalist) sentiments, concepts, practices, and protocols of social criticism and protest, which then are selectively assimilated into and help define the particular national variant of the "socialism." It is the specific interplay of universalist and local, or vernacular, elements in the movement to realize a vision of society permanently freed from capitalist exploitation that defined socialism.

Japan's forcible introduction to the international economy and system of national states came amid the onset of imperialism. It was impossible, therefore, that along with its denunciation of capitalism, Japanese socialism should not at the same time have retained traces of anti-imperialist nationalism. This dual perspective endured even as Japan itself emerged as an imperialist power, leaving a legacy of argument and political conflict within the movement over the question of "the nation" versus "class and party." The story is similar to that of the Second International, with its collapse in 1914. But the phasing in Japan was different: there, many of these struggles came after 1918, playing out through the 1920s, with the decisive political and organizational failures following the Great Depression and the invasion of Manchuria in 1931. In the end, the nation triumphed over all other solidarities, only to bring catastrophe in its wake.

The following selections are intended to illustrate both the universal and the particular aspects of the Japanese socialist movement—and, more broadly, of the Japanese left—from its beginning in the 1890s through the end of the Pacific War in 1945, and to indicate some of the forces influencing it. The socialist movement's later fate—and still unknown future—while adumbrated in a number of the selections, must await fuller treatment elsewhere.

THE EARLY SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

In the movement's early phases, and depending on who was counting, Japanese socialists numbered from the low hundreds to a figure approaching fourteen thousand.[2] In any case, it was an exceedingly small and harassed minority, often drawn to Christian socialist ideas, for whom the problem of capitalism was first and foremost its moral destructiveness. Also much in evidence was a critical Confucian perspective: witness the early writings, for example, of both Katayama Sen (1859–1933), a Christian and later official of the Comintern, and Kōtoku Shūsui (1871–1911), Japan's first major modern anarchist. In addition, the early movement claimed the mantle of the vanquished Freedom and People's Rights

2. Peter Duus and Irwin Scheiner, "Socialism, Liberalism, and Marxism," in *Modern Japanese Thought*, ed. Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 162, n. 26.

movement (1874–1884), which had appropriated the task of completing the "revolutionary Restoration" of 1868. The Restoration, it was claimed, had been derailed and subverted by Satsuma–Chōshū despotism. From the first, Japanese socialism demonstrated a strong "trade-unionist" consciousness and appeal that linked it, ideologically at least, to the American Federation of Labor under Samuel Gompers. While in some ways a movement of intellectuals, Japanese socialism genuinely tried to appeal to workers. The extent to which socialists were harassed, even persecuted, suggests that this appeal was probably greater than is sometimes claimed in historical retrospect. There can be no doubt that Japan's fervent embrace of imperialism, its official neotraditionalism, and the emergence of concentrated capital and a large and growing working class created the conditions for the movement's radicalization. In this process, the Russo-Japanese War was, by all accounts, the critical turning point. The early movement definitively ended with the Great Treason incident of 1910, in which Kōtoku Shūsui, at the head of a group of twenty-four defendants, was tried for having plotted to assassinate the emperor. Its grim resolution—the execution early in 1911 of Kōtoku and eleven others—ushered in the "winter years" of the Japanese socialist movement.

KATAYAMA SEN

A SUMMONS TO THE WORKERS (*SHOKKŌ SHOKUN NI YOSU*)

This summons, dating to 1887, appeals less to the workers as members of a class-conscious proletariat with a revolutionary mission than it does to their traditional Japanese attitudes, such as the fear of foreign domination and exploitation, the desire for self-improvement and the preservation of family life, their generally law-abiding character, and, finally, their sense of social cohesion and responsibility.

The year 1899 will see Japan really opened to foreign intercourse. It will be a time when foreign capitalists will enter our country and attempt to amass millions in profits by exploiting our cheap labor and our clever workers. In such a situation, these foreign capitalists, who are not only different in character, manners, and customs but who are also notorious for their cruel treatment of workers, will try to become your masters within the next three years. In the light of this situation, you workers must soon start preparing yourselves, or you will not be able to avoid suffering the same abuses as the workers of Europe and America. Considering recent developments, moreover, the relations between the workers and employers of our country, in the same way as in Europe and America, will change each day as factories and plants increase in number.

Considerations of profit alone will prevail. The strong will be triumphant, and the weak will be destroyed. Since the superior are heading for days of prosperity, and the inferior, for times of ruin, it will not be easy to conquer and to flourish in the coming days. Moreover, when the foreigners do enter our country, it will be vitally necessary for you to double your resolution and to devise moderate means to protect your position on the field of struggle, without getting involved in disputes on their behalf.

You workers, like others before you, are people without capital who provide a living for others than yourselves. One of your arms and one of your legs are, so to speak, devoted to the support of society. When you meet with some misfortune and are disabled or when you become infirm with age and can no longer work, you will immediately be deprived of the means of earning a living and are turned out into the street. Should death overtake you, your wife and children will be hard put to stay alive. In this state of affairs you are really as helpless as a candle in the wind. Unless you workers heed the precept of the ancients and prepare for adversity while you are able, and make it your practice to provide for ways to cope with future difficulties while you are strong and sound of body, it will be hard for you to avoid violating the fundamental obligations of a human being, a husband, or a parent. This matter demands sober consideration.

In this day and age, our country is still not enlightened. In the olden days, when there were no machines, your wife and children stayed at home and worked and helped earn a living. But with the rise of factories and mills your wife, who should be looking after the home, went off to work in the factories. And since even innocent children work at the machines, the life of the home is thrown into confusion. At times the lives of children are endangered, when machines, which should be of benefit to man, function improperly and present the astounding spectacle of harming him. In some factories children with delicate bodies are made to work hours that would be too long even for adults. The lifeblood of those who are little more than infants is squeezed out with impartiality, and for their parents this is indeed unbearable. It should be evident that you must first and foremost take vigorous action and devise ways and means of coping with the situation. You must put your homes in order and protect the lives of your women and children. Do not forget, you workers, that those who take the lives of men do not do so only with the lethal instruments of murderers and criminals.

It is evident that when wives who should be caring for the home and children who should be in school are working in factories, an extremely unnatural state of affairs exists. If we seek the reason for this, we will find that because of the cheapness of labor, a man with only one pair of hands cannot support a wife and children. This is truly most deplorable. If you are a husband, you will want to give your wife a comfortable life. If you are a parent, you will want to have

your children educated. These must, of course, be your feelings, and if you would only once rouse yourself, you would in the end find a way to correct this unnatural state of affairs and, by so doing, preserve your dignity.

One more matter that should be mentioned concerns your behavior. If you are an honest man earning a living by selling your labor power and if you make no mistakes in your work and conduct, you need not fear anything under the sun. But if you once do something dishonest or improper, your reputation as an upright man will thereby be destroyed, and your life itself will be ruined. The saying that honesty prevails in the end is known to all of us. The way to protect yourself lies in this. Furthermore, men who are in the unfortunate position that you are in will find it difficult to obtain completely satisfactory results if, in attempting to improve their position, they are the least bit indiscreet in their behavior. Accordingly, it is necessary for you to strive to advance and extend your position and interests and, at the same time, to be courageous enough to follow a righteous course. Why should you workers not try to improve yourselves and mend your ways and pursue your ends in an open and aboveboard fashion? You should know that the most heartless person will not prevail before your righteousness.

How you workers are to perform the necessary acts of resolution and preparation, which have been indicated previously, will understandably raise questions in your minds. Some of you will say: "Matters have by now gone beyond the stage of talking. The rich are becoming richer, and the poor are becoming poorer. The injustices and ruined circumstances that are the workers' lot are indeed cause for bitterness. Only through a revolution that corrects this situation may the differences in wealth be equalized." This argument is truly attractive, and it would be splendid if you were able to achieve complete reform by the revolution advocated by its proponents. But the affairs of the world are not so simple as these men believe. Unexpected developments occur, making it impossible to realize original objectives, and great disorders are not infrequent.

You workers should think twice before accepting these arguments. The advances of society have always been at a leisurely and orderly pace. Revolutionists are opposed to the supporters of order, and when the former make haste and recklessness a prime factor, the actions of the two groups become diametrically opposed. As far as equalization of economic differences is concerned, since not all men are equally wise, inequalities in the amount of property individually possessed are inevitable. Proposals for eliminating differences between rich and poor are more easily stated than achieved.

In view of this, You workers should firmly and resolutely reject ideas of revolution and acts of radicalism. To advance a mile, you must go forward by steps. You should thus spurn the counsel of the economic levelers.

We thus would recommend that you workers establish trade unions based on the feelings common to men engaged in the same work and possessed of kindred sentiments. These trade unions, moreover, should be organized on a

nationwide cooperative basis. In carefully viewing your past actions, it is evident that you have refrained from joining together, that you have struggled with one another, and that you have achieved no unity. Thus, even if some of you, with laborious effort and after countless appeals, have finally secured an increase in wages, others remain satisfied with their outrageously low wages. Some want to reprove your unworthy fellow workers, but also [others] want to protect them. The spectacle of some men building and other men destroying, of kindred people engaged in mutual strife, is really cause for regret.

Your internecine strife, the contempt in which the foreigners hold you, and the position in which you find yourselves today all may to a large extent be attributed to you workers' failure to act as one.

[Katayama and Nishikawa, *Nihon no rōdō undō*, pp. 18–22; HK]

ANARCHISM

From its very beginning, the twentieth century in Japan was marked by a more or less unremitting official campaign against socialism that included antisocialist legislation, the establishment of the Special Higher Police, the suppression of attempts to organize political parties, waves of arrests, and constant harassment. Socialists, as Carol Gluck put it, became Japan's "metaphorical foreigners." Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that "economism" and a parliamentary strategy began to seem, at best, inadequate. For a significant number of people, the repressive power of the state was by far the greatest target for the movement's revolutionary energies, and anarchism was the most compelling framework for action. To be sure, anarchism was not a single doctrine. But in the sense that the removal of the state as such—and not simply of a given regime—was accepted as necessary for society and its constituent groups to flourish, anarchism diverged sharply from its Christian socialist predecessors. Such views also separated it from Marxism, its great antagonist within the socialist tradition and movement. Related to this divergence was the inherently centrifugal character of anarchist notions of political organization. But as the appeal of anarchosyndicalism in the labor movement through the 1920s demonstrates, anarchism could indeed serve as the ideological framework for revolutionary action without the benefit of a centralized party or a strategy focused on seizing state power. Of considerable importance to the appeal of anarchism and its legacy was its elevation of collective spontaneity (on the part of the proletariat) and the unfettered realization of individual freedom as a supreme value. At the level of political practice, such attitudes could lead to strategies of violent "direct action" that could call on the movement the even heavier hand of state power. The same attitudes nurtured a leadership of powerful, even charismatic, personalities, most notably Kōtoku Shūsui and Ōsugi Sakae, but

also a number of women: Kanno Suga, Itō Noe, and Kaneko Fumiko, among others.

KŌTOKU SHŪSUI

The trade-union movement and an equally young socialist movement, which emerged during the last years of the nineteenth century, did not last long. In 1900, fearful of social unrest, the Japanese government passed the Public Peace Preservation Law which legally hamstrung radical social movements for more than two decades. One of the principal effects of this legislation was the constriction of radical expression, which tended to become increasingly theoretical, intellectual, and polemical. But with the gradual strengthening of parliamentary government and the extension of suffrage, many radicals were encouraged to think that their objectives could be achieved through the ballot box.

It was in this atmosphere that Kōtoku Denjirō (1871–1911), better known by his pen name Shūsui, and his anarchist philosophy appeared. Few, if any, intellectuals in modern Japanese history have wielded a more trenchant pen than Kōtoku did. A fearless and outspoken foe of established institutions, he was still a young man when he was executed in 1911 for allegedly having plotted against the emperor's life. Just four years earlier, at a meeting of the Socialist Party in Tokyo, Kōtoku proclaimed his break with parliamentarianism and his newfound conviction in direct action. With the passage of the years, the fame of the man, rather than of his ideas, has continued to grow. To all radicals, he has been a symbol of opposition to oppression.

"THE CHANGE IN MY THOUGHT" (ON UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE) (WAGA SHISŌ NO HENKA)

I

I want to make an honest confession. My views of the methods and policy to be adopted by the socialist movement started to change a little from the time that I went into prison a couple of years ago.[3] Then during my travels last year,[4] they changed dramatically. If I recall how I was a few years back, I get the feeling that I am now almost like a different person.

Because of this change in my ideas, I have had heated discussions with Sakai [Toshihiko, 1871–1933] on dozens of occasions and have also frequently tried talking things over with a few of my other friends, too. Then again, since I have

3. Kōtoku was imprisoned for an offense against the Press Law from February to July 1905.
4. Kōtoku was away from Japan, living in the United States, from November 1905 to June 1906.

from time to time put down some of my ideas in articles in *Hikari*,[5] some people may already have grasped the gist of what I have been thinking. All the same, for want of a suitable organ[6] and also because my illness has made writing difficult,[7] until now I have not been able to address all the comrades and explain my basic ideas. But now the opportunity has come, for I certainly would not be true to my principles if I kept silent indefinitely.

For these reasons, I want—as I said before—to make an honest confession. If I were to put in a nutshell the way I think now, it would be along the following lines: "A real social revolution cannot possibly be achieved by means of universal suffrage and a parliamentary policy. There is no way to reach our goal of socialism other than by the direct action of the workers, united as one."

II

Previously I listened to the theories of the German socialists and those in the same current and put far too much emphasis on the effectiveness of votes and of parliament. I used to think: "If universal suffrage is achieved, then surely a majority of our comrades will be elected. And if a majority of the seats in parliament are occupied by our comrades, then socialism can be put into effect by means of a parliamentary resolution." It is true, of course, that I recognized at the same time the urgent need for workers' solidarity, but still I believed that at least the first priority for the social movement in Japan was universal suffrage. My speeches and articles were full of this, but I now think of it as an extremely childish and naive idea.

To go into a little more detail, one cannot promote the happiness of the majority under today's so-called representative system. The representatives are first elected from a morass of candidates, supporters, henchmen, newspapers, deception, threats, banquets, and corruption. It makes one wonder whether there really are any who are seriously thinking about either the state or the people. Yet even if, for the sake of argument, we assume that competent people were elected, what then? People change with their circumstances, and as MPs they would by no means be the same individuals as when they first put themselves forward as candidates. As politicians living in the capital, they would be different again from the public-spirited people they first were when still in their home districts. One wonders whether there really can be any who genuinely

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5. *Hikari* (*Light*) was a socialist newspaper that was published from November 20, 1905, to December 15, 1906. Kōtoku was an irregular contributor.

6. Kōtoku's words "for want of a suitable organ" refer to the situation that had existed for some time before the daily *Heimin shinbun* (*Common People's Newspaper*) appeared, when no single journal was recognized by all sections of Japan's socialist movement. The daily, though, was published only from January 15 to April 14, 1907. This article appeared in the February 5 issue.

7. By this stage, Kōtoku was a semi-invalid suffering from chronic intestinal tuberculosis.

remain true to the values they held before they were elected. Isn't prestige what invariably comes first in the lives of all MPs (or, at any rate, the vast majority of them)? And next comes power, followed by profit. Isn't their field of vision restricted to themselves, their families, or, at most—and even this applies to only the very best among them—to their parties? . . .

So you could say that not a parliament anywhere in the world until now, in the strict sense of the word, has represented the will of the people. The fact that even under universal suffrage, parliament is unable to fully represent the will of the people is recognized these days by a majority of scholars throughout the world, and various remedies have been devised to correct this, in the form of proportional representation, referendum, and initiative. However, even if we set aside for the moment a detailed consideration of the advantages and disadvantages of these remedies, what we can at least say is that parliament is not constituted from the majority of the people—from the working class, in other words. The fact is that at present, parliament is constituted from the bourgeoisie, the very class that regards the working class with hostility and uses it as a stepping-stone. . . . Kropotkin argues in his *Wage System* that while the parliamentary system [was established by the middle class's opposition to] the royal family, it is at the same time a mechanism designed for the middle class to rule and suppress the working class. The parliamentary system is, in other words, a form specific to the rule of the middle class, and in saying this, Kropotkin hit the nail right on the head.[8]

Perhaps MPs do not only have to be of bourgeois origin. If universal suffrage is achieved, many working-class MPs might be elected. Indeed, already in Britain fifty workers were elected last year.[9] But no sooner are these MPs elected than immediately most of them lose their working-class frame of mind, develop a taste for fine clothes and fine food in the bourgeois style, and give themselves airs and graces. And aren't they the butt of bitter condemnation because of this? . . .

III

But even if our present MPs are despicable in the ways I have been describing, the idea is that because socialist MPs would be sincerely motivated, there would

8. *Wage System* refers to chapter 13, "The Collectivist Wages System," of Pytor Kropotkin's *The Conquest of Bread*. This chapter has occasionally been published as an independent pamphlet under the title *The Wage(s) System*. Kropotkin writes: "Built up in the middle classes to hold their own against royalty, sanctioning, and, at the same time strengthening, their sway over the workers, parliamentary rule is preeminently a middle-class rule . . . . The middle classes have simply used the parliamentary system to raise a protecting barrier against the pretensions of royalty, without giving the people liberty" (*The Conquest of Bread* [1913; reprint, New York: Blom, 1968], pp. 214–15).

9. Reference to the British general election of 1906.

be no need to fear that they would betray the will of the people. And I readily admit that all the socialists in Japan today are sincere men and women. Whichever the group is, as long as conditions are unfavorable, few would betray their principles. [The reason] is simply that because there is no advantage to be gained from being a member of a group struggling against the stream, people who are not sincere do not . . . join us in the first place. But the day will come when socialism is a force to be reckoned with, and when it gains a majority in the electoral arena, what will happen then? Under those circumstances, many of the candidates who have campaigned professing to be socialists will not be anything like the sincere men and women of today. On the contrary, they will have joined the Socialist Party in order to acquire honor, power, and profit for themselves—or simply in order to win a seat in parliament. . . .

At the time when the old Jiyūtō (Liberal Party) was struggling against the stream, all the party members were patriots burning with righteous indignation. And when we think of their spirit and élan, it was far superior to that of the socialists today. Yet no sooner had they become a force in parliament than, instead of putting the interests of the people first, they became preoccupied with maintaining their own strength in parliament, defending their seats, and advancing their own interests. . . . But what if the Socialist Party, too, were to be dazzled and seduced by the type of worldly power that comes with winning a majority of votes and occupying a majority of seats in parliament? If [the party] made this its first priority, its fate would be no different from the sorry end of the Jiyūtō, and one would have to say that the way ahead was fraught with danger. . . .

IV

Even if I were to concede everything and we were to assume that elections really were conducted fairly, that suitable MPs could be elected, and that on the whole those MPs faithfully represented the will of the people, could we still in fact achieve socialism by these means? Let us take Germany—the country of both Marx and Lassalle—as an example. When the first comrades were elected there under universal suffrage, there were only two of them. After that it took more than thirty years, struggling day by day, to reach a total of eighty-one MPs. And the fruit of those more than thirty years of hard fighting and bitter struggle was that they were sent packing by a piddling imperial proclamation ordering parliament to dissolve and were unable to put up any resistance whatsoever. Doesn't this illustrate just how fragile . . . an electoral majority is? . . .

And when this turn of events occurs, there is nothing else to do but to rely on the strength of the united working class. Yes!—There is nothing else to do but to rely on the direct action of the united workers. But the question is whether it will be possible to immediately resort to direct action as soon as it

is required unless effort has already been expended on training the ordinary working class itself to acquire solidarity? . . .

But being a member of a party in the sense that one votes for it and being a conscious member are [completely] different. Even if one does have three million people trained [to conduct] an election, they are useless for conducting a revolution. The advocates of universal suffrage and a parliamentary policy generally say to the working class: "Vote for us! Vote for us! If you elect our comrades as MPs, and if our comrades win a majority in parliament, that will be the social revolution. All the workers have to do is vote." And the honest worker believes this and trusts in parliament completely. He votes, and in this way as many as three million votes are amassed. But it is only three million votes. It is not a question of three million conscious, united socialists. So what happens is that when the workers are told, "Now is the revolution! Rise up!" they are flabbergasted and, seeing that the ballot is worthless, have to rethink their ideas all over again. Thus we can see that, to the extent that a parliamentary policy takes hold, the revolutionary movement is emasculated. . . .

V

Over the last forty years the German Socialist Party's blood, sweat, and tears have gone late into the electoral movement. If it had devoted the same effort to genuinely arousing the workers' consciousness and solidarity, perhaps we would not have the situation that we find today where the workers are still allowing the kaiser and prime minister to crow over their victories. I am not, of course, saying that the German Socialist Party has taught the workers nothing, but no one can deny either that most of its activity has been directed toward the goal of the elections.

Of course, even the advocates of universal suffrage and a parliamentary policy cannot do without the workers' consciousness and solidarity. They recognize that even when there is universal suffrage, they can do nothing in parliament without the consciousness and solidarity of the working class. But . . . if the workers can arrive at genuine consciousness and solidarity, then can't they achieve whatever they wish, anyway, by means of their own direct action? And when events have progressed that far, there is absolutely no need for them to start electing MPs and relying on parliament. . . .

A majority of socialists in Europe today have become disillusioned with the poor results that parliamentary power has to offer. A tendency has emerged in the various continental countries for friction to develop between the socialist MPs and the working class. Even the British trade unions, which make frantic efforts to get MPs elected, have witnessed a gradual decline in the number of their members and in their funds. Shouldn't we socialists in Japan pay the greatest attention to this point?

What the working class needs is not the conquest of political power—it is

the "conquest of bread."[10] It is not laws—it is food and clothing. Hence it follows that parliament is almost of no use to the working class. Suppose we were to go as far as putting our faith and trust simply in such things as introducing a paragraph into a parliamentary law here or revising several clauses in some bill or other there. In that case we could get our aims carried out merely by putting our trust in the advocates of social reform and the state socialists. But instead of this, if what we want is to carry out a genuine social revolution and to improve and maintain the real living standards of the working class, we must concentrate all our efforts not on parliamentary power but on developing the workers' solidarity. And the workers themselves, too, must be ready not to rely on such creatures as bourgeois MPs and politicians but to achieve . . . their own power and their own direct action. To repeat: the last thing the workers should do is to put their trust in votes and MPs.

VI

Although I have been talking in this way, I certainly do not think it would be a bad thing to gain the right to vote. Nor am I by any means vehemently opposed to the movement for reforming the election laws. Should universal suffrage be achieved, then the workers' views would at least to some extent have to be borne in mind as parliament went about its business of law making. . . . We can mention the benefits that workers might get from laws dealing with labor insurance, factory inspection, tenant farmers' problems, labor protection, and poor relief. Or the benefits to them of amending or repealing the public peace police law and press law. Because there are advantages to be had here, launching movements to achieve these aims is by no means a bad thing. On the contrary, it is all to the good—but that is not to say that because we are socialists, we are forced to take up these movements ourselves. . . .

The point is that as a socialist and as a member of the Socialist Party, there are certain things I believe are important to attaining our end. What we are aiming at is a fundamental revolution in economic organization: the abolition of the wages system, in other words. Now, I believe that in order to attain this end, it is more important to arouse the consciousness of ten workers than it is to get a thousand signatures on a petition for universal suffrage. I also believe that it is more urgent for us to use ten yen to promote the solidarity of the workers than it is to spend two thousand yen on an electoral campaign and that there is far more merit in holding a single discussion with a group of workers than there is in making ten speeches in parliament.

Comrades! The conclusion I draw from the foregoing is as follows: I hope that from now on our socialist movement in Japan will abandon its commitment

10. Reference to Kropotkin's famous book of the same name.

to a parliamentary policy and will adopt as its method and policy the direct action of the workers united as one. . . .

[Kōtoku, "Waga shisō no henka," p. 1; trans. adapted from Crump, *The Origins of Socialist Thought in Japan*, pp. 341–50]

KAGAWA TOYOHIKO

In the prime of his career as a Christian evangelist, pacifist, and social activist, Kagawa Toyohiko (1888–1960) was one of the most famous men in the world. When he was in his early twenties, Kagawa moved into the Shinkawa slums, east of Kobe, compiling surveys and writing extensively on the need for "human construction" among the flawed and wounded personalities of those afflicted by poverty. His studies of the lumpen proletariat, including large numbers of outcasts, tried to embrace the experience of modern mass poverty, beginning with its social etiology and extending to (un)employment patterns, family forms, spending habits, diet, vices, and criminality. A few years before the rice riots of 1918 and the Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923 (which was followed by a massacre of Koreans in Tokyo), Kagawa predicted that such degradation would predispose individuals with a weakened capacity for self-regulation to mass violence, and this sooner rather than later. A powerful supporter of labor, tenant farmer, and outcast movements, Kagawa tended toward a moralistic evolutionism (he also speculated that Japan's outcasts had a different, and inferior, racial origin from that of the majority of Japanese). Kagawa's concrete hopes for "human construction" were disappointed, not least because of Japan's lurch toward continental aggression and domestic militarism following the Great Depression. In the midst of the Pacific War, even Kagawa felt compelled to renounce his pacifism in favor of Japan's just struggle as a "have-not" against a racist United States. He denounced the incendiary bombing of Japanese cities with particular force and remained conflicted in his views of the war after Japan's capitulation. *Before the Dawn* (*Shisen o koete*) was Kagawa's autobiographical first novel, and its success allowed him to pursue his evangelical and social work. The chapter translated here portrays the atmosphere immediately following the execution of Kōtoku Shūsui and eleven of his codefendants and its effects on Niimi Eiichi, Kagawa's alter ego.

BEFORE THE DAWN (*SHISEN O KOETE*)

In the New Year of 1911, before nine o'clock in the morning, there were nineteen fights in the tenement houses in Kitahon-machi.

Then, as happened the year before, Eiichi was asked to assist in funeral expenses. On New Year's Day there was one funeral; on the second of January there were two; and on the fifth there was one more—at all of which he was asked to assist. Each time there was a funeral at the New Year it made Eiichi think of Ikkyū Oshō's saying, "Each New Year is a milestone to the grave, bringing both pleasure and sorrow." Eiichi experienced an indescribable pang each time there was a death among those poor suffering people. He felt that death must be endured and that he must press onward, but he could not help thinking of the wonder of life. . . .

On the twentieth of January the newspapers issued an extra edition announcing the sentences passed on K. and O. and the others, all together twenty-four persons. Twelve of them were sentenced to capital punishment. When he read the announcement, Eiichi thought that it was a sign of the times and paid no further heed to it. That evening Takami came and talked until a late hour.

On the next day a higher police official from the Sannomiya Police Station paid Eiichi a very polite visit. Eiichi had not been visited by the police lately. The police official asked him his opinion on the K. affair and other similar questions.

Trade being dull, the harbor was very quiet. Eiichi, however, went every Friday to Bentenhama to preach the Gospel. The slackness of trade had thrown three [hundred] or four hundred people out of work, and some of them had sought fresh means of livelihood by stowing themselves away on ships for Yokohama, Moji, Korea, Formosa, and even Hong Kong.

Soon after the New Year the emigrants' inns began to fill up with emigrants for Brazil. On the sixth of January a party of nearly six hundred emigrants started, and at the end of January it appeared that there was to be another party of six [hundred] or seven hundred emigrants. At the emigrants' disinfection station near the slums of Shinkawa there were from one [hundred] to two hundred emigrants going in and out every day.

On the morning of the twenty-seventh of January, Eiichi was suddenly visited by Soeda, a young man of nineteen who had been converted at the Friday morning services at Bentenhama. Soeda had decided that he did not want to live in Japan any longer and had arranged to sail on the *Kamo-maru* on the thirtieth of January as one of the emigrants. As unmarried men were not taken, however, he had decided to go under another name as the adopted son of another emigrant. Eiichi thought it was strange to change his name, because he was a Christian, but Soeda was determined not to stay in Japan where trade was so bad and was so determined in his desire to breathe a wider air that Eiichi gave him his blessing and wished him well in his future career.

All the people in the slums had to go out every day to look for work, and it became common to see the men helping their wives making match-boxes as job work. As the number of people making match-boxes increased, the pay for

a thousand dropped by five *rin*, from eight *sen* and five *rin* to eight *sen*. Without this pay, however, they would not have had enough to provide themselves even with rice-gruel, and so the work continued to spread.

Because of the depression in trade, wages fell steadily, and every day the papers announced deaths by suicide owing to the difficulty of making a livelihood. Every time that Eiichi read of these cases in the paper, he felt strongly that the time had come when Japan could no longer be allowed to sacrifice people like that.

But everybody was silent. "Socialism" was a word prohibited. The workers were dumb and the scholars also. Only the cold north wind from Siberia wailed across the wintry sky.

[Adapted from Kagawa, *Before the Dawn*, trans. Fukumoto and Satchell, pp. 376–78]

SOCIALISM AND THE LEFT

ŌSUGI SAKAE

After Kōtoku Shūsui (and in a far different mode), the most important figure in Japan's anarchist movement was Ōsugi Sakae (1885–1923), whose life was a psychobiographer's dream. His autobiography, excerpted here, talks about a distant father (a military officer) and a mother inclined to administer severe physical punishments. Ōsugi stuttered, masturbated, was sexually precocious, and was fond of violence; he bitterly resented all arbitrary restrictions on his freedom, particularly those he encountered as a cadet. At the same time, he had a superb literary talent and became an important participant in the early socialist movement. His *Autobiography* concludes with an account of his several imprisonments between 1906 and 1910. After that, he was jailed four more times. A cofounder in 1914 of the famous journal *Kindai shisō* (*Modern Ideas*), Ōsugi wrote extensively on the philosophy of "life" and on the workers' élan; he also translated many works on anarchism, evolution, and the labor movement. He was a sharp critic of Bolshevism and was active internationally when the socialist labor movement revived following World War I. After he was arrested in Paris during the May Day demonstrations in 1923, Ōsugi was deported to Japan. In September of that year, following the Great Kantō Earthquake and amid the massacre of thousands of Koreans, Ōsugi was one of a number of radicals seized by the military police and murdered. He was strangled, his body thrown down a well.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

The following selections begin with Ōsugi Sakae's recollections of middle school.

A Young Hooligan, 1895–1899

The headmaster at the middle school was the Professor Miyoshi Aikichi, who was made chief tutor to the imperial princess before his death a few years ago. We nicknamed him Confucius, not only because he had a beard like Confucius, but because he could never say anything without quoting Confucius. With a very solemn and serious expression he would lecture on morals from the *Analects*. One day in the beginning of my second year, he asked each of us in the ethics class to name someone we admired as our idol. Such men as Hideyoshi, Ieyasu, Masashige, and Kiyomaro[11] were named as my turn gradually came around.

Actually there was no one whom I idolized. I liked none of the men who occurred to me as possible choices. I tried to think of someone new, but no one came to mind. When my turn finally came I was at a complete loss. Nevertheless, I stood up, and as I did so suddenly recalled a book I had bought and read recently, somebody's essay on Saigō Nanshū.[12] Trying to make a good impression, I answered: "Saigō Nanshū." After everyone had his turn, the teacher commented on each answer. In remarking on mine, he said, "Yes, of course, Saigō was one of the great men of modern times—possibly the greatest Japanese of modern times. But he was a rebel. He was a rebel who drew his bowstring against the emperor. And no matter what the circumstances were or however meritorious his other deeds, he cannot be forgiven for that. So, it goes without saying, it is inexcusable to admire him as an idol."

That's more or less the meaning of the teacher's criticism of my answer. Then the teacher extolled the virtues of Confucius, holding him up as the model of someone whom we all should admire as our idol.

I was very upset with the teacher's criticism. No mention that Saigō's rebellion had been against the emperor was in the book I had read. It had said that his rebellion was to flush out and drive away the corrupt officials from behind the scenes. I had believed this; yet since the teacher had spoken, it was no longer any good. There could no longer be any question of whether Saigō was justified or not. His greatness was flawed. Returning home, I reread his biography and came to admire him even more.

The biography of Saigō Nanshū led me to read biographies of Yoshida Shōin

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11. Wake no Kiyomaro (733–799) and Kusunoki Masashige (d. 1336) were ministers renowned for their loyalty to the imperial throne in times of trouble. Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598) and Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616) led the unification of the country in the sixteenth century. See de Bary et al., eds., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, chap. 19; vol. 2, chap. 20.

12. Saigō Takamori (1827–1877), the hero of the wars of the Meiji Restoration who broke with the government in 1873 and led the last great samurai uprising in 1877, the so-called Satsuma Rebellion. He was pardoned posthumously in 1891.

and Hirano Kuniomi.[13] I don't remember clearly which parts interested me most, but after reading how Hirano traveled about raising troops, I liked him immensely. . . .

Cadet School, 1899–1901

The Central Military Preparatory School was in Tokyo, but at that time there was a district cadet school at each of the six army division headquarters. The central school taught the main curriculum, while the district schools taught preliminary courses. Each student attended in his family's home district. For example, those whose families were registered in the district of the First Division attended the district school of the division headquartered in Tokyo. After having the military spirit instilled in them at a district school for three years, all students went on to the central school in Tokyo. Since my family was registered originally in Nagoya, I went to the Nagoya district school.

II.

The third-year students were extremely hard on the students in the class immediately below theirs—that is, the second-year students—but were kind to the first-year students. After I became a member of their group, these veterans made me one of their favorite "companions"—perhaps even more favored than the others. If you were a "companion" of these veterans, you could get away with anything, no matter how wrong. Smoking, for instance, was a guardhouse offense if you were caught. But they had a special place where it was safe. The veterans from Aichi at first hesitated to take me there, but some of those from other provinces—especially Tokyo—took me along with them from the beginning.

It was also these third-year students from Tokyo who taught me something else—something punishable at least by detention or, even more seriously, by expulsion from school. At night after everyone else was asleep, they took me along when they went to amuse themselves in the sleeping quarters of those on the left flank.[14] This was the most serious business in which "companions" took part.

Among the veterans who came from Tokyo was one who wasn't a "compan-

13. Both Yoshida Shōin (1830–1859) and Hirano Kuniomi (1828–1864) were activists in the movement against the Tokugawa and inspired some of the heroes of the Meiji Restoration.

14. The entering class of students was evidently grouped into thirds, starting with the tallest on the right flank. Those on the "left flank" were the smaller students. Ōsugi's place was in the right flank.

ion." This was the son of General Nogi.[15] He was the largest boy in the senior class and the worst at his studies. He had a large mouth that always seemed to be grinning.

I wasn't always engaged in the "vices of *bushidō*." I also made real progress in true *bushidō*. The head teacher, who had a bachelor's degree in letters,[16] lectured on *bushidō* in the ethics course. He said that the soul of *bushidō* was the choice of the right way to die. I was deeply impressed. I thus made a resolution that in order to fulfill *bushidō*, I would not fail to choose in advance how I would die. I began to do research on the ways in which the samurai of old had died. Whenever I found something in a book, I would copy it down verbatim. My notes eventually filled a volume of their own.

Of all those examples of death, the one that most moved me was the story of the crucifixion of Torii Suneemon in the period of the Warring States.[17] In fact, more inspiring than the story was the inscription someone had written on the picture of his crucifixion: "To die with patriotic fervor is easy—to meet death with tranquillity is difficult." I folded my arms and swore to myself, I will show them that I too can die with tranquillity.

I remember something else about the teacher I just mentioned. It concerned his explanation of the word "redress" in the Imperial Rescript on the Retrocession of the Liaodong Peninsula. I don't remember now what came before or after, but the phrase probably went something like "Nursing our grievances, we seek redress."[18] Whatever the ostensible meaning of "redress," he said that it actually meant "revenge." Even today I cannot remember what the ostensible meaning was supposed to be, so welcome did I find this real meaning.

I've forgotten what month—probably toward the beginning of the summer—there was a holiday to commemorate the capture of Pyongyang.[19] Breakfast that day was the first time I had been served what they called millet gruel. It was

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15. The father, Nogi Maresuke (1849–1912), was already a national hero for his command of the victorious infantry brigade in the Liaodong Peninsula during the Sino-Japanese War and gained further fame during the Russo-Japanese War (1904/1905) and as president of the Peers' School. By the time of this work, Nogi had become a legend for his ritual suicide at the death of his sovereign, the Meiji emperor. Presumably, this son was one of Nogi's two sons killed in the war against Russia.

16. His degree was in *bungaku*. Often translated as "literature," *bungaku* encompassed a much broader array of subjects in Japanese colleges, including philosophy and history. A bachelor's degree carried considerable prestige in the 1890s.

17. In Japan, war was endemic in the Sengoku period (mid-fifteenth to late sixteenth century).

18. Stanley's somewhat more literal and perhaps more accurate translation is "We shall endure hardship and privation and will devise our retaliation" (*Ōsugi Sakae*, 3).

19. On September 16, 1894, Japanese troops took this heavily fortified city from its Chinese defenders and achieved control of the Korean peninsula only weeks after the Sino-Japanese War began.

slightly sweet and, I thought, rather good. The side dishes were small amounts of green soybeans and tinned beef. This breakfast repast was served throughout the entire Third Division.

The officer of the day, Captain Kitagawa, whom I've also mentioned earlier,[20] spoke to us in the dining room about the story behind this repast: it was the same meal the troops had eaten in celebration on either the morning or the evening of the day Pyongyang was captured.

After we finished eating, we assembled in the lecture hall. On the front wall was hung a large map of Asia. The Liaodong Peninsula in China was colored red, the same color as Japan. All the officers and staff from the school were in attendance, and the head teacher, whom I was discussing above, gave his lecture about "redress." When the head teacher's lecture was over, we were led off to a town east of Nagoya, this time to a military cemetery. Here were the many tombstones of the teacher's comrades-in-arms and we stopped by every stone, one by one, to listen to Captain Kitagawa and the other school officers reminisce. Each concluded with the necessity of waging war on Russia, the ringleader of the Triple Intervention, to take revenge: "For the sake of the departed souls of these brave soldiers, we must take up arms and obtain revenge." We all felt our blood boil within us. . . .

Ōsugi was later expelled from military school after he and another student had fought and knifed each other.

III.

This joyful infatuation with freedom was not simply a vague instinctive goal for me alone; soon the opportunity came for me to link it with theory and extend it to society. The opportunity came quite unexpectedly.

I have already written about one episode from my memories of the period in "From Amidst the Cremated Ashes" in the volume of *The Honor of Beggars*:

> It was around May of my eighteenth year (or perhaps two or three months later). I had only recently arrived from the country and was absorbed in preparing for the school entrance examinations. I knew absolutely nothing about world affairs and at that time never gave any thought to such matters. My lodgings were in the Yarai-chō section of Ushigome. There were five or six students from W (Waseda)[21] University and one cold

20. This is the first mention of this captain's name; he apparently had divided the new students into language groups.

21. Ōsugi provided the identifications in parentheses; all the men were major figures in the left-wing movement as well as successful journalists.

evening they went rushing pell-mell out of the house. I could hear the noise of what seemed a great crowd waiting outside. I opened the sliding window to look out. At least twenty students were there, all wearing the distinctive four-cornered cap with its tassel, milling about boisterously, holding aloft paper lanterns on poles and waving them like huge banners.

"It's getting late! If we don't run all the way, we'll be late!"

"But that's better! It's too cold to walk. Besides, we'll get a lot of attention if so many of us trot through the streets."

"You're right! Let's run! Let's run!"

And they all flew off, shouting loudly to one another in high spirits.

Even now the scene floats clearly in my memory: the flickering lights in the big paper lanterns illuminating the bold letters "Y (Yanaka) VILLAGE COPPER POLLUTION PROBLEM MASS MEETING." And I can still hear their voices chanting "left right; left right" long after they were out of sight.

This incident was what first impressed on my mind the name of Y village.[22] From then I began to read with considerable care the Y (Yanaka) village articles that appeared frequently in the one newspaper I was taking at the time—the Y (*Yorozu chōhō*) *News*.

The Y village problem soon waned. As I think back on it, that was about the end of the great public commotion over it. Accordingly, my own interest in the Y village also died out for a time. But thanks to this incident I first learned the names of D (Kōtoku) and S (Sakai) of the Y (*Yorozu chōhō*) *News*, and K (Kinoshita Naoe) of the *M* (*Mainichi shinbun*) *News* and A (Abe Isoo) of W (Waseda) University. Thus I developed an interest in the numerous social issues appearing at the time in these papers; in particular the writings of S and of D were hugely appealing to me. Later at school in the spring of the following year I wrote essays with titles such as "A Discussion of the Gap Between the Rich and the Poor" and began to feel as if I too were a kind of social revolutionary. . . .

I first took the *Yorozu chōhō News* merely because it was the cheapest newspaper. Having just come from the provinces, a world preoccupied with military life, and having for years been forbidden to read newspapers, I did not know its name much less what kind of paper it was. About the only two national events in those years that I recall anything about were the marriage of the crown prince (the present emperor) and the assassination of Hoshi Tōru [1850–1901]. The

22. Yanaka was among the villages along the tributaries of the Tonegawa River where the mining operations of the Ashio Copper Company caused flooding and pollution and generated national concern in the 1890s. See Notehelfer, "Japan's First Pollution Incident."

marriage of the crown prince occurred shortly after I entered cadet school. We were taken to greet the couple at the station precincts as the two passed through on their pilgrimage to Ise Shrine. I recall that we were deeply grateful when they kindly returned our salutes. It is a sidelight, but Yamakawa Hitoshi, who was to become one of my shining mentors, was at that time already publishing a small magazine about Christianity. He made some criticism of the marriage and was sent up for something like three years and nine months on a charge of lèse-majesté.[23]

Hoshi Tōru's assassination took place the year I left cadet school. I heard about it in the schoolyard from a friend who had lived at Hoshi's as a student houseboy. . . . So by sheer chance it fell to the *Yorozu chōhō News* to take me by the hand and lead me out of blindness. Through the *Yorozu chōhō News*, for the first time I was exposed to life as it was lived in the world outside the military. It especially made me see society's unjust and immoral aspects.

To my eyes, however, this injustice and immorality reflected the simple realities of the world. They were purely abstract matters, not subjects that I could say stirred the innermost regions of my heart. Rather, what amazed me was the free and untrammeled tone of the whole newspaper. I was especially astonished by the articles signed with the name Shūsui.[24] Nothing frightened him or blocked his way. Brandishing the pen in his hand exactly as if it were the naked blade his pseudonym implied, he cut his way wherever his beliefs led him. I was absolutely awed by his merciless attacks on militarism and the military. I, born to a military family, raised among military men, given a military education, and then coming to curse the blind obedience and binding fetters of that military life, was enchanted by these qualities of Shūsui's antimilitarism. . . .

Someone else with whom I had closer contacts also helped open my eyes—a man named Sasaki who had the room next to mine at the lodging house. He was an older student, about thirty, who had graduated from Waseda two or three years earlier. . . . Sasaki had a friend named Onodera whom I knew from the French Language School. In the same advanced class as I, Onodera had also graduated from Waseda two or three years before and was now a researcher in sociology under Dr. Tatebe. He was small and, despite protruding front teeth, handsome with the air of a young court noble. One evening we were returning from class with another student named Takahashi, a captain in the transport corps. Takahashi asked Onodera what sort of thing one studied in sociology.

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23. Yamakawa Hitoshi (1880–1958) was a young socialist who in 1897 dropped out of the preparatory school for Dōshisha, a Christian school in Kyoto; moved to Tokyo; and for three years lived a student life not unlike Ōsugi's a few years later. In 1900 Yamakawa was charged with lèse-majesté for writing an article for an obscure monthly that criticized Christians who revered the imperial family.

24. The nom de plume of Kōtoku Denjirō.

Onodera answered proudly. His accent was as thick as Sasaki's, but he spoke as if delivering a lecture. "Well, let's consider the state, for example. And below you have the various institutions, you see. In sociology we investigate such thinking as how these came to be and in what manner they have developed."

"That sounds interesting," Captain Takahashi said, sounding really envious, although he was an equestrian instructor at the Army Officer School and was said to be such an accomplished rider that he could control a galloping mount with a single thread for reins.

This was the first I had ever heard of sociology or what it was about. And I joined Captain Takahashi in envying Onodera for doing such scholarship. So I asked Takahashi and Onodera to lend me some books on sociology and on psychology as a fundamental science. . . .

In addition, Onodera urged me to read a French edition of Le Bon's *Psychologie des foules*, saying it was a very interesting book. By checking the dictionary over and over again, I finally managed to finish it, though I didn't understand anything.[25]

There were no vacancies that April at the Gakushūin nor was it possible to get into the Gyōsei Middle School. Therefore I went to take the entrance examination at the only school left, the Seijō Middle School. On the application I put down French as my foreign language and the school accepted it. When the day of the examination finally came, however, they told me, "No more French students are being taken into the fifth-year class at this time." Applying there had been a waste of time.

[Since] I had no choice except to wait until September and take the English examination at some other middle school, I quickly began to study English. I had heard that you could pass the test at any school if you could read English at the level of the fourth book of the *Union Reader* series. Therefore, stopping my other studies, I started going to an English teacher in the neighborhood for lessons on the fourth book of that series. . . . After a month or two, the fourth book of the *Union Reader* ceased to cause me great problems. . . .

In addition to the rental library in Ikizaka-ue, there was another one in the vicinity of Jinbō-chō that was a favorite of mine. When I was living in a place in Yarai-chō, I started going there, browsing through the books and borrowing ones on philosophy, religion, and social problems. There were two books that I read over and over: *The New Society* by Yano Ryūkei, which I read while living in Yarai-chō, and Dr. Oka's *Lectures on the Theory of Evolution*, which I read while at Ikizaka-shita.[26]

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25. A decade later, in 1914, Ōsugi published his translations of Gustave Le Bon's works *La Naissance et l'évanouissement de la matière* and *Les Idées nouvelles sur la matière*.

26. *Shinshakai* by Yano Fumio (also known as Ryūkei [1850–1931]) was a widely read account of a socialist utopia published in 1902.

I have no memory of what impression *The New Society* made on me—possibly because I read it too early. But I can still feel the great excitement I felt while reading Professor Oka's *Lectures on the Theory of Evolution*. I seemed to be growing taller as the horizon steadily receded. The world, which until then was entirely unknown to me, was opening up before my eyes with each new page. I was too excited to enjoy Oka's book alone, and I urged, almost forced, all my friends to read it. The work awakened in me for the first time an interest in natural science. At the same time, this theory of the change and evolution of all things, calling as it did for reforms in the social system that still had great authority in my mind, made it exceptionally easy for me to join the ranks of those advocating socialism. . . .

Not long before I graduated from Junten Middle School, I began to visit Christian churches here and there. . . . I ended up attending the Hongō church of Ebina Danjō.[27] It was not only the one closest to my lodgings, but I liked his sermons best. I do not know whether I was unaware of Ebina's nationalism or whether perhaps it suited the military spirit lingering still in the back of my mind. In any case, I was completely entranced by the preacher's eloquence. His wonderful voice enthralled me whenever, pushing back his gray hair and stroking his long beard, he would thrust up his hands and raise the pitch of his voice, invoking God. And when his voice choked with tears, I joined the other believers in weeping.

The reverend often urged that we receive baptism, saying, "No, it does not matter if you do not yet understand Christianity well—no sooner will you receive baptism than you will immediately understand it well." For a rather long time I hesitated, but finally I was baptized. Thinking that I would be soaked, I had my hair cropped close before receiving the cup of water.

Christianity had considerable influence on me insofar as it encouraged the "serious and steady-going" side of my personality. But the influence did not last long. . . .

War clouds were steadily gathering between Russia and Japan about this period. A craze of patriotism swept the nation. Even the *Yorozu chōhō News*, which alone had previously maintained an attitude of calm, suddenly changed its tone. Kōtoku, Sakai, and Uchimura Kanzō [1861–1930] together published a bitter farewell message and left the paper. Then Kōtoku and Sakai founded the weekly paper *Commoners News* [*Heimin shinbun*] and began to champion the causes of socialism and pacifism.

Until then my contact with these men had been through their newspaper articles and the eloquent speeches that they made at the occasional meetings

27. Ebina Danjō (1856–1937), pastor of this Japanese Congregational church in the Hongō district of Tokyo between 1897 and 1920, was one of the most influential Christian intellectuals of his day.

in the main hall of the Hongō church. I had never met them personally. Now, however, I decided I wanted to join the ranks of the army they were raising. Kōtoku's book *The Essence of Socialism* had set my brain on fire.[28] . . .

In the Commoners Society [*Heimin sha*] were Kōtoku, Sakai, Nishikawa Kōjirō, and Ishikawa Sanshirō.[29] Of the four, only Ishikawa did not despise religion. But there were outsiders who supported the society who were enthusiastic Christians like Ishikawa: that is, Abe Isoo and Kinoshita Naoe.[30] Moreover, the majority of the youths who came were Christians. After all, Christian ideas were the most progressive in the intellectual world of the day. Or at least, Christianity contained the most numerous elements in rebellion against the ideas of loyalty and patriotism then dominant.

Kōtoku and Sakai sneered at and made scathing attacks on religion. They often brought up religious issues at the study group meetings. Nonetheless, both Kōtoku and Sakai accepted the resolution of the German Social Democratic Party, which held that religion was an individual's private concern, and they did not actually interfere with their comrades' religion.

Ishikawa was my senior at the Hongō church. About that time, however, he seemed to lose all interest in church and stopped going entirely. After I began going to the Commoners Society, under its influence I too became increasingly skeptical—first about religious people and then about religion itself. The war between Russia and Japan cleanly severed my ties with religion.

I had believed, as Ebina Danjō taught, that religion had a *cosmopolitanism* that transcended national boundaries and a *libertarianism* that recognized no temporal authority.[31] Tolstoy's views on religion, which had come into vogue in intellectual circles at the time, strengthened my beliefs on this. Moreover, after reading about the origins of Christianity in Ebina Danjō's *Life of Christ* and in *The Life of Buddha* written by a doctor of Buddhism, I had thought it was as Tolstoy had said: primitive religion—in other words, real religion—was a variety of communist movement attempting to escape the insecurity in society that stems from the gulf between the rich and the poor.

But the attitude that religious individuals took toward the war—especially the attitude of Ebina in whom I believed—thoroughly betrayed my faith. The fact that Ebina's Christianity was one of nationalism and the Japanese spirit, was now clearly exposed to my sight. He held prayer meetings for victory. He sang hymns that seemed like military songs. He gave sermons on loyalty and

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28. This work, *Shakaishugi shinzui*, was originally published in 1903 and reissued by Iwanami bunko in 1953.

29. Both Nishikawa Kōjirō (1876–1940) and Ishikawa Sanshirō (also known as Kyokuzan [1876–1956]) were important left-wing militants.

30. Abe Isoo (1865–1949) and Kinoshita Naoe (1869–1937) were prominent Christian socialists who opposed the war and influenced Ōsugi.

31. The words in italics are foreign in the original.

patriotism. And he quoted Christ completely out of context, as in "I came not to bring peace."[32]

I grew thoroughly disgusted. After several arguments with Ebina and with Katō Yokushi [Naoshi], who had translated a great many of Tolstoy's works, I turned my back on churches once and for all. Simultaneously I came to doubt the principle of nonresistance, the "turn the other cheek" that is an essential quality of religion and that I had begun unconsciously to embrace. Thus I could now embrace pure socialism and the class struggle.

When the war broke out, my father was immediately made a battalion commander in one of the mixed brigades of a reserve division and was dispatched to the Liaodong Peninsula. I went to meet him when his brigade passed through Ueno Station and stayed overnight with him at his inn.

When I saw Father on horseback directing his troops, the first time that he had cut such a heroic figure, the sight almost moved even me to tears. But there was almost something ridiculous to me about it when I thought to myself, What is the purpose [of going courageously to war]?[33] Rather than feel sorry for Father, I felt that the scene was ludicrous.

Once we entered the inn my father and the old-timers among the officers in his command went about in high spirits cheerfully telling everyone they met, "This is our last Campaign."

Father had very little to say to me that night except "Study hard." It seemed to be enough for him to have me sitting by his side and to see my face.

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At military school I had thought about the free environment of the Shibata school I knew as a child, when I used to escape the eyes of my parents and the teachers at school to pass the entire day playing at the parade grounds. Now I had gained that freedom completely. My teachers at the Tokyo Gakuin acted as if they were there simply to teach what has to be taught, unconcerned with whether the students learned or did not learn. It did not seem to matter to them whether you came in or left during the class hour, whether you napped or chatted during the class hour, or even whether you attended. At the French Language School, except for me, the students were all adults, and the teachers and pupils all interacted as if friends. In contrast to the military school, where we sat for the whole hour without moving our bodies, hands placed just so on our knees, staring unblinking at the teacher's face, this was a completely differ-

32. Matthew 10:34: "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth; I came not to send peace, but a sword."

33. The words in brackets were censored in the 1930 Kaizō edition.

ent world. My responsibility was to myself and myself only. And I became absorbed solely in the studies for which I was answerable to no one else.

[Ōsugi, *Autobiography*, trans. Marshall, pp. 50–51, 60–67, 94–100, 116–18, 121–22, 124–26]

KANEKO FUMIKO

Kaneko Fumiko (1903–1926) lived a short life exposed to personal and social violence. Born in Yokohama to unmarried parents, Kaneko lived mainly with her mother, who, at best, was barely able to provide for her and finally abandoned her more or less permanently to the grudging care of family members. Unwanted, Kaneko saw the worst of urban, and then rural, life. "Unlike the rice in prison," she was later to recall, at least "the village rice bowls did not have pebbles and worms in them." A major turn came when at age nine, Kaneko was taken by her grandmother to southern Korea, where she lived for seven years. "Carpetbagger" society both replicated and intensified the social hierarchy of the Japanese metropole, and even though her grandmother's was one of the "better" households, Kaneko was thought to lack the refinement needed for an advantageous adoption. Treated sadistically at home, she contemplated suicide but was "rescued" by the discovery (occasioned by the voices of nearby cicadas) of the great beauty of the natural world. Also in Korea, Kaneko felt herself repelled by the arrogance with which Japanese treated their Korean servants and others. The March First movement, including its violent suppression, occurred just before her return to Japan, where at age seventeen, she struck out on her own. Drawn to anarchism and nihilism, Kaneko was also on familiar terms with Korean radicals, including Pak Yeol (1902–1949), with whom the last years of her life were tightly bound. Together, Kaneko and Pak founded a group they called "The Malcontents" (consisting solely of themselves) and were arrested in the aftermath of the Great Kantō Earthquake. After years in "protective custody," they were tried and convicted on charges of having plotted to assassinate the emperor. Offered amnesty, Pak accepted, while Kaneko refused. A few months later, she hanged herself in her cell with a hemp rope that she had woven herself. The following excerpt comes from Kaneko's interrogation record and offers details about and insights into her background and the formation of her political views.

"WHAT MADE ME DO WHAT I DID?" (NANI GA WATAKUSHI O KŌ SASETA KA?)

At about this time I began to understand what society was all about and had gradually learned to perceive the social patterns present under the veil that covered them. I came to understand why a poor person like myself could not

study in school or become "great." I also began to understand just how the rich got richer and the powerful could get away with anything. I began to realize that socialism had its validity. But at the same time, I could not accept socialist thought in toto. Socialism claims that it wants to transform the society for the benefit of the oppressed, but I was not convinced that socialist measures would really bring about the happiness and well-being of the masses.

Undoubtedly, advocates of socialism will trigger social upheavals for the "sake of the masses," and the masses will probably rise in rebellion with those who act on their behalf, even put their lives on the line with them. But suppose that a social revolution did take place, what would the masses have really won? Leaders would gain power and create a new order—and the masses would be enslaved again by the powerful. So what does xx (deleted) [revolution] mean? It simply means replacing one authority with another.

For the most part, Hatsuyo held the leaders of socialist movements in contempt; at the very least, she regarded them with cool detachment. She once remarked, "I cannot embrace any idea whatsoever when it comes to human society. Rather, I believe that the most practical and most meaningful way of life consists in joining together with friends and living together in harmony." One of our friends said that such beliefs were a form of escapism. But I do not agree. I, like Hatsuyo, believe that it is impossible to change today's society into one where everyone is happy. Like her, I cannot embrace any one idealistic vision. But I do disagree with her on one point. Even if we cannot embrace any social ideals, every one of us can find some task that is truly meaningful to us. It doesn't matter whether our activities produce meaningful results or not, for the real significance of our existence consists in simply devoting ourselves to something that we believe is truly meaningful. This would enable us to bring our lives immediately into harmony with our existence. It would not be like working for some distant goal. . . .

The following excerpts are from Kaneko's interrogation on November 22, 1923.

QUESTION: Why did you embrace nihilism?

ANSWER: Because of the circumstances of my family and the ensuing social oppressions.

QUESTION: What about your family?

ANSWER: I have no family in the true sense. . . . I was abandoned by my parents and separated from my brothers and sisters. I had no family life. My birth was not recorded, so I was oppressed by the society. It is the fault of the social system. . . . [After coming to Tokyo] I read the writings of Sakai Toshihiko and socialist magazines. Observing this, my parents seemed to be concerned that I was inclining toward socialism. In about 1922 I became acquainted with a Korean, Pak Yeol,

who was unknown and propertyless. I decided to live with him and informed my parents about this. . . . After I started living with him my father wrote me a letter, in May of that year, contending that I was a descendant of a chancellor of the realm, Fujiwara-no-Fusamae [681–737], who lived over a hundred generations ago. I was besmirching this illustrious Saeki family line by living with a lowly Korean. He was disowning me, and henceforth I was not to think of him as my father, he wrote. So I was disowned by my father, who had already abandoned me. Mother too had abandoned me. . . . She even considered selling me to a whorehouse. . . . My parents bestowed no love on me, and yet sought to get whatever benefit they could out of me. Theirs is a truly selfish love, a form of greed. So I, an object of greed, fail to understand the meaning of filial piety. The so-called morality is based on the relationship between the strong and the weak. That morality is always manipulated to serve the convenience of the strong. That is, the strong insists on preserving his freedom of action while demanding the submission of the weak. From the standpoint of the weak, morality means an agreement that calls for one's submission to the strong. This moral principle is common through all ages and all societies. The primary aim of those in power is to preserve this moral principle as long as possible. The relationship between parents and children is also based on this principle. It is only coated over with the attractive-sounding term "filial piety."

QUESTION: How did you come to associate with socialists and eventually arrive at nihilism?

ANSWER: Three intellectual groups influenced me while I was peddling newspapers. . . . One was a Buddhist salvation group, the second was the Christian Salvation Army group who beat their tambourines, and the third, the long-haired socialists who cried out in desperate voices. . . . I first approached the Salvation Army group.

She then relates her experience with Saitō—earlier identified in her memoirs as Itō. She explains that she grew disillusioned with Christianity when he said he had to end his friendship with her.

What an extraordinary contradiction for a Christian to preach love on the street corner then fail to follow through on a pure, unblemished love. Christians have become fettered to the concept of God which they created. Theirs is a cowardly faith of slaves. The virtue and beauty of human beings is to live naturally, ungoverned by external forces. I decided that I could not embrace Christianity, which preaches the doctrine of life that conflicts with the ideals of beauty and virtue. So I abandoned Christianity. . . .

Kaneko was then befriended by a socialist, Hori Kiyotoshi, but she became disillusioned with him also because Hori, she claimed, was a hypocrite. He concealed his relationship with his geisha wife, fearing that it would hinder his chances of getting ahead in the world. He also made all of those under him do all the work in his printing business while he idled his time away.

I was also introduced to another socialist, Kutsumi Fusako. Her family life and principles were no different from Hori's. Kutsumi took care of her own personal needs but paid no heed to her children's needs. She would find some excuse to go out with a young man and stay out all day long. I heard her remark that all she had to do was to get on the platform and make a speech about socialism and say "The present society must be destroyed" to get the police to intervene. The next day the papers would report that Kutsumi Fusako made an extremist speech, and so the police prevented her from speaking. I got disgusted with the widespread desire among the socialists to get their names in the papers. At this time, Kutsumi had no money even to buy food, so she pawned my clothes. She then let the redemption period expire and allowed the pawnshop to sell them without my permission. I am not complaining about losing my clothes, though she knew that I needed them because winter had come. She showed no sense of responsibility. I detested her attitude, a socialist who gives no thought to other people's needs and thinks only of feeding herself.

I had imagined that socialists were people who rose above the meaningless customs and morality of the society. I envisioned them to be courageous fighters with no interests in so-called fame and honor and social reputation. I thought they were warriors fighting to destroy the perverted society of today and striving to create an ideal society. However, even though they denounce the irrational and hypocritical aspects of the society and pretend that they are indifferent to social criticisms and to fame and reputation, they in fact are governed by and are concerned about the standards of the mundane society. They seek to adorn themselves with conventional ornaments and take upon themselves conventional values. Just as generals take pride in the medals on their chests, socialists covet records of arrests in order to earn their bread. They take pride in this. When I realized this fact I gave up on them.

I also came to be appalled at the somnolence of the peasants, who are mired in pain but feel no pain, and the ignorance of the workers, who work diligently while they are being devoured to their bones. If the chains that bind them are removed, they are likely to go to the wielders of political and economic power with their chains and beg them to chain them up again. Perhaps they will be happier if they are allowed just to sleep in ignorance. So I got disgusted at all currents of thought and from the spring of 1922 tightly embraced the nihilistic beliefs I hold today.

As for the significance of my nihilism . . . in a word, it is the foundation of my thoughts. The goal of my activities is the destruction of all living things. I

feel boundless anger against parental authority, which crushed me under the high-sounding name of parental love, and against state and social authority, which abused me in the name of universal love.

Having observed the social reality that all living things on earth are incessantly engaged in a struggle for survival, that they kill each other to survive, I concluded that if there is an absolute, universal law on earth, it is the reality that the strong eat the weak. This, I believe, is the law and truth of the universe. Now that I have seen the truth about the struggle for survival and the fact that the strong win and the weak lose, I cannot join the ranks of the idealists and adopt an optimistic mode of thinking which dreams of the construction of a society that is without authority and control. As long as all living things do not disappear from the earth, the power relations based on this principle [of the strong crushing the weak] will persist. Because the wielders of power continue to defend their authority in the usual manner and oppress the weak—and because my past existence has been a story of oppression by all sources of authority—I decided to deny the rights of all authority, rebel against them, and stake not only my own life but that of all humanity in this endeavor.

For this reason I planned eventually to throw a bomb and accept the termination of my life. I did not care whether this act would touch off a revolution or not. I am perfectly content to satisfy my own desires. I do not wish to help create a new society based on a new authority in a different form.

During the course of the interrogation, Kaneko candidly revealed her opinion about the emperor system.

We have been taught that the emperor is a descendant of the gods. . . . But I am convinced that the story of the three sacred treasures[34] is simply a myth plucked out of thin air. If the emperor were a god, then his soldiers would not die. Why were tens of thousands of royal subjects killed by the Great Earthquake in his immediate presence? We have in our midst someone who is supposed to be a living god, one who is omnipotent and omniscient, an emperor who is supposed to realize the will of the gods. Yet his children are crying because of hunger, suffocating to death in the coal mines, and being crushed to death by factory machines. Why is this so? Because, in truth, the emperor is a mere human being. We wanted to show the people that the emperor is an ordinary human being just like us. So we thought of throwing a bomb at him to show that he too will die like any other human being.

We have been taught that the Japanese national polity consists of an unbroken lineage of the imperial family throughout the ages. But the imperial ge-

34. The three sacred treasures are the sword, the mirror, and the jewel, which came down from the age of the gods as emblems of imperial authority.

nealogy is really fuzzy. And even if the genealogy is unbroken through the ages, it signifies nothing. It is nothing to be proud of. Rather, it is shameful that the Japanese people have been so ignorant as to acquiesce in having babies foisted upon them as emperors.

Under the emperor system, education, laws, moral principles were all devised to protect the imperial authority. The notion that the emperor is sacred and august is a fantasy. The people have been led to believe that the emperor and the crown prince represent authorities that are sacred and inviolate. But they are simply vacuous puppets. The concepts of loyalty to the emperor and love of nation are simply rhetorical notions that are being manipulated by the tiny group of the privileged classes to fulfill their own greed and interests.

[Hane, ed. and trans., *Reflections on the Way to the Gallows*, pp. 111, 119–20, 124]

MARXISM

Marxism was introduced to Japan in the late 1890s, but it took the Russian Revolution, the rice riots of 1918, and related labor strikes to confirm the validity of conflict-centered notions of social progress, providing the impetus for a prolonged struggle between the anarchosyndicalist and Marxist elements of the Japanese socialist movement. While the reasons for the ultimate dominance of Marxism over the Japanese social movement are complex and in no small measure contingent, as a mode of thought anarchism lacked both the capacity to analyze historical structures and an "authorized" canon for the dissemination and popularization of its ideas. Precisely this was to be found in Marxism, which was able to establish itself as a synonym for social science, transcending its role as the ideology of a harried revolutionary movement. Numerous young academics also headed for Weimar Germany, to study directly the original texts and interact with German (and German-speaking) Marxists who represented the entire spectrum of positions within the tradition, from positivist to revisionist to Hegelian. Regardless of the variant, Marxism was "the very first *Weltanschauung* in modern Japan which compelled one intellectually to explicate the transformation of social systems in a total and coherent fashion."[35] Each strength in Marxism, however, brought with it a corresponding flaw. Its systematic character could degenerate into dogmatism; its putative universality recalled its foreign origin (and confirmed Japan's position as a historically backward "object" of knowledge); and its critical modus operandi often provoked infighting and organizational fragmentation.

35. Maruyama, "Kindai Nihon no chishikijin," pp. 107–8.

THE DEBATE ABOUT JAPANESE CAPITALISM

As a social science, Marxism's chief contribution took the form of the "debate about Japanese capitalism" that ran from the late 1920s to the mid-1930s. Occasioned by political disagreements over revolutionary goals and strategy, its task was the historical characterization of the developmental process of Japanese capitalism and the modern state. The so-called Lectures Faction (Kōza-ha), following the position of the Comintern's 1927 and 1932 Theses on Japan, focused its analyses on the entrenched and powerful "feudal" forces controlling the absolutist imperial regime. Japanese capitalism was "special," a kind of hybrid. Bourgeois political institutions were immature or malformed, and the entire state apparatus was supported by a vast base of semifeudal production relations among the peasantry that had been little affected by the political events of 1868. The task of social science, therefore, was to clarify the obstacles to completing the democratic revolution as the necessary first step in a two-stage drive toward socialism. The dissident Labor-Farmer Faction (Rōnō-ha), while cognizant of time lags vis-à-vis the West, took a more conjunctural view, regarding Japan as one of a number of imperialist finance capitalisms. This meant, as a corollary, that before the Restoration, Japan's agrarian economy had already developed production relations characteristic of incipient bourgeois domination. The Meiji Restoration was Japan's bourgeois revolution; "vestiges" of feudalism, while still powerful, were incidental and would be swept away in a socialist revolution.

KAWAKAMI HAJIME

Kawakami Hajime (1879–1946), a gifted journalist, poet, and university professor, was one of the most effective intellectual Marxist spokesmen between the two world wars. His eventful life was marked by three major climaxes, each summed up in a poem. The first was written at the age of twenty-seven when Kawakami, deeply influenced by his reading of the New Testament and Leo Tolstoy's *My Religion*, joined the Unselfish Love movement, a communalist, social service organization founded by a former priest of the True Pure Land sect of Buddhism. In so doing, Kawakami gave up his teaching position at Tokyo Imperial University, stopped writing for newspapers, left his wife and child, and sold everything he owned except a copy of the Bible and the poems of Shimazaki Tōson. The "thoroughgoingness" that he later identified as perhaps his most characteristic trait led him in this case to renounce everything that did not benefit others, including sleep. Death, the natural consequence of this, he was determined to prepare himself for. It was in the midst of this spiritual crisis that he wrote the following poem:

To Unselfish Love I have resolved to give my life
And yet each day bestows new life on me.

Within a few months Kawakami, abandoned both this experiment and the Unselfish Love movement, but briefly took up the study and practice of Zen Buddhism. Eventually he returned to journalism and teaching, advancing rapidly in his academic career at Kyoto Imperial University and becoming a leading writer on economic questions. In his study of Western economic theories, he encountered Marxism, of which he quickly made himself one of the earliest and most authoritative interpreters. After the Russian Revolution, however, younger men newly returned from the headquarters of world Communism subjected him to severe censure for his views. Even though one of these critics was one of his former students, Kawakami humbly accepted correction and resolved to start anew in his study of Marxism. At this point, he wrote:

Without shaking off
The dust of the last journey,
I must set out again on a new road.

This further study led Kawakami to fully embrace Communism. At that time, however, the government was taking stronger measures against the Communists, and his position as professor at an imperial university became untenable. After his resignation in 1928, he found himself drawn more and more into what was called the "actual movement" (i.e., mass political action). This would have been difficult enough for an intellectual quite unused to the hurly-burly of mass movements, but to make it worse, the hazards of open political activity were increasing. Nonetheless, Kawakami felt keenly the need to prove that he was no mere "academician." Like Yoshida Shōin, who had come from the same province of Yamaguchi and had been Kawakami's hero and guiding star in his youth, he set out on the road to possible martyrdom, leaving his protesting wife in tears. After a period of open activity within the Communist-backed New Labor-Farmer Party, for which he ran as a candidate in one election, he was eventually forced underground. Shortly thereafter, he finally gained formal admission to the Communist Party, an event that moved him deeply:

Here standing at my destination and looking backward—
How far I have traveled across the rivers and mountains.

After his imprisonment in 1933, Kawakami's estimation of his capacities for the political struggle changed. When he finally was released in 1937, he was a broken man and died in 1946 after years of deprivation and malnutrition. Yet during World War II, he voiced his faith in the future of Communism in characteristically religious terms: "Now, as I spend my remaining years in the midst

of World War II and watch things develop, I firmly believe in and eagerly await the advent of the communist society, in which everyone's daily conduct will accord with [the teaching]: 'Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn thou not away.'"[36]

A LETTER FROM PRISON

I went to Tokyo to study at the age of twenty, after graduating from Yamaguchi High School. I had read the *Analects* of Confucius and Mencius but had never laid hands on either the Buddhist scriptures or the Bible. The latter I read for the first time after going to Tokyo. But the moment I came across the passage "Whoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain. Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away" [Matthew 5:39–42], it had a most decisive effect on my life. This was something beyond all reasoning. My soul cried out from within itself, "That's right. It must be so." Of course, I was unable truly to put this teaching into practice, but every time something came up, these words stimulated me, encouraged me, and drove me on to "extraordinary" actions. Thus the direction of my life was set toward a concern for others as well as for myself.

Two incidents took place before I moved from Tokyo to Kyoto. One was that I went and heard some speeches appealing for aid for the victims of copper poisoning at the Ashio Mine[37] and donated the scarf and overcoat I was wearing. Furthermore, after going home, I packed up everything except what I had on and turned it over to them. Hearing that many people were on the verge of death from cold and disease in the affected area and being urged to give anything I could spare, even old stockings, I was deeply moved and felt as if I were going to the rescue of somebody on the point of drowning. I thought I had done something good. But later I was scolded severely by my mother and suffered from a tremendous mental dilemma. It was quite natural that she should become angry, because she was supporting me without even having enough for herself to wear. And I freely gave away to others the things she had sent me at such great sacrifice to herself. This happened a little before I graduated from college.

The second incident was my joining the Unselfish Love movement. This was two years after my graduation and while Kishiko[38] was still in her mother's womb. Unselfish Love was a movement propagated at that time by Mr. Itō

36. Kawakami, *Jijoden*, October 28, 1942, p. 157.

37. Pollution from the Ashio copper mine affected farms nearby and became a big social and political issue at the time (1907).

38. Reference to his first daughter.

Shōshin. (He is still engaged in a movement bearing the same name, but over the years it seems to have undergone a change in its content.) I joined the movement, giving up my teaching position and everything. After joining, I found out that the movement was a little different from what I had imagined it to be from the words "unselfish love," but I followed his theory and engaged in a sort of religious movement for a while. It was about this time that I made up my mind not to sleep at all and consequently prepared for imminent death. It was an occasion when "death had to be faced squarely." Ever since, I believe, thanks to that ordeal I attained a great flexibility in life. . . .

[Kawakami, *Jijoden*, vol. 5, pp. 36–38; HK]

CONCERNING MARXISM

The following excerpts are from Kawakami Hajime's *Prison Ramblings* (*Gokuchū zeigo*), written shortly before and revised just after his release from prison in 1937. More of a personal testament than a theoretical discourse, it describes his basic faith in Marxism as the scientific solution to the problems of world depression and world war. Although Kawakami deprecated the value of anything written under the conditions of his confinement, prison memoirs like these were very popular reading after World War II and moved many people who would have been untouched by theoretical works to sympathize with Kawakami's cause.

The ruling classes in the various capitalist countries of today feel that Communism, which is trying to take the place of capitalism, is their greatest menace, and they fear and hate it more than anything else. As a consequence, in capitalistic countries at the present time such a thing as the free study of Communism is unthinkable. Night and day, the spurs are applied to conscious and unconscious counter propaganda designed to slander Communism and Marxism, while all refutations, arguments, and propaganda from the Marxist side that might oppose this are prohibited. Even now, therefore, it is extremely difficult for ordinary people in society—those who are said to enjoy "liberty"—to obtain the books and materials with which to understand Marxism adequately, and they can hardly hope to do so without resorting to illegal methods (such as secretly obtaining books whose importation or publication is prohibited). [pp. 26–28]

In our country, thought-criminals—and not only a small number of leaders but those of all degrees—have come to express a change in their thinking while imprisoned. It seems to me this may have become a sort of trend. In my view, this phenomenon has two meanings.

In one sense, it is proof that—as I have pointed out before—present-day

Japanese prisons provide as many instruments as possible to make people think Marxism is mistaken.

In another sense, it is powerful evidence as to how many among the elements that have devoted themselves to the Communist movement go no deeper than the superficial aspects of it and only echo the views of others. [The reasons for this are] (1) the development of capitalism in Japan has been slower than in western European countries; (2) on the occasion of the Meiji Restoration the bourgeois democratic revolution was not thoroughgoing and left feudal remnants in varying degrees; police restrictions on freedom of discussion and the like persisted throughout and were very cruel; (3) even though the movement for Communist organization in Japan is young (capitalism entered a period of general crisis only after World War I), its growth has been ceaselessly trampled on from the beginning. Hampered by these circumstances, Communist education in Japan has been woefully incomplete. . . . The fact that thought-criminals—who are sometimes called "criminals by conviction"—necessarily lack firm convictions in Japan is certainly rooted in peculiarly Japanese conditions, but these peculiarities are not of the sort spoken of as the "Japanese spirit," or as a "national polity without parallel in the world," but are peculiarities because of the development of Japanese capitalism and hence of the Japanese Communist movement. [pp. 30–32]

Again and again Communists are arrested and accused of being "disloyal to the nation." That this is a simple misconception, however, is made perfectly clear if we take just one glance at actual conditions in the Soviet Union. . . . Detailed figures for economic conditions in the Soviet Union are published annually. If studied carefully, they indicate the following: (1) there is no longer a single unemployed person in the Soviet Union; (2) national income and the wage fund are increasing by a certain percentage each year; (3) some of this revenue comes from the annual increase of treasury expenditures for educational, health, and recreational facilities for the masses; (4) consequently, the standard of living of the masses is rapidly improving; (5) in order to make all this possible the productivity of labor (amount of production per worker), which is the "basic motive force of history," is truly developing rapidly; and (6) in this respect Japan, whose stagnation ranks with that of Hungary, Poland, and Romania, is in a diametrically opposite condition. All this proves beyond doubt that my conjectures while in prison were in no way mistaken.

Reconsidering the question, then, we may well ask: Do such great advances in the fortunes of the Soviet Union and the unusual rise in the standard of living of its people indicate that the Russian Communists have been disloyal to their nation or betrayers of their country? . . .

Since leaving prison, every time I have heard of political conditions in Japan—particularly when I heard of the outbreak of the February 26 [1936] incident—I have realized that the contradictions inherent in Japanese capitalism

are becoming progressively more and more violent. Everything has happened just as we scientifically predicted it would; nothing domestic or foreign has gone contrary to our expectations. How can one say that our thinking is mistaken. [pp. 47, 53–55]

One thing I must say is that the danger of a world war is increasing day by day. The prelude to a world war has already begun; the smell of gunpowder permeates both East and West, and the fire is waiting for some opportunity to break out suddenly and spread over the whole world. Even the most ignorant person must be aware of all this. (This spring—the sixth since the outbreak of the Manchurian incident—there was a special ceremony at the Yasukuni Shrine. I heard on that occasion that from January to December last year [1936] the number of dead commemorated in the Yasukuni Shrine increased by one thousand several hundred. We must realize that it is not only in Spain that war is going on.)

Yet who is it that has proved scientifically that a world war is inevitable? Who has a scientific grasp of the basic causes of it? Who has a scientific faith that they can be eradicated?

It is none other than the Marxists—the Communists. . . . If we reflect on the extraordinary advancement in weapons since the last world war—especially of air forces—the coming second world war, with the misery it will bring to humanity, is truly a cause for alarm. In point of war dead alone, it will probably exceed by thousands upon thousands the dead of the first world war. Every time I think of it, while it engraves on my heart the chaos of the world, I also feel painfully that the responsibility Marxism has taught us to bear is indeed heavy.

Why is this?

Because only the Marxists know the real reasons why world war is inevitable; only the Marxists have the real method that the world offers us for eradicating it and, seeing their duty in regard to this method, fight for it. . . .

Our faith is such that even though we should be imprisoned for a number of years, it would be possible to direct anew the attention of some dedicated men—themselves ready to undergo the same hardships—to the truth of Marxism. If we think of this, we can discover the full meaning of daily life, and there will be no real hardship. Since it is to save the hundreds of thousands and millions of lives that would be sacrificed in world wars breaking out among the nations every twenty or thirty years, the jeopardizing of one's own life need hardly be considered. [pp. 56–60]

[Kawakami, *Gokuchū zeigo*, pp. 26–60; HK]

YAMADA MORITARŌ

Yamada Moritarō's *Analysis of Japanese Capitalism* (*Nihon shihon-shugi bunseki*, 1934) is generally regarded as the highest theoretical achievement of Kōza-

ha Marxism, which, supporting the Communist Party line, saw Japan as being in a semifeudal phase, still in need of bourgeois democratic revolution and thus not yet ready for a proletarian revolution. Yamada (1897–1980) was an economist trained at Tokyo Imperial University, where he also taught. Arrested twice—in 1930 and 1936—Yamada was a contributor to the seven-volume *Nihon shihon-shugi hattatsushi kōza* (*Lectures on the Development of Japanese Capitalism*), the monumental compendium of lectures (sometimes heavily censored) about Japan's capitalist development that had been edited by Noro Eitarō. Yamada's notoriously difficult style and strategic use of neologisms was a challenge to his many readers, but his influence may also have been a source of anxiety for his theoretical opponents in the Rōnō-ha, such as Sakisaka Itsurō, who argued that Japan had already entered a bourgeois stage and that the forthcoming revolution would be a proletarian one to establish socialism. Sakisaka made frequent and sarcastic references to the scriptural status attained by Yamada's work. The famous preface outlines the framework of comparative absolutism within which Yamada's analysis is set. Whatever its flaws, Yamada's *Analysis* was a key text in the "invention" of the tradition of Japanese backwardness, among the longest-standing and (whether or not factually adequate) productive ideas in the history of modern Japanese social thought.

ANALYSIS OF JAPANESE CAPITALISM (*NIHON SHIHON-SHUGI BUNSEKI*)

This work attempts to analyze the foundations of Japanese capitalism. Its chief task, using this analysis of fundamentals, is to make clear the basic structure—that is, contradictions (*taikō*)—and prospect of Japanese capitalism. I view this task as understanding the reproduction process in Japanese capitalism; I hope, that is, to have concretized the reproduction schema in Japanese capitalism. In this sense, the current study is linked to my earlier work, *Saiseisan katei: Hyōshiki bunseki joron* [*The Reproduction Process: A Schematic and Analytical Preface*, 1931].

Significant attention is given in this work to specifying the process by which industrial capitalism was established. This was a process of roughly the years between the mid-1890s and mid-1900s, that is, a process carried out during just that period marked by the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars; as a result of which the militaristic, semi-serf-like character of Japanese-style capitalism was finally determined. In the particular context of Japanese capitalism, this process was simultaneously one of imperialist transformation and the assumption [by capital] of the configuration of finance capital as well: these are the features specifically defining the process. The process by which industrial capitalism was established in Japan, its elaboration on the basis of the Meiji Restoration reforms, decisively marks the appearance of "Japanese-type" capitalism.

Let us try to compare it with capitalism in other nations. To English capitalism, with its modern large-scale system of landholding. From its basis in the Great Revolution of 1648 [Glorious Revolution of 1688] against the absolutism that had developed since the late fifteenth century, [English capitalism] ultimately took its classic form following the period of manufacture proper (late sixteenth through the last third of the eighteenth century), especially in the Industrial Revolution. To French capitalism, which preserved relations of a petty landholding peasantry: from its basis in the Revolution of 1789 against the *absolutisme* that emerged beginning in the early seventeenth century, it took on its final configuration, following the July Revolution (1830) and February Revolution of 1848, particularly under the form of Bonapartism during the years between 1851 and 1870. To German capitalism, with its domination by the Junker economy and petty landholding peasantry: on the basis of the beginnings of a bourgeois revolution-from-above (1808–1813) carried out under conditions of *Absolutismus* and under the compulsion of Napoleonic control, it assumed its configuration under the sham constitutionalism (1848–1866) and pseudo-Bonapartism (1870–) that followed on the old-line "provincial and Prussian" March Revolution of 1848. To "militaristic and feudal" Imperial Russian capitalism, with its Junker-style economy and *otrabotki* system[39]—that is, debt serfdom. Russia had been forced by defeat in the Crimean War (1845–1856)—in which Russian *absolyutizm*, dominant since the late seventeenth century, fought against advanced capitalist powers of England and France—to emancipate its serfs. After having been elaborated on this basis, [Russian capitalism] took form under the peculiar post-1905 revolutionary condition of "Agrarian Bonapartism" (with Stolypin's 1906 reforms as a keynote), to be abandoned in the second and third revolutions of 1917. Or separately, to American capitalism, with its "purely Russian" system of labor servitude and large-scale capitalist agriculture: this system took shape following the declaration of independence in 1776, in resistance to the British policy of primitive accumulation—that is, colonial control—and the proclamation in 1863 of an end to the system of slave trading and breeding (slaves numbered 697,000 in 1790; approximately 4 million in 1861). Against these various configurations, the characteristics of Japan's special, inverted capitalism stemming from its world-historically low position—those characteristics being a semi-serf system of petty agriculture founded on labor servitude-labor rent, semi-serf-like rule of an in-kind payment of land tax and a general tendency toward debt serfdom—have their basis in the Restoration reforms of 1868. These were undertaken because of the pressure exerted by the advanced capitalist countries on the despotic Tokugawa system that had been in place since the early seventeenth century and assumed condensed

39. Yamada's term for the *otrabotki* system is *koeki seido*; for debt serfdom (Russ. *kabalá*), it is *saimu nōdotai*.

structural (categorical, organizational) form in the process of defining industrial capitalism. That Japanese capitalism represents a departure, or deviation, from a [generalized] structural grasp should be clear in view of the points just enumerated. Hence the strong emphasis placed on the fact here.

Nor is this all. It is only through a structural (categorical, organizational) grasp of the configuration set on its way to establishing industrial capitalism that the structural (categorical, organizational) changes during the postwar [World War I] general crisis can be grasped rationally. Thus, by understanding the formative process of industrial capitalism, it becomes possible to understand not only the imperialist transformation and the formation of finance capital that were determined simultaneously with it; it allows us to grasp the primitive accumulation and industrial revolution that were its forerunners, as well as the general crisis (structural transformation) that has succeeded it. In this way, an understanding of the entire life of Japanese capitalism is put on a rational basis. Through this understanding, which takes the establishment of industrial capitalism as its keynote and extends from primitive accumulation to the formation of industrial capitalism itself—that is, imperialist transformation and formation of finance capital—through to the general crisis, we gain for the first time a foundation for criticizing the various errors and delusions concerning the developmental forms of Japanese capitalism and their respective epochs.

Indeed, this work finds, in specifying the formation of industrial capitalism, the key [to the whole problem]. Just as for the theory of reproduction, "simple reproduction" forms the basis of analysis, and just as in agricultural problems, examination of the category of the "peasant" (*shōnō*) provides the key to resolving the entire problem. The "pattern of economic relations" (*die Gliederung der ökonomischen Verhältnisse*) in Japan's militaristic, semifeudal capitalism is revealed through the structural (categorical, organizational) grasp of the configuration set in operation by the formation of industrial capitalism. Here we are provided with the basis for grasping the distinct process of reproduction in Japan's special capitalism. This viewpoint contains a criticism of distortions of the reproduction theory itself, as well as of its mistaken applications to Japanese capitalism. This is the standpoint taken in the present work.

[Yamada, *Nihon shihon-shugi bunseki*, pp. 7–10; AB]

UNO KŌZŌ

Uno Kōzō (1897–1977) is perhaps the only Marxist economist in Japan to have achieved international recognition. Working in considerable isolation, Uno developed a three-level system for analyzing capitalist political economy, made up of "basic principles" of pure capitalism, "stage theory" (mercantilist, liberal, and imperialist), and "analysis of current conditions." Uno's notion of pure capitalism stresses its implacable character as a self-activating, self-perpetuating

force; it is a virtual demiurge. Criticized as quietist and even reactionary, Uno countered that only the unfettered scientific exposition of capitalism's basic principles at work would enable the abolition of the "commodification of labor power" that formed its essence. His portrayal of pure capitalism and his anti-Stalinist political stance brought Uno considerable academic influence as well as popularity in the student left of the 1960s. The selection translated here offers a crisp summation of Uno's understanding of capitalism and shows something of his wit and supple intellect.

THE ESSENCE OF CAPITAL (SHIHONRON *NO KAKUSHIN*)

By the essence of *Capital*, I mean of course what, having learned it from [Marx's] *Capital*, I consider that essence to be. Not everyone will agree. And actually, rather than being the essence of *Capital*, it's no more than the essence of capitalism itself as I have learned from *Capital*.

Quite some time ago (and circumstances being what they were I can't speak to its accuracy), a colleague of mine in my days at Sendai,[40] a specialist in Japanese religious history, once told me this story: how the venerable Hōnen, having read the entire Tripitaka for the fourth or fifth time, hit upon the invocation of Amida Buddha—"Namu Amida Butsu," or "Hail to thee, Amitabha Buddha." Although I personally have no sense of the preciousness of invoking the name, the fact that out of this enormous text, Hōnen found its heart in these six characters struck me as interesting, and I've never forgotten it. Not that I regard *Capital* as a sutra, to be chanted as my morning devotion. The first time I read *Capital* was also the only time I read it from beginning to end, slogging through and with little understanding of what I read. But since then, from time to time as occasion arose, I've reread it, eventually going through it entirely a number of times and discovering its essence in the notion of the "commodification of labor power." And this has been the central consideration of everything—books, essays—that I've published since the war ended.

Those who have read *Capital* hardly need to be told that capitalism first arose on the basis of the "commodification of labor power" and was then established through a process of constant repetition. But treating commodification as pivotal to the theory not only of accumulation (this goes without saying) but [also] of value and crisis has at times led to a logical development at odds with that of *Capital*. . . . For example, if we account for all the phenomena of imperialism according to the theory of *Capital*, we may be able to know that imperialism is also [a form of] capitalism, but this doesn't necessarily mean

40. Sendai is the location of Tōhoku Imperial University, where Uno taught economics from 1924 to 1938.

that we will have clarified what imperialism is in itself. This is what I call a formalistic approach; it is just the same as trying to get by with imperialism in analyzing the contemporary world economy. . . .

It was with this purpose in mind that I set about systematizing *Capital* for myself with the "commodification of labor power" as its crux. . . . There are those, however, who consider "commodification of labor power" too simple a category, while others see it as overly specific. It seems to have been a common feeling among critics of my work "On Crises" that a complex phenomenon cannot be explained in such simple terms. As far as my work "On Value" is concerned, it appears to have been thought that labor power is a peculiar commodity and that to derive from it the substance of value of commodities in general is to take an overly narrow approach. These objections, it seems to me, forget that as a commodity, labor power is not a specific commodity such as wheat or iron nor one that, as with money, is capable merely of purchasing all such commodities; but as one capable of producing these is, rather, a completely special commodity. The contradiction within the commodity between value and use-value does not stop with its actual solution through commodity circulation by means of money; rather, because through the production of commodities by commodities, use value produces value, this contradiction may be termed the foundation for the movement of commodity economy in toto. As a corollary, while for all commodities other than labor power, demand and supply can be adjusted by means of capital, only with labor power as a commodity must demand and supply be adjusted within certain fixed limits for capital. For capitalism, this is simultaneously its indispensable, fundamental condition and its basic weakness. I consider it quite natural to regard this as the essence of capitalism, and therefore also the essence of *Capital* itself.

[Shihonron *no kakushin*, vol. 4 of *Uno Kōzō chosakusū*, pp. 32–34; AB]

MARXIST CULTURAL CRITICISM

Beyond the analysis of capitalist development, Japanese Marxists engaged in a range of cultural phenomena, from writing poetry and literary criticism to engaging in philosophical and scientific debate; this was in keeping with the "totality" of the Marxist Weltanschauung. For committed Communists, partisanship (as an expression of proletarian consciousness) was of course expected, but even in these circles, debates raged over the extent to which autonomous artistic values should be recognized. Bad art, some contended, was ineffective art; the same was said about science. These arguments, perhaps by nature, could not be resolved a priori but had to be left to the judgment of actual practice. In any event, from the 1920s until the beginning of total war with China in 1937—and as the political atmosphere grew steadily more repressive—"cultural" work continued. And as openly political practice became unsustainable, inter-

ventions in the realm of art, culture, and philosophy came to be defined *as* practice, subject to all the polemics and debates that inevitably accompanied party activity. The following selections illustrate these developments in two areas, philosophical critique and the composition of poetry.

TOSAKA JUN

Tosaka Jun (1900–1945) was born in Tokyo but entered Kyoto Imperial University, intent on a career as a physicist. He was attracted, however, to the philosophy of Nishida Kitarō (1870–1945) and Tanabe Hajime (1885–1962)—the so-called Kyoto school—and graduated from that faculty in 1924. After a year of military service, Tosaka began a teaching career and by the late 1920s was drawn from neo-Kantianism to Marxism, his concerns shifting from scientific methodology to issues of "worldviews" and ideology. A cofounder of the Society for the Study of Materialism, Tosaka tried to make it a vehicle for resistance to militarism and irrationalism. Dismissed from his teaching position in 1934 for "seditious thought," Tosaka threw himself into his movement work but was arrested under the Peace Preservation Law in 1938. He died in Nagano Prison on the day the United States dropped an atomic bomb on Nagasaki. The excerpt translated here is taken from one of his most famous works, *The Japanese Ideology* (*Nihon ideorogī ron*, 1935), a wide-ranging critique and polemic directed at the major intellectual tendencies then being mobilized in support of fascism; here the target is "Japanism."

THE JAPANESE IDEOLOGY (*NIHON IDEOROGĪ RON*)

Japanese Spirituality, Japanese Physiocracy, and Japanese Asianism

It seems as if some kind of incoherent emotion, variously termed Japanism, Orientalism, and Asianism, is dominating the present-day life of Japan. Moreover, the social activity backed by this emotion is plainly visible everywhere. That kind of social activity is also reported in the world in detail as if it had some especially significant meaning. . . .

For us to be good critics, Japanism, Orientalism, Asianism—even though they have no inherent capacity for intellectual development—must become objects of our criticism. We shall see that these concepts strike poses as if they were full of meaning; in actuality, however, when we try to probe their content, they turn out to be mere cant. Not limited to Japan but in present-day international society as well, it is an extremely unpleasant but important duty for us to expose the posturing of this rampant and ugly tragicomedy of concepts.

However, as to the power of the kind of ultranationalism (or, to explain it

more graphically, this kind of expansionistic ultranationalism) that goes by these names, this is not the first time it is flourishing in Japan. This ideology, which traces back to the Native Studies [National Learning] movement of the later Tokugawa period, first prominently resurfaced during the first three decades of the Meiji period in the form of a countermovement to "Europeanization-ism." In its next phase, it took the form of a startling new growth as reactionary ideology against the early proletarian movement that had arisen as a prominent movement of the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars. In a third stage, it developed very strongly but in a more subtle fashion as a reaction against the Taishō democratic movement that arose at the time of the Great War [World War I]. This entire reactionary legacy has now merged with the crisis of Japanese capitalism as one aspect of a worldwide crisis of capitalism; and, together with the shrill trumpet blasts of the Manchurian incident and the Shanghai incident, is now nothing other than a movement the effects of which are reverberating in every village and hamlet of the nation. If we trace the history of this movement in this way, the dominance of ultranationalism is something that necessarily betrays its own inner essence. Universally, this is the destiny of reactionary ideology.

However, it is certainly a phenomenon of the last two or three years that Japanism, Orientalism, and Asianism, as well as other "Nippon" ideologies (when one reads it *Nihon*, it is classified as dangerous thought) have been produced in great quantities and have begun to penetrate even into the world of free expression, literature, and science. These ideologies have developed in tandem with the establishment of Hitler's dictatorship in Germany, the ultranationalistic movement in Austria and Mussolini's actions against Austria, the unprecedented control of national production under Roosevelt in America, and then the establishment of Manchukuo [Manchuria] by Japan and the imposition of its puppet emperor (in 1931), as well as with various other strongly nationalistic movements that never cease to sprout in our own beloved great Japanese empire. Only by taking its place under the umbrella of this international situation has Japan been able to emerge as a fanatically ultranationalistic state of its own. Of course, to place our august ultranationalistic movement alongside of this international array may not be approved by some Japanese ultranationalists—who want to maintain that Japanism, in contradistinction to the ultranationalism of the West, is not fascistic—but the facts are the facts, and they do not occur only to please a few people.

In society at large one hears it said that present-day Japan is at a total impasse. . . . For the Japanists of Japan, it matters little what they say theoretically to explain the objective causes of events. If only the explanation enters easily into the common man's ears, it is enough for their purposes. For example, they emphasize that this impasse arises from the fact the "people do not grasp the essence of the Japanese spirit" (according to Takasu Yoshijirō, "Constitutive Elements of the Japanese Spirit," *Keizai ōrai* [*Economic Affairs*], March

1934). . . . This is analogous, they say, to why in China, because there was nobody who clearly grasped the essence of the Chinese spirit the problems of Chinese Communism and the Shanghai riots arose there.

What, then, is the essence of this Japanese spirit? According to Takasu, the constitutive elements of the Japanese spirit consist of such things as that it is "life-creationistic," "centered and unwavering," "excels in cohesion and harmony," "takes as its principle positively to progress and expand," "has the character of clarity," "places emphasis on practice and actualization of the Way"—all the best of things that can possibly be imagined! But while these are all good in themselves, are they not a bit weird in this context? To say that the Japanese spirit is life-creationistic gives us no clue as to what is being stipulated. If we take the example of a philosophy, Bergson's metaphysics is unquestionably worthy of this term. As for its being "centered and unwavering," this is the political sense of the English spirit. As for its spirit of "cohesion and harmony," such things as German scholarly works are even more exemplary. As for "positively to progress and expand" and for "clarity," these are best exemplified by American shipbuilding design and by the "Yankee Girl" [reference to unknown translators]. And needless to say, is not the emphasis on practice and actualization of the Way more appropriately referring to the Soviet Union? If the Japanese spirit is composed merely of these foreign spiritual elements, the situation is unbearably regrettable indeed.

Takasu, in order to put a final touch to his pretty picture, promotes a "self-consciousness of the Japanese national polity." It is indeed regrettable that he did not bring forward this reference to the Japanese polity first. However, whether it is national polity or whatever other card he intends to play, let us not be coerced to adopt this self-consciousness or be manipulated by such underhanded tricks. For a true self-consciousness of Japan's national polity can only be achieved by a scientific cognition of the true history of Japan. And as for the likes of Takasu and other Japanists, what special historical "Japanistic" methodology do they employ? It is their duty to clarify this point to the public and to the world without further subterfuge.

Moreover, I do not understand from what motive Itō Shōshin, the devout believer in "selfless love," wrote his essay "The Essence of the Japanese Spirit" (in the journal *Rhetoric*). When we look at the problem of how the Japanese spirit belongs to a particular "self" known as Japan and then try to connect Itō's selfless love and this love of Japan itself, then the answer that Itō gives is that it is of the nature of the Japanese spirit "truly to love the nation of Japan, and by way of fusing nationalism and internationalism, it is the living spirit, both individually and nationally, that wholeheartedly strives to develop Japan into a truly fine country of the world." Just as he himself says, it is not a way to be trodden only by us Japanese, but for Americans as Americans, for Russians as Russians, it is a universal way to be practiced. Of course, if one speaks from the standpoint of "selfless love," one must naturally speak in this manner. However,

what need was there, from the standpoint of selfless love, deliberately to take up the theme of the Japanese spirit? This is precisely the point we do not understand. Is perhaps the hidden reason that, upon the dawn of Japan having subdued the world, the Japanese spirit will turn out to be equivalent to that selfless love? . . .

The words of Yasuoka Masahiro of the Kinkei gakuin seems to give us another kind of hint about the cognition of Japanese history. He writes: "The true realm of the spirit of the Japanese race is expressed sublimely in the three imperial regalia: it shines with the light of wisdom that radiates from the heart of the pure and bright mirror; it courageously brandishes the sword of righteousness; and possesses virtue like the carved jewel; in sum, it consists in the effort to unite the gods and men and to take the world of the ten directions into one's entire being." (*A Study of the Japanese Spirit*). I appreciate how this psychological description is extremely eloquent (and, consequently, abstract) and therefore why this form of Japanism is so readily congenial to the ultranationalistic new bureaucrats. To reduce the reality of history in this old-fashioned ideological rhetoric can be thought actually to reflect the mythic spirit of the ancient Japanese race. But because this is not history and is nothing more than moral didacticism in elegant writing, it is regrettable that even as moral didacticism and beautiful prose it is extremely primitive.

Actually, because this childish literature is not different from a moral law, it is indeed mythology. According to Yasuoka, the three imperial regalia symbolize wisdom, virtue, and courage; the land of Japan is not merely a natural geographical site, but because it is viewed as the "Great Eight Islands" that are born "from the eyes of the gods who give birth to lands," it evokes an explanation of a kind wherein "the emperor and the Japanese race" stand in a relation "of elder and younger brother." In this way Yasuoka's method of historical cognition of the Japanese spirit is nothing other than a mythic method, and it is to be received as something in which the Japanese spirit must eternally remain at a mythic stage. Thus, the Japanese spirit does not advance or develop; it stands firm as something that is the enemy of progress and development.

In the above articulation I have tried to approximate the opinions of people who are devotees of the Japanese spirit. But at least in what I have understood up to now, I venture to conclude that there is no Japanese spirit but, rather, a "Japanese spirituality" that in its theoretical substance is extremely jejune and confused. Thus as to the problem of the Japanese, no answer appears to be forthcoming from the various forms of "Japanese spirituality." Despite the facts that a Research Institute for National Spirit and Culture has been established under the auspices of the Ministry of Education, that there is a magazine called *The Japanese Spirit and Culture*, and that there is a Society for the Japanese Spirit which publishes an organ called *The Japanese Spirit*, the understanding of the Japanese spirit on the basis of Japanese spirituality, at least for the present, must be viewed as a bankrupt enterprise. This Japanese spirituality seems to

come down to what the Germans call *Bauchredner* [ventriloquism]—"all fluff and no stuff." . . .

Speaking therefore both from the side of the philosophy of Japanese spirituality and from the philosophy of Japanese agricultural populism, the special character of Japan appears to reside in the claim that Japan is spiritually superior to other nations and people. Perhaps all forms of Japanism may be reduced to this fundamental tenet of Japanese spirituality. Still, what sort of thing the Japanese spirit is and how it is supposed to be the superior essence of Japan have not, in my mind, been given a rational and scientific explanation. This, too, is understandable, for in essence even the Japanese spirit—or what Japan is in itself—is not, according to Japanism's own insistence, an explainable object; indeed, when closely scrutinized, it is nothing other than a method and a principle employed in explaining everything rather arbitrarily.

However, arbitrarily bringing forth the single concrete geographical, historical, and social existence in the universe called Japan and letting it become a kind of philosophical principle is, in essence, something very weird when considered from the standpoint of common sense. Indeed, if this were a philosophy termed "Venus-ism" or "Daffodil-ism," no one would ever take it seriously from the beginning.

But the problem is that at the same time that it can be thought that Japanism has no rational or scientific content whatsoever, one is able arbitrarily to read into it any content whatsoever.

[Dilworth and Viglielmo, eds., *Sourcebook for Modern Japanese Philosophy*, pp. 348–57]

NAKANO SHIGEHARU

Nakano Shigeharu (1902–1979) was a novelist, poet, critic, and Communist activist. As a student, Nakano was active in the Shinjinkai; as a budding poet, he was a disciple of Murō (Muroo) Saisei (1889–1962), and his talent was recognized by Akutagawa Ryūnosuke (1892–1927). After the mid-1920s, Nakano gave his energies to the proletarian literature movement, contributing poetry, novels, and theoretical criticism and serving in organizational roles. As a Marxist, Nakano was clearly affected by the ideas of Fukumoto Kazuo (1894–1983), the Communist leader whose emphasis on the need for theoretical purity within the party was compellingly attractive to the left-wing intelligentsia. Translating this understanding into poetic terms was a challenge to which even an artist of Nakano's talent was not always equal. In one sense, Nakano's verse was most effective when it offered a critique of urban consumer culture rather than strictly proletarian themes; yet the party to which Nakano gave his allegiance maintained that "semifeudal" production relations and an absolutist regime were the dominant features of Japanese society. Nakano cannot be said to have

resolved this ambiguity, but there is no question that it stimulated the writing of superb poetry. During the war, Nakano produced a renowned study of the poet Saitō Mokichi (1882–1953). After 1945, he resumed his activism, but his relations with the party were rocky. Nakano also produced a number of widely read autobiographical writings.

FAREWELL BEFORE DAYBREAK

We must to our work
For that we must have consultation
But when we consult
Policemen come and beat on eyes and noses
So we changed to the second floor
Thinking of the alley and the sneak-out back

Six youths are sleeping here
Below one pair of married couple and one baby sleep
I do not know the past lives of these youths
I only know that they are joined with me
I do not know the couple's name below
I only know they happily lent us the second floor

Daybreak will come presently
I suppose we'll have to move again
Clutching onto satchels
We shall have our detailed meeting
Steady steady we will heft our work
Tomorrow night no doubt we'll sleep on different borrowed bedding

Daybreak will come presently
This four and half mat room here
These diapers hanging on the cord here
This sooty naked light bulb here
The celluloid toys here
Borrowed bedding here
Fleas here
I say good-bye to you
To make the flowers bloom
Our flowers
The flowers of the couple below
The flowers of the baby
To make all those flowers furiously bloom at all one time

IMPERIAL HOTEL

I

This is the West
The dogs use English

This is the proper West
The dogs invite me to the Russian Opera

This is the West A Western Exposition
The Japanese marketplace for kimono and shop-worn curios

And this is a prison
The guard jangles his keys

This is a dreary, damp, dank prison
Neither the prisoners nor the wardens trade word with a soul

And the prisoners are called by number
And the guards stand in the exits/the entranceways

And then this is a cheap dive
The old fat guy is roaring drunk

And also this is a cheap whorehouse
The women walk naked

And this is a hole
Black and fetid

II

A large hole
A large whorehouse
A large saloon
A large dampish prison
A big and seedy sample Japanese marketplace
Undestroyed even by the earthquake
In the center of Tokyo
Over our heads
Squats, letting loose a stench

THE RATE OF EXCHANGE

If Japan is
That different from all the countries of the world
Even if Nihonjin
Is read as NIPPONJIN The sound sounds good
If we're that different from all the foreigners in the world
Tell me how you tell yourself apart

If one yen is not two marks
And it happens that it's not a half a mark
If on the whole the yen is not a mark and not a pound or a ruble or any of these things
What is this darned thing called one yen

I know The professors taught me
Said some long ago know-nothing barbarian uncivilized folks
Used some sort of clamshells for their cash
And now even the professors
Don't even know how many yen's a shell

On the front the chrysanthemum's 16 petals
On the back rippling waves and cherry blossom flowers
This is then my own 10 sen
And thrown into the bargain a hole like they didn't used to have

And by the way why do the mails
If all foreigners are unrefined
Putting on the front of their coins kings and presidents and sickles and hammers
Arrive at these far destinations
Why do "cheap and quality Japanese goods"
Have their way in foreign markets?
Soon all sorts of geniuses
Trying to make theory from all this
Will be suffering for sure
But that is fruitless effort
They've got to learn the exchange rate
And I for one Even if you don't know
I know the international clamshell exchange

[Silverberg, *Changing Song*, pp. 204–5]

THE *TENKŌ* PHENOMENON

Although they were criticized from numerous points of view, Marxist ideas conditioned the entire history of social thought in Japan. But as a political movement, Japanese Marxism "failed" doubly: in the attempt both to discover empirically and to actualize politically a social logic of revolution—that is, a theory of inevitable revolution stemming from the internal processes of Japanese society. Part of this failure stems from the fact that until 1945 Marxists were among the primary victims of political persecution. Indeed, the legitimacy of the Communist Party after 1945 stemmed from its claim to have resisted longer than any other organization had. At the same time, it is a fact that the majority of party members, to say nothing of their many sympathizers and others of varied leftist inclinations, performed what is termed *tenkō*: an ideological reversal, renouncing the left and (in many but not all cases) embracing the "national community." *Tenkō* was performed especially under duress, most often in police custody, and was a condition for release (although surveillance and harassment would continue in any case). But it was also a broader phenomenon, a kind of cultural reorientation in the face of national crisis, that did not always involve direct repression. For decades, the term served both narrowly as a moral litmus test in evaluating the careers of intellectuals active before and after the war and more broadly as a metaphor for the collective experience of an entire generation of Japanese. One of the most spectacular and consequential instances of *tenkō* came in June 1933, when Sano Manabu (1892–1953) and Nabeyama Sadachika (1901–1979), top figures in the Communist Party leadership, renounced their allegiance to the Comintern and the policy of violent revolution, embracing instead a Japan-specific mode of revolutionary change under imperial auspices, in reaction to the Soviet Union's use of the Comintern for its own power purposes against Germany and Japan. Their proclamation was followed by a wave of defections by the party rank and file and essentially signaled the demise of the party organization, except in exile.

LETTER TO OUR FELLOW DEFENDANTS (KYŌDŌ HIKOKU DŌSHI NI TSUGURU SHO)

For four years now, we have been shut away in prison, and under the conditions that have been imposed on us, we have both continued to struggle with all our might and, at the risk of many discomforts and dangers, directed our attention to the general situation in the world outside. But recently we have found that there is much to ponder deeply concerning the destiny of the Japanese people and its relationship to that of the working class, as also to the relationship between the vanguard of the Japanese proletariat and the Comintern. At the end of our long meditations, we find ourselves at a point that we have resolved

to make important changes in our previous opinions and with respect to our previous actions.

Japan at present faces unheard of difficulties abroad, and unprecedented major changes are bearing down on it. In the face of a domestic and international situation filled with both war and reforms at home, all classes and factions are busy with preparations and countermeasures aimed at resolving the issues at hand. At this time, the Communist Party of Japan, which bears responsibility as the vanguard of the working class, is revealing numerous deficiencies. The foundations of the party have expanded dramatically in both fact and potential, but the social composition of the party's membership, the party's structure, and its activities are turning into the political instruments of the radical petite bourgeoisie. The party has been unable to guide the outrage of the masses in response to the economic panic of recent years and the decay of the capitalistic structure that this has exposed. The party's formalistic policies in response to the Manchurian incident and the succession of war conditions that have followed have failed completely, and its antiwar struggle is limited to a display of demagogic articles in the *China News* (*Shina shinbun*) and the Comintern's agitational literature. The party has been unable either to exercise leadership in important strikes or to provide guidance in the ever more serious struggle of the farmers. At one point in time, the Communist Party of Japan issued calls for armed demonstrations and in fact even organized them, though on a small scale. This was a decisive error; even so, it was grounded in the conviction of mass support and was an expression of the notion of plunging directly into the masses. By comparison, the facts of last year-end appear as nothing but a collection of the bad elements of Blanquism, even seeming to indicate a decaying trend that bears no connection with the proletariat. Viewed objectively, one cannot say that the party itself is a party of the working class. We believe that from our prison cell we should be silent on most matters. Also, we know full well that individual party members are serious and working gallantly, that the struggle is extremely agonizing and serious, and that growing tension in general conditions is working in our favor.

And yet, can one declare that the party is following its proper course of development as an organization, as a whole, and as the unified force of the proletarian vanguard? There have been frequent instances in the past of the intelligentsia, which, as the leading elements of the petite bourgeoisie does not participate directly in society's production system, treating the working class as a stepping-stone in seeking to give full play to its own will. Now, however, they are taking advantage of the weakness and fissures within the Communist Party produced by its ongoing oppression, entering the party through these gaps, and trying to treat the vanguard of the progressive elements within the working class as its stepping-stone as well. Of course, individual comrades probably could not even dream of committing such an outrage, but the matter of a class's pursuing its own goals determined independently of the will of individual persons is the

same even when it's the petite bourgeoisie involved. Pursuing its own self-determined interests is the same even if it's the petite bourgeoisie involved. This is the reason why the direction of the party is being twisted, regardless of the ardor and bravery of the sincere comrades who refuse to bow to oppression. Even if the party is lauded by journalists, it is becoming removed from the concerns of those who matter—the working classes. Indispensable proletarian self-criticism has been abandoned. And the pure-hearted youthful comrades and worker members are not being trained amid mass struggle. We cannot but feel immense regret over the present situation. Of course, its root cause does not lie in the personal qualities and capabilities of the party's leadership of recent times. We fully believe that under the given conditions, most were persons of the greatest honesty and excellence. Nevertheless, the fundamental problem is that the party is unable to unite as the vanguard of the proletariat. As a result of our careful deliberations, we have realized that one of the fundamental causes that made the present situation inevitable is to be found in the politics and organizational principles of the Comintern, in which we had placed our unlimited trust. . . .

We acknowledged the need to turn criticism on the Comintern itself, an organization that has until now been accorded the highest authority. We believe that in recent years the Comintern has become conspicuously sectarian and bureaucratized. To an unacceptable extreme it has become the organ of one country, the Soviet Union. It has lost the spirit of strict unity among the proletarian vanguard required under the twenty-one articles of admission. In every country, we find that it is ingratiating itself with the petite bourgeoisie and exhibiting the worst inflammatory tendencies. With regard to the Communist Party of Japan, the Comintern has preferred to welcome petite bourgeoisie who hold forth on revolution more than workers with moral backbone. . . . The Comintern's theoretical criticisms regarding the international crisis of recent years and the ever more acute conditions that have obtained in its wake are extremely sharp as a matter of course and merit attention; however, under the circumstances the Comintern has exposed its almost complete inability as an international revolutionary organization to lead the practical struggle of workers in all countries.

These workers are engaged in a struggle with capitalism in each of their countries that has virtually no connection with either the Comintern or its local branches. The Comintern's branches are spread throughout the world, but they have not developed in a way that matches their words. Some examples are in order. Why is it that the Communist Party of Germany, one of the Comintern's major branches, was unable to offer opposition of any sort before the Hitlerian reaction? What is the reason for the weakness of the Spanish party, which for two years now has actually been in the midst of a revolution, and for the irresponsibility of the Comintern in having nothing to offer but repeated scoldings and criticisms? The Chinese Communist Party is strong because it is based in

the mass movement of a soviet area, not because it is a branch of the Comintern. . . . We understand that the Soviet Union's extraordinary development and the international situation made it inevitable that the Comintern would tend to be used as an instrument for the pursuit of Soviet policies. But this tendency has become extreme in recent years. It certainly is not right for the development of the worldwide labor movement that the single phrase "Protect the Soviet Union" should have been turned into the supreme and sole slogan for the Communist Party in every country and that the interests of the working class in all countries should also be called upon to be sacrificed for this purpose. In fact, we can see that the Communist Party of Japan is more significant as a defender of the Soviet Union or as its official public relations organization than as a party whose goal is to liberate the working class. . . . Over the past eleven years, we have entrusted the Comintern with all our joys and sorrows. Now, however, resolving to submit ourselves to all manner of reproach, and for the reasons expounded in this declaration, we urge that Japan's left labor movement, whether the party or unions, resolutely divest itself of all connections with the Comintern. It must adapt to the social changes bearing down upon us and radically reorganize itself on the basis of new standards. . . .

Without conducting fundamental research into what makes Japan unique, the Comintern adapted the experience of the class struggle in Europe and especially of the Russian Revolution and transposed it to the Japanese reality. This tendency is something we have long noted, but in the new theses on the Japan problem that were announced in May of last year it has reached its apex.

Recent world facts (including Soviet Union socialism) are instructive for us. Rather than depending on formalistic internationalism, the realization of world socialism will come by following the path to the construction of socialism in one country that conforms with the special conditions of each country and to which the working class, representing the vitality of that nation, is devoted. The Comintern's political principle, which pits nation (*minzoku*) against class, is an abstraction particularly ill suited to Japan, where the firmness of national unity is a prime characteristic of the society. The process by which the most advanced class represents the development of a people holds especially true for Japan. Not to fear even the sacrifice of one's own country to the goal of achieving world revolution is the culmination of Comintern-style internationalism; we ourselves served this goal. However, now that we have awakened to Japan's superlative conditions, we are determined that we will not offer the Japanese revolution as a sacrifice to anyone, no matter whom. It is not that we are rejecting internationalism among the world proletariat. However, the even higher internationalism of the future is likely to be built out of the efforts to construct single-country socialism in crucial sites across the world.

However, there is nothing so natural or necessary as that Japan's workers should think chiefly of Japan. From ancient times to the modern day, the fact that the Japanese people have progressed through the developmental stages of

human society properly, completely, and without interruption from foreign enemies, is evidence of the extraordinarily strong internal developmental capacities of our people. Also, it is exceedingly significant that the Japanese people have not even once had the experience of being the slaves of another; instead they experienced always a free and independent mode of life. The extraordinarily sturdy sense of national fellowship and unity fostered by this experience is internally linked with the experience of a way of life ordered by the state. The process by which there have been several alternations of class forces over the course of history, is remarkably different from the primitive, hopeless, and cruel process of class warfare such as one sees in countries that have been controlled by people of a different nationality, economically exploited or politically oppressed. It is these experiences that have accumulated over history, together with the developed culture of the present day, that will allow the working class—which is the representative class of the new age—to open the road to socialism in a manner that is Japanese, creative, unique, and moreover extremely orderly. . . .

The Communist Party of Japan has adopted a slogan calling for the abolition of the monarchy in accordance with the directions of the Comintern. One of the main ideas of the aforementioned theses, taking matters another step forward, is to make the absurd provision that the antimonarchical struggle is the prime mission of the class struggle in present conditions. The Comintern sees monarchism in Japan as identical with czarism in Russia, and it imposes the struggle that took place as is on the Japanese branch. . . . As a political slogan, the party repeats "overthrow the emperor system" as if it were chanting the name of the Amida Buddha. . . . The fact that the workers' class struggle has been simplified into this single task, and it is then imagined that the job is done is either due to political incompetence, or—to put it more concretely—because nothing is being done. The campaign in which the party is involved stirs up a futile and idealist liberal excitement among the radical petite bourgeoisie while at the same time, on the other hand, it is placing itself in a situation in which it is harder and harder to get close to the lives and feelings of the workers. . . .

The social sentiments that place the imperial household at the core of national unity lie deep in the hearts of the working masses. We need to get a grasp of this feeling as it really is. Furthermore, Japan's monarch differs from the czar of imperial Russia or the kaiser of imperial Germany. The fact that since the Meiji Restoration, the monarch has stood in the forefront of progress means that for neither the bourgeoisie nor the proletariat has the antimonarchical struggle been turned into a live issue. . . . While the working classes instinctively desire the transformation of the capitalistic structure out of their class-based living circumstances, they will have no part of a simplistic program of overthrowing the monarchy that merely replicates that of liberalism or Russian anticzarism. . . .

Along with the antimonarchy struggle, another major problem that the Comintern has imposed on the Communist Party of Japan is opposition to war, and defeatism in particular. Here too, we see an extremely pronounced petite bourgeois quality. . . . The petite bourgeois antiwar arguments that oppose war in general as well as pacifism are not attitudes that we should take up. Whether we participate in or oppose a war is a decision to be made on the basis of whether or not that war is progressive. The war against China's Nationalist clique, objectively, has a progressive significance. Under the current international situation, should there be a war with the United States it could rapidly change from being a mutual war among imperialists to a war of national liberation for the Japanese side. Furthermore, a world war in the Pacific could be turned into a progressive war in world historical terms that would liberate working masses of undeveloped Asia from the clutches of Western capital. . . . We reject the attempt by Japan's bourgeoisie to turn Japan into Asia's permanent military police and, together with Western capital, to exploit the peoples of Asia. At the same time, we insist that it is harmful to Japan's working class to have the Comintern blindly and recklessly impose a policy of defeatism on the Communist Party of Japan out of consideration for Soviet interests of the moment. There is no need whatsoever to surrender to the Chinese military clique or to the United States.

We must be loyal to the national consciousness that the masses demonstrate instinctively. It's not a matter of chauvinism stirring up the masses of the working class. Rather, it is that resolving not to lose the war that is coming unavoidably upon them, they have determined inevitably to unite it with domestic reform. To dispense of this issue by saying that the masses' consciousness is lagging is not just an insult to the masses but also tantamount to spitting at Heaven. . . .

We wish to point out that the official policy of separation of colonial peoples into nation-states that the Comintern demands of our party is not inappropriate for Japan. . . . We reject the capitalistic exploitation and oppression of the peoples of Korea and Taiwan as, above all, the greatest insult to the Japanese people themselves. We fight for completely equal rights for the Korean and Taiwanese peoples. However, the concrete expression of such equal rights will not take the form of a perfunctory separation into nation-states. It is far more realistic and in accord with world history that the working masses of each people, who have drawn closer to one another economically, culturally, and historically, should as a single great nation; and fusing together as a people (*jinmin*) and as a class, make the effort to build socialism. The joint mission of the worker masses in Japan, Korea, and Taiwan, who live together under a tightly knit and unified economic system, is to turn this state into a state of the workers themselves through their struggle with the exploiters. If the peoples of Japan, Taiwan, and Korea mechanically break up into nations in accordance with the

principle of self-determination as the Comintern hopes, it would end with the establishment of a clique of reactionary small countries under the control of the old bourgeoisie just as before.

We believe it is only a matter of time before our comrades in the government of the Chinese soviet and China's Communist Party arrive at the same opinion as ours concerning the Comintern's sectarianism, bureaucratization, and trend toward becoming the instrument of the Soviet Union only. The Comintern probably will collapse totally with the outbreak of a world war. The Communist Party in all countries includes the most active members of the proletariat; in these parties there probably are many people who do not interpret the connection between revolution and war negatively in the way that the Comintern does at present and will try to resolve problems through actively taking part in war. For the past eleven years, we were trained under the banner of the Comintern, and we fought for it and its allies with all our might. Now, after having reached a point of so many irreconcilable differences, we manfully leave that camp and take a new road. . . .

There are many things we should say about protecting the interests of the workers (the seven-hour workday, etc.) in the face of exploitation by capital and the various problems of the agricultural revolution (such as the elimination of parasitic land ownership, etc.). However, because we don't see the need to change our basic attitude with respect to these matters, we will move on. Also, there has not been the slightest change in our certainty regarding the leadership role of the vanguard of the working class and the need to unite it. . . . We have faith in the possibility that an independent, unified force of the proletarian vanguard that includes those of Japan, Korea, Taiwan, and Manchuria can come into being. . . .

Japan's working class cannot play its given role unless it wins over the petite bourgeois working masses that won't be able to exploit others, but it is only after the leadership status of the working class has been assured, then the petite bourgeois workers will be able to be that ally. . . .

We have denounced the Comintern, the party, and the radical petite bourgeoisie. While bearing the pain manfully, we acknowledge this as a form of painful self-criticism. . . . We bear a strong joint responsibility for the deficiencies and inconsistencies that are clearly displayed by the Comintern today. There are many things that we have said here that go beyond mere words and have not exhausted our intent. However, it is a huge effort for us to get just these few words out of prison. If we could, we would offer even more detailed opinions. However, while incomplete, we believe that even just what we have said here has allowed us to present the core of the problem. . . . We also fully understand how inappropriate it is to announce opinions such as these from prison, but we would not be doing our duty if we were to stay silent any longer. While our opinions may appear diametrically opposed to our previous views, they are nothing other than their free internal development. People may criti-

cize us, agree with us, or flog us as traitors—let them. We hold to the certainty that our point of view represents the opinion of the self-conscious elements of Japan's proletariat as expressed through our voices. There is not the slightest change in our basic attitude of dedicating ourselves wholeheartedly to the working class; it remains the same as before. And there would be no change whether we end our days here in prison or spend them with pride as the vanguard of the proletariat. We urge that anyone with a sincere interest in Japan's labor movement direct serious attention to the problems we have presented here.

June 8, 1933 Ichigaya Prison

[Sano and Nabeyama, "Kyōdō hikoku dōshi ni tsuguru sho," pp. 191–99; AB, Carl Freire]

Chapter 44

THE RISE OF REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM

The Meiji period was marked by the rapid growth of Japanese nationalism. In the 1870s, except for the literate samurai, most Japanese were still not aware of and largely indifferent to national affairs. But by the end of the nineteenth century, the Japanese demonstrated striking national unity and determination on matters of national and international concern.

This consciousness of belonging and participating on the part of the Japanese people was the product of many things. Mass education, which made Japan the first literate nation in Asia, made it possible to activate the populace by means of the press. Conscription broadened the horizons of peasant youths who served in various parts of the country that they otherwise would not have seen. Industrial developments that unified the country through better communications brought foreign goods and ideas to all the coastal population centers. The centralization policies of the Meiji government standardized administration throughout the country and weakened the force of particularist customs and dialects. The growing scope of constitutional government increased the responsibilities and interests of community leaders. And Japan's successful wars were both the products and the causes of bursts of national self-confidence. The victory over China in 1895, followed quickly by the refusal of Germany, France, and Russia to allow Japan to occupy the Kwantung Peninsula in Manchuria, and the victory over Russia in 1905, followed by the annexation of Korea in 1910, provided proof of Japanese accomplishment together with evidence of

further problems and responsibilities that would require still greater national determination and effort.

Together with the growth of Japanese nationalism—a growth not unlike the development of nationalism in the nineteenth-century West—came the growth of extremist ultranationalism. The ultranationalists feared that Japan was becoming too "Western," and they appealed to ancient and feudal traditions in fighting for their cause. The ultranationalists maintained consistent pressure on their government and countrymen for expansion abroad and orthodoxy at home.

The ultranationalists were indignant because of injustices, real and fancied, that the West had inflicted on Japan. In later years, Western criticism of Japanese imperial aspirations and Western restrictions on Japanese immigration and trade served to convince them of continued oppression and interference. The ultranationalists also were resentful of what they considered an excessive influx of Western ideas and institutions into modern Japan. At all times, they were sharply critical of those Japanese who were infatuated with Western ways of doing things, and they insisted on a priority for Japanese ideas and institutions that culminated in the person and symbol of the emperor. And since the ideas and institutions of Japan were superior to those of the West and since the West was constantly threatening to envelop Japan and the rest of Asia into its economic and ideological embrace, the ultranationalists were convinced that it was Japan's mission to lead and protect Asia. They were critical of their government when it seemed to neglect opportunities for such leadership, and they cooperated with it when it proved alive to its mission. Thus the mainstream of the ultranationalists' movement was vigorously xenophobic, emperor centered, and Asia conscious.

It would be an oversimplification, however, to imagine this mainstream as a consistent and distinct group at all times. There was a large area of agreement between the ultranationalists and others who were less willing to resort to extremist measures. Internally, the ultranationalist movement represented a complicated picture of personal and regional cliques whose standards and objectives shifted frequently in response to the dictates of opportunism.

In terms of social thought and political influence at home, the Japanese ultranationalists attained their true significance only in the twentieth century. Until World War I, their chief efforts were expended on behalf of a vigorous foreign policy. Although the themes and emphases of agitation shifted, for a long time the leaders of twentieth-century extremist organizations were related to those of the patriotic societies formed early in the Meiji period.

JAPAN AND ASIA

In 1881 a group of disgruntled former samurai of Fukuoka formed the Genyōsha. They took this name from the Genkainada, the body of water lying between Fukuoka and the Asian mainland, and in so doing they signified their deter-

mination to work for a vigorous policy of expansion in Asia. Tōyama Mitsuru (1855–1944) and the other leaders of his organization were alarmed by the extent of social and ideological change that had followed the overthrow of the feudal regime, and they were indignant because of the treatment given the warrior class. They considered themselves high-minded idealists like the samurai of Restoration days, and they were able to attract youthful activists prepared to show, by deeds of individual heroism and violence, their sincerity in opposing the "Western" policies of the Meiji government. One of their members, who very nearly succeeded in assassinating Foreign Minister Ōkuma Shigenobu in 1889, was thereafter honored by an annual ceremony of rededication. New deeds of valor, as when a Foreign Ministry official was murdered in 1913, drew new recruits for the cause of "Japanism."

At first, the Genyōsha members cooperated with the liberal parliamentarians, but they soon saw that the interests of expansionist groups in the military and business worlds lay closer to their own. They harbored and helped revolutionaries and reformers from Korea and China who sought asylum in Japan, and they encouraged their friends' trips to the mainland for commerce and espionage. They did their best to speed the war with China, which came in 1894, and thereafter they turned to the problem of Russia.

In 1901 the Genyōsha leaders formed the Amur Society (Kokuryūkai, literally, Black Dragon Society). Tōyama and his friends threatened government leaders who sought agreement with Russia; they sponsored trips into Siberia and Korea and the study of Russian; and they helped establish liaisons with Manchurian bandit groups for the coming war.

Yet despite their idealism, their denunciation of the government, and their opposition to the corrupting influence of money and big business on the national morality, the patriotic society leaders did not hesitate to accept financial help from interested individuals in the Westernized industrial world whose influence they professedly sought to curb. They received support from some sectors of the business world, from secret army funds, and at times from other government agencies. In addition, they were involved in many questionable transactions on the borderline between legitimate business and labor racketeering. The ultranationalist groups were not secret societies, for they made every attempt to gain full publicity to exaggerate their influence. Neither were they mass societies; they preferred to remain small elite groups clustered around charismatic leaders.

After the defeat of Russia, most of Japan's overseas aspirations seemed satisfied. But this did not mean that the ultranationalists lacked material for indignation and agitation; domestic issues now came to the fore. After World War I, a larger and more restless proletariat worried some of them, and in the countryside, resentful tenant farmers, unable to maintain the standard of living they had achieved during the war, grew mutinous. Patterns of familial obligation and imperial loyalty seemed endangered by social reformism, internationalism,

democracy, and Communism. Moreover, Japan's post-Meiji governments, dominated by big business, showed a willingness to enter into international agreements for naval limitation, and they also tried to ward off Chinese nationalist agitation through a milder policy on the mainland. In the meantime, restrictions on Japanese trade and immigration increased. By the end of the 1920s, the world depression and the resulting distress in Japan provided ultranationalists with persuasive arguments against the business leaders and their moderation in foreign policy.

The patriotic societies thus turned to fight subversion at home. At the same time, they kept alive—and elaborated on—their exploits of the past in order to re-create the sense of urgency and of destiny that had been theirs in the Meiji period.

AN ANNIVERSARY STATEMENT BY THE AMUR SOCIETY

In 1930, for its thirtieth anniversary, the Amur Society (Kokuryūkai) prepared the two-volume *Secret History of the Annexation of Korea*, which stressed the society's prominent part in that achievement. To this history was added a history of the society's past activities and an explanation of its future intentions. Note especially in the following excerpt its proud claims to have assisted nationalist and independence groups in the Philippines, China, and Korea, with no sense of incongruity in subsequent references to the annexation of Korea and Formosa (Taiwan).

Today our empire has entered a critical period in which great zeal is required on the part of the entire nation. From the first, we members of the Amur Society have worked in accordance with the imperial mission for overseas expansion to solve our overpopulation; at the same time, we have sought to give support and encouragement to the peoples of East Asia. Thus we have tried to spread humanity and righteousness throughout the world by having the imperial purpose extended to neighboring nations.

Earlier, in order to achieve these principles, we organized the Heavenly Blessing Heroes in Korea in 1894 and helped the Tong Hak rebellion there in order to speed the settlement of the dispute between Japan and China. In 1899 we helped [Emilio] Aguinaldo in his struggle for independence for the Philippines. In 1900 we worked with other comrades in helping Sun Yat-sen start the fires of revolution in South China. In 1901 we organized this society and became exponents of the punishment of Russia, and thereafter we devoted ourselves to the annexation of Korea while continuing to support the revolutionary movement in China. At all times we have consistently centered our efforts on solving problems of foreign relations, and we have not spared ourselves in this cause.

During this period we have seen the fulfillment of our national power in

the decisive victories in the two major wars against China and Russia, the annexation of Korea, the acquisition of Formosa and Sakhalin, and the expulsion of Germany from the Shantung Peninsula. Japan's status among the empires of the world has risen until today it ranks as one of the three great powers, and from this eminence it can support other Asiatic nations. While these achievements were, of course, attributable to the august virtue of the great Meiji emperor, we cannot help but believe that our own efforts, however slight, also bore good fruit.

However, in viewing recent international affairs, it would seem that the foundation established by the great Meiji emperor is rapidly deteriorating. The disposition of the gains of the war with Germany was left to foreign powers, and the government, disregarding the needs of national defense, submitted to unfair demands to limit our naval power. Moreover, the failure of our China policy made the Chinese more and more contemptuous of us, so much so that they have been brought to demand the surrender of our essential defense lines in Manchuria and Mongolia. Furthermore, in countries like the United States and Australia, our immigrants have been deprived of rights that were acquired only after long years of struggle, and we now face a high-handed anti-Japanese expulsion movement that knows no bounds. Men of purpose and of humanity who are at all concerned for their country cannot fail to be upset by the situation.

When we turn our attention to domestic affairs, we feel more than deep concern. There is a great slackening of discipline and order. Men's hearts are become corrupt. Look around you! Are not the various government measures and establishments a conglomeration of all sorts of evils and abuses? The laws are confusing, and evil grows apace. The people are overwhelmed by heavy taxes; the confusion in the business world has complicated the livelihood of the people; the growth of dangerous thought threatens social order; and our national polity, which has endured for three thousand years, is in danger. This is a critical time for our national destiny; was there ever a more crucial day? What else can we call this time if it is not to be termed decisive?

And yet, in spite of this, our government, instead of pursuing a farsighted policy, casts about for temporary measures. The opposition party simply struggles for political power without any notion of saving our country from this crisis. And even the press, which should devote itself to its duty of guiding and leading society, is the same. For the most part it swims with the current, bows to vulgar opinions, and is chiefly engrossed in moneymaking. Alas! Our empire moves ever closer to the rocks that lie before us. Yet the captains and navigators are men of this sort! Truly, is this not the moment for us to become aroused?

Our determination to rise to save the day is the inescapable consequence of this state of affairs. Previously our duty lay in the field of foreign affairs, but when we see internal affairs in disorder, how can we succeed abroad? Therefore we of the Amur Society have determined to widen the scope of our activity. Hereafter, besides our interest in foreign affairs, we will give unselfish criticism

of internal politics and of social problems, and we will seek to guide public opinion into proper channels. Thereby we will, through positive action, continue in the tradition of our past. We will establish a firm basis for our organization's policy, and through cooperation with other groups devoted to similar political, social, and ideological ideals, we are resolved to reform the moral corruption of the people, restore social discipline, and ease the insecurity of the people's livelihood by relieving the crises in the financial world, restoring national confidence, and increasing the nation's strength, in order to carry out the imperial mission to awaken the countries of Asia. In order to clarify these principles, we here set forth our platform to all our fellow patriots:

Principles

We stand for imperial rulership (*tennō shugi*). Basing ourselves on the fundamental teachings of the foundation of the empire, we seek the extension of the imperial influence to all peoples and places and the fulfillment of the glory of our national polity.

Platform

1. Developing the great plan of the founders of the country, we will widen the great Way (*tao*) of Eastern culture, work out a harmony of Eastern and Western cultures, and take the lead among Asian peoples.

2. We will bring to an end many evils, such as formalistic legalism, which restricts the freedom of the people, hampers commonsense solutions, prevents efficiency in public and private affairs, and destroys the true meaning of constitutional government. Thereby we will show forth again the essence of the imperial principles.

3. We shall rebuild the present administrative system. We will develop overseas expansion through the activation of our diplomacy, further the prosperity of the people by reforms in internal government, and solve problems of labor and management by the establishment of new social policies. Thereby we will strengthen the foundations of the empire.

4. We shall carry out the spirit of the Imperial Rescript to Soldiers and Sailors and stimulate a martial spirit by working toward the goal of a nation in arms. Thereby we look toward the perfection of national defense.

5. We plan a fundamental reform of the present educational system, which is copied from those of Europe and America; we shall set up a basic study of a national education originating in our national polity. Thereby we anticipate the further development and heightening of the wisdom and virtue of the Yamato race.

[*Nikkan gappō hishi*, vol. 1, appendix, pp. 1–4; MJ]

AGITATION BY ASSASSINATION

The Amur Society's displeasure with the business world shown in the preceding document was shared by most groups of the Japanese ultranationalist movement. Leaders of the business world were early targets for extremists. Their tremendous wealth contrasted strikingly with the poverty of the masses, and it reflected their success in personal ("selfish") aims, which contrasted with the declared selflessness of the disinterested "idealists" who pursued them. The business leaders were chief agents of the cosmopolitanism that the ultranationalists feared. With the decline in number of the *genrō* (elders) and the decline in prestige of the army after World War I, the businessmen advanced to the center of the political stage. Their control of and contributions to the political parties that formed cabinets during the Taishō period (1912–1926) resulted in periodic disclosures of scandals and corruption. Because the extremists felt that existing laws had been framed to protect the wrongdoers, they had to resort to extralegal violence to achieve their end.

The manner of this violence provided some features that separated the Japanese ultranationalist movement from the fascist movements in Germany and Italy. While Hitler and Mussolini strove for large-scale organizations and a mass following, the Japanese fanatics concentrated on individual heroics. They felt that a few spectacular acts of protest by idealists willing to sacrifice their lives would suffice to force major changes in the political and social order. In this belief, they followed honored Japanese traditions, for the loyalist patriots of Restoration days also exploited the possibilities of self-sacrifice and political and ideological assassination. But most of the Japanese fanatics had no blueprint for action to be taken once they succeeded in breaking down the old order. As one of the assassins in a plot that took Prime Minister Inukai Tsuyoshi's life in 1932 explained, "We thought about destruction first. We never considered taking on the duty of construction. We foresaw, however, that once the destruction was accomplished, somebody would take charge of the construction." Thus the first step was to consist of individual, uncoordinated acts of violence against representative figures in society.

ASAHI HEIGO

The first important murder in the campaign against the capitalist leaders came a full decade before the ultranationalist terrorism of the 1930s. On September 3, 1921, Asahi Heigo, a leader of the Shinshū gidan (Righteousness Corps of the Divine Land), assassinated Yasuda Zenjirō, head of the Yasuda *zaibatsu* (financial conglomerate) house, at Yasuda's home. Asahi left a statement explaining his reasons, which illustrates his thorough contempt for the established political and social leaders. Like the young army officers of the 1930s who worked for a

"Shōwa restoration," Asahi called for a "Taishō restoration" (Taishō being the reign-name of the emperor ruling from 1912 to 1926, and Shōwa, that of his successor, known to the West as Hirohito).

CALL FOR A NEW "RESTORATION"

The *genrō* set up the model, and today our political affairs are run by scoundrels. Fujita Densaburō became a baron by making counterfeit bills by order of Itō Hirobumi. Ōkura [head of another *zaibatsu* house] became a baron by contributing a part of the money he dishonestly made through selling canned goods containing pebbles. Yamamoto Gonbei[1] built an enormous fortune by his performance in the Siemens warship scandal. Ōkuma, Yamagata, and other old notables are wealthy now because of their corruption while in office. The Kenseikai [political party] raises its campaign funds from the South Manchurian Railroad and from opium. All the other statesmen and dignitaries too are skilled in evildoing, and they work with only their own self-interest in mind. And while the great individual fortunes have been built up by Mitsui, Iwasaki, Ōkura, Asano, Kondō, Yasuda, Furukawa, and Suzuki, the other plutocrats are no better. . . .

Alas, this is a time of danger. Foreign thought contrary to our national polity has moved in like a rushing torrent. The discontent of the needy masses who have been mistreated for long years by this privileged class but who have hitherto kept their bitter feelings deeply hidden is now being stirred up. The cold smiles and reproachful eyes of the poor show that they are close to brutality. There is a growing likelihood that the desperation of the people will take account of neither the nation nor the emperor.

Some of our countrymen are suffering from tuberculosis because of overwork, filth, and undernourishment. Others, bereaved, become streetwalkers in order to feed their beloved children. And those who were once hailed as defenders of the country are now reduced to beggary simply because they were disabled in the wars. . . . Moreover, some of our countrymen suffer hardships in prison because they committed minor crimes under the pressure of starvation, while high officials who commit major crimes escape punishment because they can manipulate the laws.

The former feudal lords, who were responsible for the death of our ancestors by putting them in the line of fire, are now nobility and enjoy a life of indolence and debauchery. Men who became generals by sacrificing our brothers' lives in battle are arrogantly preaching loyalty and patriotism as though they had achieved the victory all by themselves.

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1. Yamamoto Gonbei was a premier whose cabinet was overthrown in 1914 after the discovery of corruption in warship contracts.

Consider this seriously! These new nobles are our enemies because they drew a pool of our blood, and the former lords and nobles are also our foes, for they took our ancestors' lives.

My fellow young idealists! Your mission is to bring about a Taishō restoration. These are the steps you must take:

1. Bury the traitorous millionaires.
2. Crush the present political parties.
3. Bury the high officials and nobility.
4. Bring about universal suffrage.
5. Abolish provisions for inheritance of rank and wealth.
6. Nationalize the land and bring relief to tenant farmers.
7. Confiscate all fortunes above 100,000 yen.
8. Nationalize big business.
9. Reduce military service to one year.

These are initial steps. But the punishment of the traitorous millionaires is the most urgent of all these, and there is no way of doing this except to assassinate them resolutely.

Finally, I want to say a word to my colleagues. I hope that you will live up to my principles. Do not speak, do not get excited, and do not be conspicuous. You must be quiet and simply stab, stick, cut, and shoot. There is no need to meet or to organize. Just sacrifice your life. And work out your own way of doing this. In this way you will prepare the way for the revolution. The flames will start here and there, and our fellow idealists will band together instantly. So forget about self-interest, and do not think about your own name or fame. Just die, just sleep. Never seek wisdom, but take the road of ignorance and come to know the height of great folly.[2]

[Shinobu, *Taishō seiji shi*, vol. 3, pp. 749–51; MJ]

THE PLIGHT OF THE COUNTRYSIDE

In contrast to the cult of the all-powerful state that distinguished the ultranationalist movements in Europe, much of Japanese ultranationalism was marked by a nostalgic longing for the values of primitive agrarian society. Several theorists turned from the evils of their society to envision a society with less government, more local autonomy, and more closely knit ties of familial solidarity. These ties would, of course, culminate in the person of the emperor as father of the nation, but the overall structure they envisioned would necessarily be

2. A notion adapted from the Chinese Daoist classics, *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi*.

very different from the highly centralized and industrialized society that Japan was developing.

The most influential exponents of this position were Tachibana Kōzaburō (1893–1974) and Gondō Seikyō (1866–1937), both of whom owed much to traditional Daoist-utopian ideals of social organization. Tachibana wrote that a state could exist forever only under agrarian communalism, and he warned that "Japan cannot be itself if separated from the earth." Gondō, for his part, felt that Japan had been founded on the principle of autonomous living, in which "the sovereign does not go far beyond setting examples, thereby giving his people a good standard." Gondō felt that the small-scale groupings of society in primitive times were the only natural and desirable ones, and his writings show a profound distrust of big government and big army.

Together with this praise of primitive society came laments for the distress of the villagers in modern Japan. Victimized by big government, big business, and the burden of the wasteful military, the villagers were being deprived of their autonomy and their livelihood. Instead of the equality of primitive communalism, Japanese society was showing a very unhealthy class differentiation. For Tachibana, this was an evil of urbanization. "According to a common expression," he wrote, "Tokyo is the hub of the world. But I regret to say that Tokyo appears to me nothing but a branch shop of London." Gondō, too, lamented the decline of agrarian life, "the foundation of the country and the source of habits and customs," while "Tokyo and other cities have expanded out of all proportion to agrarian villages and are built up with great tall buildings." Inequalities of this sort presaged the doom of what he called the "bureaucratic administration patterned after the Prussian style of nationalism."

Thus the agrarian-conscious rightists found traditional grounds for a strong attack against their society. They did not entirely renounce industrialization and machinery, for it had its necessary role in livelihood and national defense. But the unjust social structure on which Japan's modern society rested was, they thought, likely to make all plans for defense and reform go wrong.

Writings of this sort had a considerable appeal to the young officers in the army. By the Shōwa period (1926–1989), Japan's officer corps was no longer dominated by members of the samurai class but was increasingly drawn from the countryside and the peasantry. Discontented with what they saw in the urban sector of Japanese life, unable to understand why their senior commanders worked with the politicians and businessmen, the young officers were prepared to accept Gondō's explanation that the military clique was just another wing of the bureaucratic ruling class.

GONDŌ SEIKYŌ

Gondō Seikyō's works, *Principles of Autonomous People* (*Jichi minpan*) and "Essay on the Self-Salvation of Farm Villages" (Nōson jikyū ron), were written

during the years of the Great Depression, when distress in the villages was most acute. His writings contributed to the ideology of the young officers who struck down Prime Minister Inukai Tsuyoshi in May 1932. Gondō himself, however, had little or no connection with the extremists who were moved to action by his writings.

THE GAP BETWEEN THE PRIVILEGED CLASSES AND THE COMMONERS

It was during this period [the late nineteenth century] that the criminal law was codified; civil law was codified; the system of cities, towns, and villages was put into effect; and the protection of private fortunes was really established on the principle of property rights. This made those who profit without working and the members of the privileged classes the pampered favorites of the state. The bureaucracy, the *zaibatsu*, and the military became the three supports of the state; the political parties attached themselves to them; and the scholars fawned on them. These groups allied with one another through marriage, and they all combined to form a single group. In a country so ordered, it is quite obvious that no matter how it may be kept up in the future, the nation's military affairs cannot be supported by means of the privileged class of military alone. I am not an advocate of disarmament, nor am I a pacifist. I have a sincere desire for adequate national defense. For that very reason I have strong misgivings about the present system of military preparation. Leaving aside a detailed discussion for another time, I will say here only that even if we train millions of soldiers, unless we are able to produce the weapons and necessary supplies in quantity, the soldiers in the line will be no more than puppets. . . .

The change in popular sentiment in all nations after World War I, largely a result of economic theories, also was reflected in great changes in this country. Moreover, with the Russian Revolution, the disorders on the China mainland, the ebb and flow of Eastern and Western, old and new thought, took place partly in response to economic pressures and partly to scientific advances. The idea of a militaristic, Prussian, nationalism declined into such a foul state of decay that not even the dogs would eat it. . . .

In militaristic states, whether of early or recent times, the plutocracy never fails to come out on top. When the plutocrats conspire with those who hold political power, the resources of the people fall under their control almost before they are aware of what is happening. When this happens, the common people fall on evil days; they are pursued by cold and hunger, and unless they work in the midst of their tears as tools of the plutocrats and those holding political power, they cannot stay alive. When people are pursued by hunger and have to work tearfully in the face of death, what sort of human rights do you suppose remain? . . .

Since the conditions under which the people live are, in fact, as I have indicated, the foundations of the military regime cannot be secure. To be sure, the military officers—men who hold office for life—are guaranteed an adequate living, and so they are usually conspicuously loyal, brave, and noble. And indeed they have to be. But all the soldiers who dutifully have to shed their blood are sons and brothers of the common people. The great majority of these soldiers were born in poverty and hardship; they entered the barracks and then had to submit to the orders of their superior officers. As the sons and brothers of the common people, they will not under any circumstances forget that they are themselves common people. If, then, we infer what goes on in their minds and take this problem of the commoners' plight and the privileged classes as proportionate, think of the changes that will take place in men's hearts; look back on the labor and tenant problems—from disturbance to struggle, and from struggle, what will come? Granted, it is the army's duty to maintain peace and order, but the good and obedient soldiers in the ranks whom you are leading are for the most part the sons and brothers of the impoverished common people. They are certainly not people who are serving to kill the common people. No, they are persons who offer their lives and bodies for the sake of the wider public morality.

[Gondō, *Jichi minpan*, pp. 185–88; MJ]

KITA IKKI AND THE REFORM WING OF ULTRANATIONALISM

A group of revolutionaries headed by Kita Ikki stood out in sharp contrast to the primitive utopians like Gondō Seikyō. These were men well read in the radical literature of the West, and they owed more to Marx than they did to Laozi. Their praise of imperial divinity and perfection was combined with some very sharp criticism of the imperial household and its works. They called for radical changes in Japanese society and institutions and held out the promise that a revolutionary Japan would be able to take the lead in a union of resurgent Asian peoples.

Kita Ikki (1884–1937) was the most important spokesman for this group. Born the son of a struggling saké brewer on the island of Sado, he became interested in socialism at an early age. His desire to promote a revolutionary Asia led him to join the circle of adventurers and Amur Society members who cooperated with the nationalist revolution of Sun Yat-sen in China.

Kita was in China during the revolution of 1911, and his chagrin at the failure of that revolution to bring about a democratic China had a profound effect on his later thought. His book *An Unofficial History of the Chinese Revolution* (*Shina kakumei gaishi*) criticized the Japanese activists in China for relying on Sun Yat-sen, whom Kita now regarded as a superficial user of Western slogans,

instead of working for a better balance of Western and Oriental ideologies. Kita's early socialism was now becoming more "Oriental"; henceforth, he called for a blend of Western revolutionary thought and Oriental wisdom, which he called Japanism. Kita also criticized the policy of the Japanese authorities in China. In particular, he resented the maneuverings of the *zaibatsu* houses, whose offers of loans had, it seemed to him, helped drive the Chinese revolutionaries into their compromise with the conservative Yuan Shikai in order to avoid Japanese exploitation. Thus Kita, remaining convinced of the inevitability of a revolutionary Asia, now saw the need for profound changes in Japanese society to enable Japan to assume the leadership in the new Asia. Selfish *zaibatsu* would have to be curbed; corrupt politicians would be done away with; and the imperial household itself would have to undergo changes to free it from the crippling influence of the timid bureaucrats who were at the beck and call of their *zaibatsu*–political party colleagues.

The radicalism of Kita's views was genuine. He advocated sweeping changes in all sectors of Japanese society—the seizure and nationalization of major industries and fortunes, an eight-hour workday, and a land reform program. Nor is there much doubt about his proclivity to extremism. His 1926 preface hailed the murderer of Yasuda Zenjirō, Asahi Heigo, as a man whose ideology had been based on the spirit of his own writings. Kita himself had strong ties with the young officers whose concern about Japan's China policy played such an important role in the military putsches of the 1930s. He was involved with the Imperial Way Faction (Kōdō-ha), the radical group responsible for the mutiny that began with a wave of assassination attempts and ended with the seizure of central Tokyo on February 26, 1936. Arrested then, Kita was executed in 1937. His book, banned until the end of World War II, was reprinted thereafter by men who held that Kita's gloomy forebodings about the need for a thorough reformation of Japanese society as a prerequisite to leadership of a revolutionary Asia had been amply borne out by the events following his death.

AN OUTLINE PLAN FOR THE REORGANIZATION OF JAPAN (*NIHON KAIZŌ HŌAN TAIKŌ*)

An Outline Plan for the Reorganization of Japan contains Kita Ikki's suggestions for the changes necessary in Japanese society. Written in 1919, while Kita was still in Shanghai, the book was printed secretly and passed from hand to hand by Kita's associates. In 1920 its distribution was forbidden by the police. In 1923, after major excisions, the book was published, only to be banned again shortly afterward. A third edition came out in 1926, but it, too, was later banned.

The outline plan, of which the opening section is translated here, consists of cryptic announcements of steps to be taken, followed by notes justifying the steps and anticipating probable objections.

At present the Japanese empire is faced with a national crisis unparalleled in its history; it faces dilemmas at home and abroad. The vast majority of the people feel insecure in their livelihood and are on the point of taking a lesson from the collapse of European societies, while those who monopolize political, military, and economic power simply hide themselves and, quaking with fear, try to maintain their unjust position. Abroad, not England, America, Germany, or Russia has kept its word, and even our neighbor China, which long benefited from the protection we provided through the Russo-Japanese War, not only has failed to repay us but instead despises us. Truly, we are a small island, completely isolated in the Eastern Sea. One false step and our nation will again fall into the desperate state of crisis—dilemmas at home and abroad—that marked the period before and after the Meiji Restoration.

The only thing that brightens the picture is the 60 million fellow countrymen with whom we are blessed. The Japanese people must develop a profound awareness of the great cause of national existence and of the people's equal rights, and they need an unerring, discriminating grasp of the complexities of domestic and foreign thought. The Great War in Europe was, like Noah's Flood, Heaven's punishment on them for arrogant and rebellious ways. . . .

Truly, our 700 million brothers in China and India have no path to independence other than that offered by our guidance and protection. And for Japan, whose population has doubled in the past fifty years, great areas adequate to support a population of at least 240 million or 250 million will be absolutely necessary a hundred years from now. For a nation, one hundred years are like a hundred days for an individual. How can those who are anxious about these inevitable developments or who grieve over the desperate conditions of neighboring countries find their solace in the effeminate pacifism of doctrinaire socialism? . . . At a time when the authorities in the European and American revolutionary creeds have found it completely impossible to arrive at an understanding of the "gospel of the sword" because of their superficial philosophy, the noble Greece of Asian culture must complete its national reorganization on the basis of its own national polity. At the same time, let it lift the virtuous banner of an Asian league and take the leadership in the world federation that must come. In so doing let it proclaim to the world the Way of Heaven in which all are children of Buddha, and let it set an example that the world must follow.

Section 1: The People's Emperor

Suspension of the Constitution. In order for the emperor and the entire Japanese people to establish a secure base for the national reorganization, the emperor will, by a show of his imperial prerogative, suspend the constitution for a period of three years, dissolve both houses of the Diet, and place the entire nation under martial law.

(Note: In extraordinary times the authorities should, of course, ignore harmful opinions and votes. To regard any sort of constitution or parliament as an absolute authority is to act in direct imitation of the English and American semisacred "democracy." . . . It cannot be held that in the discussion of plans for naval expansion Admiral Tōgō [Heihachirō]'s vote was not worth more than the three cast by miserable members of the Diet. . . . The effect of government by vote that has prevailed hitherto is really nothing more than a maintenance of the traditional order; it puts absolute emphasis on numbers and ignores those who would put a premium on quality.) . . .

(Note: A coup d'état should be regarded as a direct manifestation of the authority of the nation, that is, of the will of society. All the progressive leaders have arisen from popular groups. They arise because of political leaders like Napoleon and Lenin. In the reorganization of Japan there must be a manifestation of the power inherent in a coalition of the people and sovereign.)

(Note: The reason why the Diet must be dissolved is that the nobility and the wealthy on whom it depends are incapable of standing with the emperor and the people in the cause of reorganization. The necessity for suspension of the constitution is that the people seek the protection in the codes enacted under it. The reason that martial law must be proclaimed is that it is essential to the freedom of the nation that there be no restraint in suppressing the opposition that will come from these groups.)

The True Significance of the Emperor. The fundamental doctrine of the emperor as representative of the people and as the pillar of the nation must be made clear.

In order to clarify this, a sweeping reform of the imperial court in the spirit of the Emperor Jinmu in founding the state and in the spirit of the great Meiji emperor will be carried out. The present privy councillors and other officials will be dismissed from their posts and, in their place, will come talent, sought throughout the realm, capable of assisting the emperor.

A Consultative Council (Komon'in) will be established to assist the emperor. Its members, fifty in number, will be appointed by the emperor.

A member of the Consultative Council must tender his resignation to the emperor whenever the cabinet takes action against him or whenever the Diet passes a vote of no confidence against him. However, the council members are by no means responsible to either the cabinet or the Diet.

(Note: Japan's national polity has evolved through three stages, and the meaning of "emperor" has also evolved through three stages. The first stage, from the Fujiwara to the Taira, was one of absolute monarchy. During this stage the emperor possessed all land and people as his private property in theory, and he had the power of life and death over the people. The second stage, from the Minamoto to the Tokugawa, was one of aristocracy. During this period military leaders and nobility in each area brought land and people of their locality under

their personal control; they fought wars and made alliances among themselves as rulers of small nations. Consequently, the emperor's significance was different from what it had been. He now, like the Roman pope, conferred honor on the *bakufu*, the leader of the petty princes, and showed himself the traditional center of the national faith. Such a development can be compared with the role of the Roman pope in crowning the Holy Roman Emperor, leader of the various lords in the Middle Ages in Europe. The third stage, one of a democratic state, began with the Meiji Revolution, which emancipated the samurai and commoners, newly awakened, from their status as the private property of their shogun and feudal lords. Since then, the emperor has a new significance as the true center of government and politics. Ever since, as the commanding figure in the national movement and as the overall representative of the modern democratic country, he has become representative of the nation. In other words, since the Meiji Revolution, Japan has become a modern democratic state with the emperor as its political nucleus. Is there any need whatsoever for us to import a direct translation of the "democracy" of others as though we lacked something?) . . .

(Note: There is no scientific basis whatsoever for the belief of the democracies that a state governed by representatives voted in by the electorate is superior to a state with a system of government by a particular person. Every nation has its own national spirit and history. . . . The "democracy" of Americans derives from the very unsophisticated theory of the time, which held that society can come into being through a voluntary contract based on the free will of individuals; these people, emigrating from each European country as individuals, established communities and built a country. But their theory of the divine right of voters is a half-witted philosophy that arose in opposition to the theory of the divine right of kings at that time. Now Japan certainly was not founded in this way, and there has never been a period in which Japan was dominated by a half-witted philosophy. Suffice it to say that the system whereby the head of state has to struggle for election by a long-winded self-advertisement and by exposing himself to ridicule like a low-class actor seems a very strange custom to the Japanese people, who have been brought up in the belief that silence is golden and modesty is a virtue.)

(Note: The imperial court today has restored corrupt customs of the Middle Ages and has, moreover, added others that survived in European courts; truly it has drifted far from the spirit of the nation's founder—a supreme commander above an equal people. The revolution under the great Meiji emperor restored and modernized this spirit. Accordingly, at that time the imperial court was purified. The necessity for doing this a second time is that when the whole national structure is being reorganized fundamentally we cannot simply leave the structure of the court in its present state of disrepair.)

(Note: The provision for censuring the Consultative Council by the cabinet

and Diet is required in view of the present situation in which many men do as they wish on the excuse that they are duty bound to help the emperor. The obstinacy and arrogance of the members of the Privy Council are not very different from that of the court officials in Russia before the revolution. The men who cause trouble for the emperor are men of this kind.)

The Abolition of the Peerage System. The peerage system will be abolished, and the spirit of the Meiji Restoration will be clarified by removing the barrier that has come between the emperor and the people.

The House of Peers will be abolished and replaced by a Council of Deliberation (Shingiin), which shall consider action taken by the House of Representatives.

The Council of Deliberation will be empowered to reject decisions taken by the House of Representatives a single time. The membership of the House of Representatives will consist of distinguished men in many fields of activity, elected by one another and appointed by the emperor.

(Note: The restoration revolution, which destroyed government by the aristocracy, was carried out determinedly, for it also confiscated the estates of the aristocracy. . . . To abolish the peerage system is to abandon a system translated directly from Europe and to return to the earlier Meiji Revolution. Do not jump to the conclusion that this is a shortcoming we are seeking to correct. We have already advanced further than some other countries as a democratic country.)

(Note: The reason a bicameral system is subject to fewer errors than a unicameral system is that in very many cases, public opinion is emotional, uncritical, and changeable. For this reason the upper house will be made up of distinguished persons in many fields of activity instead of medieval relics.)

Universal Suffrage. All men twenty-five years of age, by their rights as people of Great Japan, will have the right, freely and equally, to stand for election to and to vote for the House of Representatives. The same will hold for local self-government assemblies.

Women will not have the right to participate in politics.

(Note: Although a tax qualification has determined suffrage in other countries and this system was first initiated in England, whose Parliament was originally established to supervise the use of tax money collected by the Crown, in Japan we must establish it as a fundamental principle that suffrage is the innate right of the people. . . . Suffrage is a "duty of the people" in the same sense that military service is a "duty of the people.")

(Note: The duty of the people to defend the country cannot be separated from their duty to participate in its government. Because this is a fundamental human right of the Japanese people, there is no reason why the Japanese should be like the slaves in the Roman Empire or like the menials driven from the imperial gate during the monarchial age—simply ruled, having to live and die under

orders from a ruling class. Nothing can infringe on the right and duty of suffrage under any circumstances. Therefore officers and soldiers on active service, even if they are overseas, should elect and be elected without any restrictions.)

(Note: The reason for the clear statement that "women will not have the right to participate in politics" is not that Japanese women today have not yet awakened. Whereas the code of chivalry for the knights in medieval Europe called for honoring women and gaining their favor, in medieval Japan the samurai esteemed and valued the person of a woman on approximately the same level as they did themselves, while it became the accepted code for women to honor the men and gain their favor. This complete contrast in developments has penetrated into all society and livelihood and continues into modern history—there has been agitation by women for suffrage abroad while here women have continued to be devoted to being good wives and wise mothers. Politics is a small part of human activity. The question of the place of women in Japan will be satisfactorily solved if we bring about an institutional reorganization guaranteeing the protection of a woman's right to be "mother of the nation and wife of the nation." To make women accustomed to verbal warfare is to do violence to their natural aptitude; it is more terrible than using them in the line of battle. Anyone who has observed the stupid talkativeness of Western women or the piercing quarrels among Chinese women will be thankful that Japanese women have continued on the right path. Those who have developed good trends should let others who have developed bad trends learn from them. For this reason, one speaks today of a time of fusion between Eastern and Western civilization. But the ugliness of direct and uncritical borrowing can be seen very well in the matter of woman suffrage.)

The Restoration of the People's Freedom. The various laws that in the past have restricted the freedom of the people and impaired the spirit of the constitution—the Civil Service Appointment Ordinance, the Peace Preservation police law, the Press Act, the Publication Law, and similar measures—will be abolished.

(Note: This is obviously right. These laws work only to maintain all sorts of cliques.)

The National Reorganization Cabinet. A reorganization cabinet will be organized while martial law is in effect; in addition to the present ministries, it will have ministries for industries and several ministers of state without portfolio. Members of the reorganization cabinet will not be chosen from the present military, bureaucratic, financial, and party cliques; instead, this task will be given to outstanding individuals selected throughout the whole country.

All the present prefectural governors will be dismissed from their offices, and national reorganization governors will be appointed by the same method of selection as the preceding.

(Note: This is necessary for the same reasons that the Meiji Revolution could

not have been carried out by the Tokugawa shogun and his vassals. But a revolution cannot necessarily be evaluated according to the amount of bloodshed. It is just as impossible to say of a surgical operation that it was not thorough because of the small amount of blood that was lost. It all depends on the skill of the surgeon and the constitution of the patient undergoing the operation. Japan today is like a man in his prime and in good health. Countries like Russia and China are like old patients whose bodies are in total decay. Therefore, if there is a technician who takes a farsighted view of the past and the present and who draws judiciously on East and West, Japan can be reorganized through no more than a pleasant talk.)

The National Reorganization Diet. The National Reorganization Diet, elected in a general election and convened during the period of martial law, will deliberate on measures for reorganization.

The National Reorganization Diet will not have the right to deliberate on the basic policy of national reorganization proclaimed by the emperor.

(Note: In this way, since the people will become the main force and the emperor the commander, this coup d'état will not be an abuse of power but the expression of the national determination by the emperor and the people.)

(Note: If a general election were to be held in our present society of omnipotent capital and absolutist bureaucracy, the majority of the men elected to the Diet either would be opposed to the reorganization or would receive their election expenses from men opposed to the reorganization. But since the general election will be held and the Diet convened under martial law, it will, of course, be possible to curb the rights of harmful candidates and representatives.)

(Note: It is only because there was such a divine emperor that even though the restoration revolution was carried out with greater thoroughness than the French Revolution, there was no misery and disorder. And thanks to the existence of such a godlike emperor, Japan's national reorganization will be accomplished a second time in an orderly manner, avoiding both the massacres and violence of the Russian Revolution and the snail's pace of the German revolution.)

The Renunciation of the Imperial Estate.[3] The emperor will personally show the way by granting the lands, forests, shares, and similar property owned by the imperial house to the nation.

The expenses of the imperial house will be limited to approximately 30 million yen per year, to be supplied by the national treasury.

However, this amount can be increased with consent of the Diet if the situation warrants such action.

(Note: The present imperial estate began with holdings taken over from the Tokugawa family, and however the true meaning of the emperor might shine

3. This entire section was censored in prewar editions.

forth, it is inconsistent to operate such medieval finances. It is self-evident that every expense of the people's emperor should be born by the nation.)

[Kita, "Nihon kaizō hōan," in *Nihon kaizō hōan taikō*, pp. 6–14; MJ]

THE CONSERVATIVE REAFFIRMATION

During the years in which one branch of the ultranationalist movement turned to suggestions for radical social reforms and produced sweeping denunciations of existing Japanese society, many people were not prepared to follow such a headlong course. By the 1930s, a sharp cleavage between social radicals and ideological conservatives was apparent.

The conservatives met the problems of social change and unrest by reaffirming the unique values of "Japanism." Since they furnished a safe alternative to the radicalism of the extremists, the conservative ultranationalists were able to get the financial backing of respected segments of the business and political world. The National Purity Society (Kokusuikai) was founded in 1919 to ward off foreign ideologies, reaffirm traditional values of manliness and chivalry, and reawaken loyalty to the imperial house. It had close contacts with the leading political party, the Seiyūkai. In social issues like labor disputes, it urged mediation or marshaled force as seemed preferable, usually to the advantage of management. The League to Prevent Bolshevization (Sekka bōshidan) was formed in 1921 to fight socialism and Communism, and it was unreservedly opposed to labor and radical movements of all kinds. The National Foundation Society (Kokuhonsha) was founded in 1924 to guide the people's ideology, strengthen the foundations of the nation, advance wisdom and virtue, and clarify the national polity. It was sponsored by Baron Hiranuma Kiichirō and enjoyed the favor of many who were highly placed in the bureaucracy, military, and financial worlds.

The conservative societies appealed more to the established and respectable than to the young and discontented. Their backers were just as convinced of the international inequality from which Japan suffered as Kita Ikki was, but they were more likely to seek solutions through diplomatic and military measures than through social reforms.

The violence of the early 1930s, most of it carried out by young followers of the radical ideologies, culminated in the spectacular mutiny of February 1936. Thereafter, it was perfectly clear to all conservatives that strong measures were necessary to preserve social order and military discipline. It seemed a wise compromise to give the military leaders a freer hand on the continent in return for promises to keep their young extremists under control. Kita and the leaders of the February incident were executed after brief and secret trials. In China, the army prepared for further measures, while at home its control over production, education, and politics was strengthened.

FUNDAMENTALS OF OUR NATIONAL POLITY (*KOKUTAI NO HONGI*)

The movement for the enunciation of "national polity," Japan's unique structure of state and society based on a divine emperor, reached its apogee with the publication by the Ministry of Education of *Fundamentals of Our National Polity* (*Kokutai no hongi*) in 1937. This short work, with an initial printing of 300,000 copies and an eventual sale of 2 million or more, was designed to set the ideological course for the Japanese people. Study groups were formed to discuss its content; schoolteachers were given special commentaries; and a determined effort was made to reach ideological uniformity by guarding against deviation.

The introduction sets forth the underlying problems of contemporary Japanese thought that require a solution: How are Western influences to be absorbed without permitting them to destroy Japanese national traditions, and how can Japan resolve the dilemma created in the West itself by the inherent contradictions of individualism?

A recurrent theme throughout this work is the transcendent importance of the nation and state as manifested in history. In part, this may reflect the sympathetic reception of German philosophy, particularly that of Hegel, by professional philosophers of Meiji Japan.

Introduction

The various ideological and social evils of present-day Japan are the result of ignoring the fundamental and running after the trivial, of the lack of judgment and the failure to digest things thoroughly. This is because since the days of Meiji, so many aspects of European and American culture, systems, and learning have been imported and too rapidly. As a matter of fact, the foreign ideologies imported into our country are mainly ideologies of the Enlightenment that have come down from the eighteenth century, or extensions of them. The views of the world and of life that form the basis of these ideologies are rationalism and positivism, lacking in historical views, which, on the one hand, place the highest value on, and assert the liberty and equality of, individuals and, on the other hand, place value on a world by nature abstract, transcending nations and races. Consequently, importance is given to human beings and their groupings, who have become isolated from historical entireties, abstract and independent of one another. These political, social, moral, and pedagogical theories based on such views of the world and of life have, on the one hand, contributed to the various reforms seen in our country and, on the other hand, have had a deep and wide influence on our nation's primary ideology and culture. . . .

Paradoxical and extreme conceptions, such as socialism, anarchism, and communism, all are based, in the final analysis, on individualism, which is the root of modern Occidental ideologies and of which they are no more than varied manifestations. Yet even in the Occident, where individualism has

formed the basis of their ideas, when it has come to Communism, they have found it unacceptable; so that now they are about to do away with their traditional individualism, and this has led to the rise of totalitarianism and nationalism and to the appearance of Fascism and Nazism. That is, it can be said that in both the Occident and our country, the deadlock of individualism has led alike to a season of ideological and social confusion and crisis. . . . This means that the present conflict in our people's ideas, the unrest of their modes of life, the confused state of their civilization, can be put right only by a thorough investigation by us of the intrinsic nature of Occidental ideologies and by an understanding of the true meaning of our national polity. Then, too, this should be done for the sake not only of our nation but also of the entire human race, which is struggling to find a way out of the deadlock with which individualism is faced. [pp. 52, 54–55]

The body of this work is a résumé of Japanese traditions concerning the founding of the country and the imperial house, the virtues of imperial rule and loyal subjects, manifestations of the Japanese spirit in history, natural features of Japan, and the inherent character of the people, as well as manifestations of these in the nation's social and cultural life. The following selections focus on those attitudes thought to represent the best in Japanese tradition and their superiority to prevailing Western views.

Loyalty and Patriotism

Our country is established with the emperor, who is a descendant of Amaterasu Ōmikami, as its center, as our ancestors as well as we ourselves constantly have beheld in the emperor the fountainhead of her life and activities. For this reason, to serve the emperor and to receive the emperor's great august will as our own is the rationale of making our historical "life" live in the present; and on this is based the morality of the people.

Loyalty means to revere the emperor as [our] pivot and to follow him implicitly. By implicit obedience is meant casting ourselves aside and serving the emperor intently. To walk this Way of loyalty is the sole Way in which we subjects may "live" and the fountainhead of all energy. Hence, offering our lives for the sake of the emperor does not mean so-called self-sacrifice but the casting aside of our little selves to live under his august grace and the enhancing of the genuine life of the people of a state. The relationship between the emperor and the subjects is not an artificial relationship [that means] bowing down to authority or a relationship such as [exists] between master and servant as is seen in feudal morals. . . . The ideology interpreting the relationship between the emperor and his subjects as being a reciprocal relationship and as merely [involving] obedience to authority or rights and duties rests on individualistic ideologies; it is a rationalistic way of thinking that looks on everything as being in equal personal relationships. An individual is an existence belonging to a

state and its history that forms the basis of his origin and is fundamentally one body with it. . . .

From the point of individualistic personal relationships, the relationship between sovereign and subject in our country may [perhaps] be looked on as that between nonpersonalities. However, this is nothing but an error arising from treating the individual as supreme, from the notion that has individual thoughts for its nucleus and from personal abstract consciousness. Our relationship between sovereign and subject is by no means a shallow, horizontal relationship, such as [one] implying a correlation between ruler and citizen, but is a relationship springing from a basis transcending this correlation and is that of "dying to self and returning to [the] One," in which the basis is not lost. This is something that can never be understood from an individualistic way of thinking. In our country, this great Way has seen a natural development since the founding of the nation, and the most basic thing that has manifested itself in regard to the subjects is, in short, this Way of loyalty. [pp. 80–82]

Filial Piety

In our country, filial piety is a Way of the highest importance. Filial piety originates with one's family as its basis and, in its larger sense, has the nation as its foundation. The direct object of filial piety is one's parents, but in its relationship with the emperor finds a place within loyalty.

The basis of the nation's livelihood is, as in the Occident, neither the individual nor husband and wife. It is the home. . . . A family is not a body of people established for profit, nor is it anything founded on such a thing as individual or correlative love. Founded on a natural relationship of begetting and being begotten, it has reverence and affection as its kernel and is a place where everybody, from the very moment of his birth, is entrusted with his destiny.

The life of a family in our country is not confined to the present life of a household of parents and children but, beginning with the distant ancestors, is continued eternally by the descendants. The present life of a family is a link between the past and the future, and while it carries over and develops the objectives of the ancestors, it hands them over to its descendants.

Such things as [the carrying on of family traditions] show that the basis of the nation's life is the family and that the family is the training ground for moral discipline based on natural sympathies. Thus, the life of a household is not confined to the present but is an unbroken chain that passes from ancestor to offspring. . . .

The relationship between parent and child is a natural one, and from it springs the affection between parent and child. Parent and child are a continuation of one chain of life; and since parents are the source of the children,

there spontaneously arises toward the children a tender feeling to foster them. Since children are extensions of parents, there springs a sense of respect and love for and indebtedness toward their parents. [pp. 87–89]

Loyalty and Filial Piety as One

The true characteristics of filial piety in our country are its perfect conformity with our national polity by heightening still further the relationship between morality and nature. Our country is a great family nation, and the imperial household is the head family of the subjects and the nucleus of national life. . . .

In China, too, filial duty is important, and they say that it is the source of a hundred deeds. In India, too, gratitude to parents is taught. But their filial piety is not of a kind related to or based on the nation. Filial piety is a characteristic of Oriental morals; but it is in its convergence with loyalty that we find a characteristic of our national morals, and this is a factor without parallel in the world. [pp. 89–91]

Harmony

When we trace the marks of the facts of the founding of our country and the progress of our history, what we always find there is the spirit of harmony. Harmony is a product of the great achievements of the founding of the nation and is the power behind our historical growth. It also is a humanitarian Way inseparable from our daily lives. The spirit of harmony is built on the concord of all things. When people determinedly count themselves as masters and assert their egos, there is nothing but contradiction and the setting of one against the other; and harmony is not created. In individualism it is possible to have cooperation, sacrifice, and the like, so as to regulate and mitigate this contradiction and the setting of one against the other; but in the end there is no true harmony. That is, a society of individualism is one of clashes between [masses of] people . . . and all history may be regarded as one of class wars. Social structure and political systems in such a society, and the theories of sociology, political science, statecraft, and so on, which are their logical manifestations, are essentially different from those of our country, which makes harmony its fundamental Way. . . .

Harmony as in our nation is a great harmony of individuals who, by giving play to their individual differences and through difficulties, toil, and labor, converge as one. Because of individual differences and difficulties, this harmony becomes all the greater and its substance rich. Again, in this way individualities are developed; special traits become beautiful; and at the same time they even enhance the development and well-being of the whole. [pp. 93–94]

The Martial Spirit

And then this harmony is clearly seen also in our nation's martial spirit. Our nation is one that holds *bushidō* in high regard, and there are shrines deifying warlike spirits. . . . But this martial spirit is not [a thing that exists] for the sake of itself but for the sake of peace and is what may be called a sacred martial spirit. Our martial spirit does not have for its objective the killing of men but the giving of life to men. This martial spirit tries to give life to all things and not to destroy. That is, it is strife that has peace at its basis with a promise to raise and to develop, and it gives life to things through its strife. Here lies the martial spirit of our nation. War, in this sense, is not by any means intended for the destruction, overpowering, or subjugation of others; and it should be for bringing about great harmony, that is, peace, doing the work of creation by following the Way. [pp. 94–95]

Self-Effacement and Assimilation

A pure, cloudless heart is a heart that, dying to one's ego and one's own ends, finds life in fundamentals and the true Way. This means it is a heart that lives in the Way of unity between the sovereign and his subjects, a Way that has come down to us ever since the founding of the empire. It is here that a frame of mind springs up, unclouded and right, that bids farewell to unwholesome self-interest. The spirit that sacrifices self and seeks life at the very fountainhead of things maintains itself eventually as patriotism and as a heart that casts self aside in order to serve the state. . . .

In our people's inherent character is strongly manifested alongside this spirit of self-effacement and disinterestedness a spirit of broad-mindedness and assimilation. In the importation of culture from the Asian continent, too, in the process of "dying to self" and adopting the ideographs used in Chinese classics, this spirit of ours has coordinated and assimilated these same ideographs. To have created a culture uniquely our own, even though a culture essentially different was imported, is due entirely to a mighty influence peculiar to our nation. This is a matter that must be seriously considered in the adaptation of modern Occidental culture.

This spirit of self-effacement is not a mere denial of oneself but means living to the great, true self by denying one's small self. [pp. 132–34]

Bushidō

Bushidō may be cited as showing an outstanding characteristic of our national morality. In the world of warriors one sees inherited the totalitarian structure and spirit of the ancient clans peculiar to our nation. Hence, although the teachings of Confucianism and Buddhism have been followed, they have been

transcended. That is, although a sense of obligation binds master and servant, it has developed into a spirit of self-effacement and of meeting death with perfect calmness. In this, it was not that death was made light of so much as that man tempered himself for death and in a true sense regarded it with esteem. In effect, man tried to fulfill true life by way of death. . . .

In ordinary times, the warrior's aims should foster a spirit of reverence for the deities and his own ancestors in keeping with his family tradition; train himself to be ready to cope with emergencies at all times; clothe himself with wisdom, benevolence, and valor; understand the meaning of mercy; and strive to be sensitive to the frailty of nature. Yamaga Sokō (1622–1685), Matsumiya Kanzan (1686–1780), and Yoshida Shōin (1830–1859) all were men of the most devout character, who exercised much influence in bringing *bushidō* to perfection. It is this same *bushidō* that shed an outdated feudalism at the time of the Meiji Restoration, increased in splendor, became the Way of loyalty and patriotism, and evolved before us as the spirit of the imperial forces. [pp. 144–46]

Conclusion

The conclusion to this work is a general critique of current Western social philosophies and an argument for Japanese tradition as the basis for a new synthesis of Eastern and Western thought. The emphasis on Japan's historical mission as a creative force in unifying and transcending antithetical tendencies suggests the expansive, rather than the purely defensive, character of Japanese traditionalism in the twentieth century.

Every type of foreign ideology that has been imported into our country may have been quite natural in China, India, Europe, or America, in that it sprang from their racial or historical characteristics; but in our country, which has a unique national polity, it is necessary as a preliminary step to expose these types to rigid judgment and scrutiny so as to see whether they are suitable to our national traits. . . .

To put it in a nutshell, while the strong points of Occidental learning and concepts are their analytical and intellectual qualities, the characteristics of Oriental learning and concepts are their intuitive and aesthetic qualities. These are natural tendencies that arise through racial and historical differences; and when we compare them with our national spirit, concepts, or mode of living, we cannot help recognizing further great and fundamental differences. Our nation has in the past imported, assimilated, and sublimated Chinese and Indian ideologies and has thereby supported the imperial way, making possible the establishment of an original culture based on its national polity. . . .

Now, when we consider how modern Occidental ideologies have given birth to democracy, socialism, Communism, anarchism, and the like, we note, as already stated, the existence of historical backgrounds that form the bases of all these concepts and, in addition, the existence of individualistic views of life that

lie at their very roots. The basic characteristics of modern Occidental cultures lie in the fact that an individual is regarded as an existence of an absolutely independent being, all cultures comprising the perfection of this individual being who in turn is the creator and determiner of all values. Hence value is given to the subjective thoughts of an individual; the conception of a state, the planning of all systems, and the construction of theories solely based on ideas conceived in the individual's mind. The greater part of Occidental theories of state and political concepts so evolved do not view the state as a nuclear existence that gives birth to individual beings, which it transcends, but as an expedient for the benefit, protection, and enhancement of the welfare of individual persons. These theories therefore express the principles of subsistence that have at their center free, equal, and independent individuals. As a result, some types of mistaken liberalism and democracy have arisen that have solely sought untrammeled freedom and forgotten moral freedom, which is service. Hence, wherever this individualism and its accompanying abstract concepts developed, concrete historical and national life became lost in the shadow of abstract theories; all states and peoples were looked on alike as nations in general and as individuals in general. Such things as an international community comprising the entire world and universal theories common to the entire world were given more importance than concrete nations and their characteristic qualities; so that in the end even the mistaken idea arose that international law constituted a higher norm than national law, that it stood higher in value, and that national laws were, if anything, subordinate to it.

The beginnings of modern Western free economy are seen in the expectation of bringing about national prosperity as a result of free, individual, lucrative activities. In introducing into our country modern industrial organizations that had developed in the West, as long as the spirit of striving for national profit and the people's welfare governed the people's minds, the lively and free individual activities went very far toward contributing to the nation's wealth. But later, with the dissemination of individualistic and liberal ideas, there gradually arose a tendency openly to justify egoism in economic management and operations. This tendency created a chasm between rich and poor and finally gave rise to ideas of class warfare. Later, the introduction of Communism brought about the erroneous idea that economics was being the basis of politics, morality, and all other cultures and considered that by means of class warfare alone an ideal society could be realized. The fact that egoism and class warfare are opposed to our national polity needs no explanation. Only where people one and all put heart and soul into their respective occupations, and there is coherence or order in each of their activities, with their minds set on guarding and maintaining the prosperity of the imperial throne, is it possible to see a healthy development in the people's economic life.

The same thing holds true in the case of education. Since the Meiji Restoration our nation has adapted the good elements of the advanced education seen among

European and American nations and has exerted efforts to set up an educational system and materials for teaching. The nation has also assimilated on a wide scale the scholarship of the West, not only in the fields of natural science, but also in the mental sciences, and has thus striven to see progress in our scholastic pursuits and to make education more popular. . . . However, at the same time, through the infiltration of individualistic concepts, both scholastic pursuits and education have tended to be taken up with a world in which the intellect alone mattered and was isolated from historical and actual life. Thus both intellectual and moral culture drifted into tendencies in which the goals were the freedom of man, who had become an abstract being, and the perfection of the individual man. At the same time, these scholastic pursuits and education separated, so that they gradually lost their synthetic coherence and concreteness. In order to correct these tendencies, the only course open to us is to clarify the true nature of our national polity, which is at the very source of our education, and to strive to clear up individualistic and abstract ideas. . . .

In the Occident, too, many movements are now engaged in revising individualism. Socialism and Communism, which are types of class individualism and the opposites of so-called bourgeois individualism, belong to these movements. Recent ideological movements, such as that called Fascism, which are types of nationalism and racial consciousness, also belong to this category. If, however, we tried to correct the evils brought about by individualism in our country and to find a way out of the stalemate that it has created, it would not help to adopt ideas like Occidental socialism and their abstract totalitarianism wholesale or to copy their concepts and plans, or [conversely] to mechanically exclude Occidental cultures.

Our Mission

Our present mission as a people is to construct a new Japanese culture by adopting and sublimating Western cultures with our national polity as the basis and to contribute spontaneously to the advancement of world culture. Our nation early saw the introduction of Chinese and Indian cultures and even succeeded in evolving original creations and developments. This was made possible, indeed, by the profound and boundless nature of our national polity, so that the mission of the people to whom it is bequeathed is truly great in its historical significance. [pp. 175, 178, 180–83]

[Adapted from Hall and Gauntlett, *Kokutai no hongi*, pp. 52–183]

WATSUJI TETSURŌ

Watsuji Tetsurō (1889–1960) was a major figure in Japanese philosophy during the Shōwa period. He held prestigious posts as professor at Kyoto Imperial

University (1925–1934) and Tokyo Imperial University (1934–1949). He is best known for his writings on the effect of climate on Japanese culture and on the distinctive ethics, aesthetics, and spirit (*seishin*) of the Japanese people.

The principal factor in Watsuji's analysis of the benign climatological influence on Japanese life and culture was the alternation of the monsoons (including the typhoon phenomenon):

> [The] distinctive Japanese way of life reflected its adjustment—acceptance or resignation—to this alternation of the monsoon seasons, in the form of a copious outflow of emotion constantly changing yet concealing perseverance beneath this change; at every moment in this alternation of mutability and endurance, there is abruptness. This activity of emotions sinks to resigned acquiescence in resistance, and underneath the exaltation of activity there lies a quiet and suddenly apparent abandonment. This is a quiet savagery of emotion, a fighting disinterest. Here we discover the national spirit of Japan.[4]

Most of the major philosophers of the prewar period reacted in some way to Japan's growing nationalism and militarism. Nishida Kitarō (1870–1945 [see chap. 49]) and Tanabe Hajime (1885–1962) are leading examples of this response in the so-called Kyoto school. Tanabe, although much influenced by Nishida, criticized him for his lack of a political philosophy and went on to formulate an alternative to Nishida's philosophy of "place" (*topos*) with one that tended to absolutize the state. At the same time (before World War II), Watsuji was focusing on the distinctive Japanese ethics or spirit.

Watsuji, Nishida, and Tanabe, however, had little to say about the actual political process, organization, or structure of the state, and their philosophies left considerable political room for adjustments in the very different atmosphere after World War II.

THE WAY OF THE JAPANESE SUBJECT (*NIHON NO SHINDŌ*)

The following are Watsuji Tetsurō's views on several of the issues that are dealt with in *Fundamentals of Our National Polity* (*Kokutai no hongi*). They are significant as a reflection on the stages in the development of Japanese thought already presented in earlier chapters of this volume. Watsuji was particularly known for his emphasis on the "stadial," or multilayered, development of Japanese culture and thought, the idea that they grew by incorporating incrementally the main features of the successive phases through which the Japanese had passed.

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4. Watsuji, *Climate*, pp. 127–28.

In the Japanese title of this work, *Nihon no shindō*, the term *shin* (read here as "subject"), had undergone considerable evolution. In Confucianism from early times, it meant "minister" and was most prominently defined in terms of the responsibility of the minister to help the ruler govern in the interests of the people (*min*). The "people," as subjects of the state, were not thought of as participating themselves; rather, it was to be government *for* the people, not government *by* the people. In medieval Japan, *shin* became identified with the retainers of a feudal lord, the samurai who served him with absolute and undying loyalty.

The practice of the samurai was expressed in the moral sentiment that he "should not regret giving his life for his lord." As described repeatedly in such things as the medieval war tales, the warriors of eastern Japan truly abandoned their lives in a dauntless spirit. This was indeed a magnificent ethic that can still be appreciated. But on those occasions the "lord" referred to was the lord of one's own domain or, in the highest case, the shogun, one of his direct retainers, or a lower shogunal official. In this way the samurai were sacrificing their lives within a system of vertical feudal relations. Consequently, even if they said they were attacking an enemy, it was in the context of the necessities of medieval civil warfare. In such a situation, if their sense of love and gratitude toward their lord was extremely powerful, no one would give a second thought to what they were giving their lives for. If those samurai began to reflect on the significance of the death-defying duty they undertook, they would perhaps have become confused. And in point of historical fact, this gave rise to two tendencies in the late Muromachi period. On the one hand, in the samurai class a tendency arose that was referred to as "the lower overcoming the higher" (*gekokujō* [upsetting the vertical hierarchical relations]) and superseding one's lord. On the other hand, some of them sought a deeper point than the feudal vertical system of loyalties for the significance of casting away one's life. This latter tendency gave rise to the Way of venerating the emperor (*sonnō*), which was an ancient cultural legacy from the beginning of the Japanese nation. This latter code of honor came to blend with a deepening understanding of Buddhism or Confucianism as the samurai's code of belief. All these motivations caused the samurai to embody a consciousness that transcended death and life. . . .

For the convenience of discussion, let me first take up the connection of these ideas with Buddhism. The fundamental force that created what is known as Kamakura-period Buddhism was this standpoint of the warrior who willingly sacrificed his life for his lord. Kamakura-period Buddhism undoubtedly represents a Japanization of Buddhism. . . . However, the initial feudal standpoint of willingly sacrificing one's life for one's lord that accompanied this important cultural development in Kamakura Buddhism ripened, through a process of further historical mediation, into the deeper standpoint of transcending death and life. The samurai consciousness matured into an absolute consciousness incomparably greater than their sense of their own individual lives and loyalties.

It was Zen that was deeply linked to the life of the warriors at this stage, permeating every corner of it. For example, it was Zen that permeated their art of swordsmanship. Because the art of swordsmanship is a discipline of killing an enemy, a Westerner might think that it was totally unconnected with religion. But as a matter of fact, the Japanese samurai experienced the consummation of their art of the sword precisely in the teachings of Zen. Hence the literature is replete with such phrases as "the unity of Zen and the sword." . . .

Next, I would like to consider the connection between the idea of dying and Confucianism. This was not an original strain of Chinese Confucianism. It was the Japanese samurai who gave shape to the concept from their own experience. The connection with Confucianism came later. As mentioned earlier, the code of the samurai (*bushidō*) could not attain an ideal resolution in the system of vertical relationships with their feudal lords. In due course, as the samurai class acquired a more profound sense than this vertical form of loyalty to their lords, their own raw struggles for power among themselves gave rise to the sense of another Way—a Way independent of the system of feudal hierarchies. They came to respect the sheer act of courage in itself entailed in sacrificing their lives without personal regrets. They would freely cast aside even their own lives in order to preserve their courage, purity of intention, and nobility of spirit. It was here that they discovered a more precious value than their own lives—the direct opposite of the attitude of preserving one's own life at all costs. In this historical evolution, the standpoint that transcends death and life resurfaced. The senses of dignity and of honor that emerged from this standpoint in the samurai of the late Muromachi period were then clearly linked to Confucianism as it began to gain prominence at the beginning of the Tokugawa period. . . .

Confucianism basically expounds a morality of the Confucian noble man motivated by benevolence, or humanity (*jen*). The literal meaning of the Confucian noble man (*junzi*) concept referred to a person in the position of governing the common people. But the Japanese expounded a philosophy of the superior man's embodying the Way of Confucius, and they further equated this with the Way of the warrior. The samurai class was acquiring a civil status and functions. . . . In this way, *bushidō* came to be recognized as a living embodiment of the Confucian Way—a Way that was grasped as more valuable than life itself.

[This] was at first mediated as a purely formal Confucian concept; consequently, it gained currency not as the theory of venerating the Japanese emperor (*sonnō*) but merely that of venerating a lord (*son'ō*). . . .

This Way of venerating the emperor had in fact been an unbroken thread of thought from the very beginning of Japanese history, taking root deeply in the lives of the Japanese people. Even in the periods in which the samurai were preoccupied with their own system of direct feudal relations, the spirit of venerating the emperor existed in the depths of its heart. . . .

Insofar as this standpoint of venerating the emperor embodies the absolute in the Japanese nation, it is far more concrete than the so-called world religions. But again, insofar as it does not make the absolute into a specific god, it stands on a far loftier level than the world religions. Therefore it is able to blend tolerance with any kind of religion, even while shining forth in its own brilliance and august dignity. . . .

One of the reasons the samurai class subordinated Buddhism to Confucianism three hundred years ago can be found here. However much Zen taught the samurai about an absolute state of existence, they could not allow Zen's accompanying disparagement of the moral domain. This perception was a correct one. Their entering into a state of absolute existence and their serving the emperor had to be directly one process. . . .

The true destruction of the self is certainly not realized in a standpoint in which one thinks of the private interests of one's class, party, or group. A task ordered by the emperor is a public task, a national task, concerning which there should be no admixture or adulteration of selfish or partisan interest. In carrying out such a public task, destruction of the egotistic self involves thoroughly realizing a condition that transcends death and life. The most important matter is that the duty of the subject is a public duty that stands above the people and governs them. This is the basic meaning of subject (*omi/shin*), as distinguished from people (*tami/min*). . . .

This, then, is the Way of the Japanese subject, a Way already understood by our ancestors more than one thousand years ago. Thereafter, as the Way of the warrior based on their system of vertical relationships in the separate feudal domains, it passed through various fires until it has now finally crystallized into an unparalleled beautiful jewel on the world-historical stage of today. . . .

[Adapted from Dilworth and Viglielmo, eds., *Sourcebook for Modern Japanese Philosophy*, pp. 279–87]

Chapter 45

EMPIRE AND WAR

The occupation of Manchuria, planned by Kwantung Army officers in 1931/1932, set in motion nearly a decade and a half of Japanese territorial expansion and military aggression on the Asian mainland and in the western Pacific. To be sure, Japan had already become an imperialist power in the late Meiji period. After winning wars with China in 1894/1895 and with Russia in 1904/1905, its colonial possessions stretched from Taiwan in the south through Korea to southern Sakhalin in the north, and under the provisions of the "unequal treaty" system Japan enjoyed the same rights and privileges in China as did the other imperialist countries. None of the Western powers, except perhaps for Russia, had contested these acquisitions, nor did they try to check Japan's expansion. On the contrary, with varying degrees of enthusiasm, they welcomed Japanese power as a "civilizing force" in East Asia.

By the early 1930s, the world had changed. The rise of anticolonial and anti-imperialist movements in European colonial territories like India and French Indochina had found sympathetic support in the newly established Soviet Union, whose leaders proclaimed their own anti-imperialist ideology. The world revolution, declared the Soviet leader Lenin, would begin not in the capitalist home countries but in the colonies or semicolonial areas where their power was weakest. This idea also appealed to Chinese nationalist intellectuals and activists, who embraced a radical anti-imperialist nationalism as they strug-

gled to reunite and strengthen their country after the republican revolution of 1911/1912. In 1924 Soviet advisers helped the Guomindang, the leading nationalist organization, to reorganize, and members of the fledgling Chinese Communist Party joined it in a "united front" against the forces of imperialism and reaction in China.

Imperialism, colonialism, and territorial expansion were no longer unquestioned or unchallenged by Western leaders, either. A critical turning point in Western attitudes came with the peace settlement at the end of World War I. President Woodrow Wilson, who had declared the conflict a "war to end all wars," insisted that the victorious powers respect the right of all nationalities to "national self-determination" and proposed a new system of collective security based on the League of Nations. His idealistic vision was attractive to many Japanese political leaders, who welcomed a respite from the international competition that had driven the country for nearly two generations. During the 1920s, civilian-dominated political party cabinets cooperated with the American and British governments in constructing a diplomatic framework to reduce international tensions in East Asia and to phase out imperialist rights and privileges in China.

Other Japanese leaders, however, found the Wilsonian vision hypocritical and self-serving. Despite its call for "national self-determination," it was clear that Western colonial powers were willing neither to abandon their own colonies nor to include a "racial equality" clause in the League of Nations charter. And when the United States Congress passed legislation in 1924 restricting immigration from both Japan and the rest of Asia, an incensed Japanese press called it a "day of national humiliation." Many politicians called for a "positive" foreign policy more assertive of Japan's strategic interests and more independent of the Anglo-American powers. As Guomindang military forces moved northward in the mid-1920s in an effort to reunite China and unilaterally put an end to imperialist privilege, the Japanese public had become deeply divided over foreign policy issues. It was in this context that the Kwantung Army seized the initiative in Manchuria.

Japan's rapid and successful occupation of Manchuria enjoyed enormous political support and popular enthusiasm at home. But as the country embarked on its new imperialist expansion in the 1930s, Japanese political leaders, intellectuals, and journalists had to explain their policies to themselves, to the Japanese domestic public, and to the world in terms that suited the anti-imperialist temper of the times. Since the late Meiji period, advocates of expansion had been drawn to a Pan-Asian vision of an East Asia united under the Japanese leadership to counter the political, economic, and cultural intrusions of the Western countries, which some Japanese journalists sarcastically referred to as "the white peril." The ideology of Japanese imperialism in the 1930s and 1940s drew heavily on a similar rhetoric, stressing bonds of culture, language, values,

and interests linking Japan to the countries it dominated. But imperialistic rhetoric increasingly insisted that Japan's mission was not simply to resist Western incursions but to liberate colonial and semicolonial regions of Asia from their Western oppressors.

The collapse of the world economy in the late 1920s and early 1930s provided another kind of rhetoric to justify Japan's expansion. The advance into Manchuria, for example, was touted as the opening of a new economic "frontier" or "lifeline" for a Japan struggling to overcome the impact of the world depression. During the 1930s, when Western countries adopted protectionist policies in their domestic and colonial markets to shore up their ailing economies, many Japanese political and intellectual leaders were convinced that the world would soon be dominated by a number of large regional economic and political blocs and that to survive in such a world, Japan would have to build a bloc of its own. The more optimistic saw building such a bloc as a major turning point in human history, with a triumphant Asia under Japanese leadership rising as the morally corrupt and economically defunct West went into decline. Indeed, many intellectuals spoke of the "world historical significance" of Japan's expansion in Asia, and political leaders quickly turned the phrase to their own uses.

In contrast to the late Meiji period, when the Western powers regarded Japanese imperialism with admiration tempered by apprehension, Japanese expansion in the 1930s turned the country into a diplomatic pariah. When the League of Nations issued a report in 1933 censuring Japan for its seizure of Manchuria, the Japanese government responded by withdrawing from the organization. Instead, it forged cordial relations with Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, which were engaged in their own campaigns of territorial expansion in Europe and the Mediterranean region. Japan signed an anti-Communist pact with both countries in 1936 and then established a more formal diplomatic alliance in 1940. These actions put it on a collision course with Great Britain, France, and, ultimately, the United States.

After an undeclared war between China and Japan broke out in 1937, the government began to gear up the country for a long-term mobilization. Unlike Japan's earlier imperialistic wars, which were fought quickly and decisively, the war in China became a dreary and brutal war of attrition. To organize the population economically and politically, the cabinet of Konoe Fumimaro forced a national mobilization law through the Diet in 1938 and began a "spiritual mobilization" campaign to rally popular morale. When Konoe returned to power again in 1940, he proclaimed the need for a "new political order" to unite the country behind the emperor, and the political parties in the Diet dissolved themselves. While Japan never became a one-party totalitarian state like its allies, Germany and Italy, the country was transformed into a garrison state mobilized for "total war."

When the Japanese leadership decided to move into French Indochina in the fall of 1940 to end the military stalemate in China, Japan found itself face-

to-face with the United States. After a series of unsuccessful negotiations intended to deflect American hostility, Japanese naval forces attacked the American naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, on December 7, 1941, and then launched a series of strikes that put Japan in control of much of Southeast Asia and the western Pacific. Significantly, the government designated the hostilities as the "Greater East Asia War," indicating that the deepest meaning of the war was the struggle to create an "Asia for Asians" by liberating the region from the thrall of "white imperialism" or "Anglo-American imperialism." In 1943 leaders from Japan together with those from Manchukuo (Manchuria) and several other territories under Japanese occupation issued a "Greater East Asia Declaration" outlining the goals of the war. Almost Wilsonian in tone, it committed the nations of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere to such principles as "coexistence and co-prosperity," "mutual respect for sovereign independence," "mutual cooperation and assistance," and the "elimination of racial prejudice."

THE IMPACT OF WORLD WAR I: A CONFLICT BETWEEN DEFENDERS AND OPPONENTS OF THE STATUS QUO

KONOE FUMIMARO

Konoe Fumimaro (1891–1945), the scion of an aristocratic family that traced its ancestry to the Heian period, served as prime minister during the outbreak of war with China in 1937 and later during the negotiations with the United States in 1941. He inherited a seat in the House of Peers from his father, Konoe Atsumaro, an ardent nationalist who argued for a strong stance toward Russia on the eve of the Russo-Japanese War. In 1918 Konoe, by then a protégé of Saionji Kinmochi, was appointed as a member of the Japanese delegation to the Paris Peace Conference. The following essay, written in November 1918, on the eve of his departure, summarizes a view of the world shared by many Japanese political and military leaders of his generation, who had grown up in a Japan that had emerged as a major world power but whose people still faced racial discrimination abroad.

"AGAINST A PACIFISM CENTERED ON ENGLAND AND AMERICA" (EI-BEI HON'I NO HEIWASHUGI O HAISU)

In my view, the European war has been a conflict between established powers and powers not yet established, a conflict between countries that found upholding the status quo convenient and countries that found overthrowing the

status quo convenient. The countries that found upholding the status quo convenient clamored for peace, while the countries that found overthrowing the status quo convenient cried out for war. Pacifism does not always serve justice and humanism, and militarism does not always violate justice and humanism. All depends on the nature of the status quo. If the prewar status quo was the best possible and was consonant with justice and humanism, he who would destroy it is the enemy of justice and humanism; but if the status quo did not meet the criteria of justice and humanism, its destroyer is not necessarily the enemy of justice and humanism. By the same token, the pacifist countries that would uphold this status quo are not necessarily qualified to pride themselves on being the champions of justice and humanity.

Although England and America may have regarded Europe's prewar status as ideal, an impartial third party cannot acknowledge it to have been ideal in terms of justice and humanism. As the colonial history of England and France attests, they long ago occupied the less civilized regions of the world, made them into colonies, and had no scruples about monopolizing them for their own profit. Therefore not only Germany but all late-developing countries were in the position of having no land to seize and being unable to find any room for expansion. This state of affairs contravenes the principle of equal opportunity for all humanity, jeopardizes all nations' equal right to survival, and is a gross violation of justice and humanity. Germany's wish to overthrow this order was quite justified; the means it chose, however, were unfair and immoderate, and because they were based on militarism, with its emphasis on armed might, Germany received the world's opprobrium. Nevertheless, as a Japanese, I cannot help feeling deep sympathy for what Germany has to do.

The Need to Repudiate Economic Imperialism

At the coming peace conference, in joining the League of Nations Japan must insist at the very least, that repudiation of economic imperialism and nondiscriminatory treatment of Orientals and Caucasians be agreed upon from the start. Militarism is not the only thing injurious to justice and humanism. Although the world has been saved from the smoke of gunpowder and the hail of bullets by Germany's defeat, military might is not all that threatens nations' equal right to survival. We must realize that there is invasion through money, conquest through wealth. Just as we repudiate military imperialism, so in the same spirit we should naturally repudiate economic imperialism, which seeks to profit by monopolizing enormous capital and abundant natural resources and suppressing other nations' free growth without recourse to arms. I cannot avoid grave misgivings as to how far economic imperialism can be repudiated at the coming peace conference, led as it is by England and America, which I fear will unsheathe the sword of their economic imperialism after the war.

If we cannot subdue this rampant economic imperialism at the peace conference, England and America, which have profited most from the war, will promptly unify the world under their economic dominance and will rule the world, using the League of Nations and arms limitations to fix the status quo that serves their purpose. How will other countries endure this? Deprived of arms to express their revulsion and indignation, they will have no choice but to follow England and America, bleating in their wake like a flock of meek sheep. England has lost no time in trumpeting a policy of self-sufficiency, and many are advocating that other countries be denied access to its colonies. Such are the contradictions between what England and America say and what they do. This, indeed, is why I am wary of those who glorify England and America. If such a policy is carried out, needless to say it would be a great economic blow to Japan. Japan is limited in territory, [is] poor in natural resources, and has a small population and thus a meager market for manufactured products. If England closed off its colonies, how would we be able to assure the nation's secure survival? In such a case, the need to ensure its survival would compel Japan to attempt to overthrow the status quo as Germany did before the war. If this is the fate awaiting all late-developing countries with little territory and no colonies, not only for the sake of Japan but for the sake of establishing the equal right to life of all nations of the world on the basis of justice and humanism, we must do away with economic imperialism and see that countries do not monopolize their colonies but accord other countries equal use of them both as markets for manufactured products and as suppliers of natural resources.

The next thing that the Japanese, especially, should insist upon is the elimination of discrimination between Caucasians and Orientals. There is no need to dwell on the fact that the United States, along with the English colonies of Australia and Canada, opens its doors to Caucasians but looks down on the Japanese and on Orientals in general and rejects them. This is something at which the Japanese have long chafed. Not only are Orientals barred from employment and forbidden to lease houses and farmland, but still worse, it is reported that in some places an Oriental wishing to spend the night at a hotel is required to have a Caucasian guarantor. This is a grave humanitarian problem that no defender of justice, Oriental or otherwise, should overlook.

At the coming peace conference, we must see that the English and Americans show deep remorse for their past sins and change their arrogant and insulting attitude, and we must insist, from the standpoint of justice and humanism, that they revise all laws that call for discriminatory treatment of Orientals, including of course rescinding immigration restrictions against Orientals. I believe that the coming peace conference will be the great test of whether the human race can bring itself to reconstruct a world based on justice and humanism. If Japan does not rashly endorse a pacifism centered on England and America but steadfastly asserts its position from the standpoint of justice and

humanism in the true sense, it will long be celebrated in history as the champion of justice.

[Konoe, "Against a Pacifism," pp. 12–14; "Ei-Bei hon'i no heiwashugi o haisu," pp. 23–26]

A PLAN TO OCCUPY MANCHURIA

ISHIHARA KANJI

In 1931 Ishihara Kanji (1886–1949), a staff officer of the Kwantung Army, the Japanese garrison force stationed in southern Manchuria, plotted with fellow officers to seize control of the three northeastern provinces of China (commonly known as Manchuria) by military force. Research into military history had convinced Ishihara that the world faced an apocalyptic "final war" between a West unified by the United States and an Asia under the leadership of Japan. As a first step in preparation for this conflict, Ishihara wished to consolidate Japan's position on the Asian continent. The following position paper, written in May 1931, on the eve of the takeover of Manchuria, outlines his fundamental views on continental policy.

PERSONAL OPINION ON THE MANCHURIA–MONGOLIA PROBLEM (MANMŌ MONDAI SHIKEN)

The Value of Manchuria and Mongolia

A world dominated by the five superpowers that emerged from the Great War in Europe will eventually be united into one system. A struggle for supremacy between the United States, as the representative of the West, and Japan, as the champion of the East, will decide who will control it.

The basic principle of our national policy must be to acquire rapidly what we need to qualify as the champion of the East.

To overcome the current economic depression and to secure what we need to become the champion of the East requires rapidly expanding the borders necessary to maintain our sphere of influence. Although the Manchuria–Mongolia region is not suited to the solution of our population problem or endowed with sufficient natural resources for Greater Japan, at the present moment the solution of the so-called Manchuria–Mongolia problem should be our first priority, for the following reasons.

POLITICAL VALUE

1. For a nation-state to play an active role in the world, its most essential requirement is a favorable national defense position. The reason why Germany's

defensive position is so unstable today is that the British hegemons established an advantageous defensive position in the nineteenth century. As the American navy grows, the British Empire in turn will find its defensive position seriously threatened; and as American economic power advances, the United States will become the champion of the Western peoples.

Our country must resist the encroachments of Russia to the north as it simultaneously confronts British and American naval power to the south. The Hulunbeier region in the Greater Xiangan Range [in northern Manchuria] is of especially important strategic value to Japan. If our country brings northern Manchuria under its influence, Russia will find it extremely difficult to advance to the east. It will not be difficult to [block Russia] simply by building up our strength in Manchuria and Mongolia. If our country is relieved of its burden to the north, depending on the dictates of national policy, it can then make bold plans for development toward China proper or toward the South Sea region.

The Manchuria–Mongolia region is of enormous strategic importance with respect to the destiny and development of our country.

2. If the Manchuria–Mongolia region is brought under our influence, then our control over Korea will be stabilized.

3. If our country shows firm determination by resolving the Manchuria–Mongolia problem through force, it can assume a position of leadership toward China; it can promote China's unity and stability; and it can guarantee peace in the East.

ECONOMIC VALUE

1. Agriculture in the Manchuria–Mongolia region is sufficient to solve the problem of food supplies for our people.

2. Iron from Anshan, coal from Fushun, and other resources [in Manchuria] are sufficient to build up our present heavy-industrial base.

3. Various business enterprises in the Manchuria–Mongolia region will enable us to break out of economic depression by helping those currently unemployed in our country. Even though the natural resources of the Manchuria–Mongolia region will not be enough to make us the champion of the East, they are sufficient to relieve our present plight and to build a foundation for a great leap forward.

The Solution of the Manchuria–Mongolia Problem

It is clear from the history of the past twenty-five years that it will be difficult to expect even limited development under the aegis of today's crafty Chinese politicos. To stabilize our national defenses as the guardian of the East against Russia, we must be aware that there is no solution to the Manchuria–Mongolia problem but to make the region our own territory.

The solution to the Manchuria–Mongolia problem rests on two assumptions: first, that making Manchuria–Mongolia into our territory is a just action; and, second, that our country has the power to carry this policy out resolutely.

Of course, we should heed those who argue that since Chinese society is finally making advances toward becoming a capitalist economy, our country should withdraw its political and military facilities from the Manchuria–Mongolia region and pursue our economic development in harmony with the revolution of the Han people. But on the basis of direct observation, I think that it is extremely doubtful that the Chinese will be able to build a modern nation-state by themselves. On the contrary, I firmly believe that if our country establishes peace and order, it will contribute to the natural development and well-being of the Han people [in Manchuria].

The mission of our Japan is to overthrow the warlords and bureaucrats who are the common enemy of the 30 million people living in Manchuria. Our country's control over the Manchuria–Mongolia region, moreover, will bring about the unification of China proper. This is also the best thing that could happen for the development of Western economic interests in China. But the Westerners, who are deeply envious of us, will almost certainly respond in a hostile manner. We must anticipate military opposition from the United States and, depending on the circumstances, from Russia and Britain as well. The China and the Manchuria–Mongolia problems are not problems in our relations with China but in our relations with the United States. Unless we are determined to destroy this enemy, we will no more be able to solve this problem than we will be able to catch fish in a tree.

At first glance such a war may seem quite difficult for our country, but we must take into consideration geomilitary relations in East Asia. It will be extremely difficult for Russia to launch a powerful attack on us once it has withdrawn from northern Manchuria and we have occupied the same region. And it will be extraordinarily difficult for anyone to overcome our country by means of naval power.

Some [people] may be pessimistic about war from an economic point of view, but the costs will be slight. Since war expenses can be recovered in the war zone, we have little to fear financially, and if need be, we will resolutely establish a planned economy embracing both the homeland and the occupied territory. Naturally we may not be able to avoid a temporary major turmoil in the economic world, but eventually we will be able to overcome the economic crisis and progress to the same level as the advanced industrial countries.

It will be to our advantage to carry out this war by 1936 at the very latest, before Russia has recovered economically and before the United States has built up its naval power. This war will be a long one, however, so it is extremely important that the state devise war plans before it begins.

The Timing of the Solution

The present situation in our country raises concerns about how easy it will be to achieve national unity in the event of war. For that reason, at first it might seem logical to give priority to the domestic reconstruction of the country. But we fear that it will be difficult to achieve a so-called internal reconstruction and national unity and that it will take much time to achieve political stability. And even if political stability is achieved, it is clear from the experience of the Russian Revolution that since we do not yet have detailed and appropriate plans for reforming the economic structure, we must expect a temporary downturn in our country's economy.

If we can first draw up war plans and convince our capitalists that victory is possible, it will not be at all impossible to move the present political regime toward a positive foreign policy. History has shown that military success, especially at the early stage of a war, arouses and unites popular sentiment.

War will inevitably bring economic good times. If we encounter economic difficulties as the war goes on for an extended period, we will carry out various reforms under martial law. . . . If we were confident that we could achieve political stability and establish concrete reform plans by 1936, then giving priority to internal reforms would not necessarily be a bad idea. But given current social and political conditions in our country, it is more appropriate to spur on the nation, charge on toward external development, and then, depending on the circumstances, firmly carry out domestic reforms at the same time.

[*Ishihara Kanji shiryō*, vol. 2, *Kokubō ronsaku*, in *Meiji Hyakunenshi shiryō*, vol. 18, pp. 76–79; PD]

THE ECONOMIC NEED FOR EXPANSION

HASHIMOTO KINGORŌ

Hashimoto Kingorō (1890–1957), an army officer who organized plots against the civilian government in 1931, advocated military insurrection at home and aggressive expansion abroad. After he was forced to resign his commission because of his involvement in the unsuccessful military putsch of February 26, 1936, he organized the Greater Japan Youth Party, a radical right-wing organization, and eventually was elected to the Diet. Tried and convicted as a class-A war criminal after World War II, he was sentenced to life imprisonment in Sugamo Prison. This 1939 speech, justifying the takeover of Manchuria on economic grounds, was used as evidence against him.

ADDRESSES TO YOUNG MEN

We have already said that there are only three ways left to Japan to escape from the pressure of surplus population. We are like a great crowd of people packed

into a small and narrow room, and there are only three doors through which we might escape, namely, emigration, advance into world markets, and expansion of territory. The first door, emigration, has been barred to us by the anti-Japanese immigration policies of other countries. The second door, advance into world markets, is being pushed shut by tariff barriers and the abrogation of commercial treaties. What should Japan do when two of the three doors have been closed against her? It is quite natural that Japan should rush upon the last remaining door.

It may sound dangerous when we speak of territorial expansion, but the territorial expansion of which we speak does not in any sense of the word involve the occupation of the possessions of other countries, the planting of the Japanese flag thereon, and the declaration of their annexation to Japan. It is just that since the Powers have suppressed the circulation of Japanese materials and merchandise abroad, we are looking for some place overseas where Japanese capital, Japanese skills, and Japanese labor can have free play, free from the oppression of the white race.

We would be satisfied with just this much. What moral right do the world powers who have themselves closed to us the two doors of emigration and advance into world markets have to criticize Japan's attempt to rush out of the third and last door? If they do not approve of this, they should open the doors which they have closed against us and permit the free movement overseas of Japanese emigrants and merchandise.

At the time of the Manchurian incident, the entire world joined in criticism of Japan. They said that Japan was an untrustworthy nation. They said that she had recklessly brought cannon and machine guns into Manchuria, which was the territory of another country, flown airplanes over it, and finally occupied it. But the military action taken by Japan was not in the least a selfish one. Moreover, we do not recall ever having taken so much as an inch of territory belonging to another nation. The result of this incident was the establishment of the splendid new nation of [Manchukuo]. The Powers are still discussing whether or not to recognize this new nation, but regardless of whether or not other nations recognize her, the Manchurian empire has already been established, and now, seven years after its creation, the empire is further consolidating its foundations with the aid of its friend, Japan.

And if it is still protested that our actions in Manchuria were excessively violent, we may wish to ask the white race just which country it was that sent warships and troops to India, South Africa, and Australia and slaughtered innocent natives, bound their hands and feet with iron chains, lashed their backs with iron whips, proclaimed these territories as their own, and still continues to hold them to this very day?

They will invariably reply, these were all lands inhabited by untamed savages. These people did not know how to develop the abundant resources of

their land for the benefit of mankind. Therefore it was the wish of God, who created heaven and earth for mankind, for us to develop these undeveloped lands and to promote the happiness of mankind in their stead. God wills it.

This is quite a convenient argument for them. Let us take it at face value. Then there is another question we must ask them. Suppose that there is still on this earth land endowed with abundant natural resources that have not been developed at all by the white race. Would it not then be God's will and the will of Providence that Japan go there and develop those resources for the benefit of mankind?

And there still remain many such lands on this earth.

[IMTFE, document 487B, exhibit 1290]

KONOE FUMIMARO

On November 3, 1938, nearly a year and a half after the outbreak of war with the Guomindang government under Chiang Kai-shek, Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro proclaimed in a radio address the establishment of a "new order in East Asia" as the objective of Japan's policy toward China. Although prompted by the hope of winning the cooperation and collaboration of anti-Chiang leaders like Wang Jingwei, the new slogan became a rallying cry at home as well.

RADIO ADDRESS

It is a historical necessity that the three great neighbor nations—China, Manchukuo, and Japan—while fully retaining their respective individuality, should stand closely united in their common duty of safeguarding East Asia. It is deeply to be deplored not only for the sake of Japan but for that of all Asia that the attainment of this goal has been thwarted through the mistaken policy of the Guomindang government. The policy of the Guomindang government was based on a transient fashion of the period that followed the Great War. It did not originate in the native intelligence and good sense of the Chinese people. In particular, the conduct of that government, which in its efforts to stay in power cared not whether the nation was left prey to Communism or relegated to a minor colonial status, cannot but be regarded as treason toward those many patriotic Chinese who had risked their lives in order to erect a new China. It was in those circumstances that Japan, reluctant as she was to be involved in the tragedy of two great kindred nations fighting against each other, was compelled to take up arms against the Chiang Kai-shek regime. . . .

The nations of the world must surely be able to comprehend these new developments in East Asia. It is undisputed history that China heretofore has been a victim of the rivalry between the powers whose imperialistic ambitions

have constantly imperiled her tranquillity and independence. Japan realizes the need of fundamentally rectifying such a state of affairs, and she is eager to see a new order established in East Asia, a new structure of peace based on true justice.

Japan is in no way opposed to collaboration with foreign powers, nor does she desire to impair their legitimate rights and interests. If the Powers, understanding her true motives, will formulate policies adapted to the new conditions, Japan will be glad to cooperate with them. Japan's zeal for stamping out Communism is certainly well known. The aim of the Comintern is to sovietize the Orient and to overturn the world. Japan is firmly determined to eradicate the Communistic influence, which is behind the so-called long-term resistance of the Chiang regime. Germany and Italy, our allies against Communism, have manifested their sympathies with Japan's aims in East Asia, and we are profoundly grateful for the great encouragement that their moral support has given our nation during this crisis. In the present emergency, it is necessary for Japan not only to strengthen still further her ties with those countries but also to collaborate with them on the basis of a common world outlook toward the reconstruction of world order.

[*Tokyo Gazette* 2 (December 1938): 17–20]

NATIONAL MOBILIZATION

ARMY MINISTRY

Beginning in 1934, the army published a series of pamphlets explaining its policies in Manchuria and calling for plans to mobilize the country for a prolonged war. After declaring that "war is the father of creation and the mother of culture," the pamphlet *On the Basic Meaning of National Defense and Its Intensification* (*Kokubō no hongi to sono kyōka no teishō*) outlined why future wars could no longer be fought as they had been in the past. It called for the establishment of a "national defense state" geared for war preparation. Many left-wing politicians supported the views expressed, but centrist-conservative parties in the Diet protested against this and other army pamphlets as unconstitutional military interference in politics.

ON THE BASIC MEANING OF NATIONAL DEFENSE AND ITS INTENSIFICATION (KOKUBŌ NO HONGI TO SONO KYŌKA NO TEISHŌ)

The essence of national defense policy must be the organization and administration of the nation-state to manifest the highest level of its total energy.

The concept of national defense has developed in three stages, from the traditional concept of national defense as military preparedness to a new concept of national defense today.

Before the Great War, national defense was narrowly defined to mean military preparedness with the objective of carrying out armed conflict. War was the exclusive responsibility of the army. The people of the nation participated in national defense only in the sense of providing the army with "support behind the lines."

The extraordinary development of science and technology and the growing complexity of international relations have invariably widened the scale of war. Armed warfare does not occur in isolation but develops simultaneously with diplomatic warfare, economic warfare, ideological warfare, and other kinds of warfare. Coordinating these elements into war goals and preparing a wartime leadership structure during peacetime have become inextricably linked to the achievement of victory in war.

From these circumstances sprang the idea of total mobilization as the basis for armed conflict, an idea much talked about since the Great War. Total mobilization is the means by which the army and the people unite in a single body to carry on armed warfare. It is this concept of national defense that has come to be accepted by knowledgeable people in our imperial land.

We have come to the point, however, that we must again reexamine the concept of national defense. The worldwide economic depression and the confusion in international relations resulting from the Great War have led to political and economic confrontations among blocs of nation-states. At present the international struggle for survival has reached the stage of white heat.

In the midst of peace, grave economic, ideological, and other conflicts are emerging everywhere. Under these circumstances we will be the losers in international competition, as well as in armed conflict, if the entire energy of the nation-state is not placed under total control vis-à-vis the outside world. We have no choice but to change our concept of national defense; we must put aside the concept that national defense centers on armed warfare.

Just as an individual person needs his total strength, whether physical, psychological, or intellectual, when he competes with others, so too the nation-state needs to mobilize its total national strength when it competes [with other nations]. If we aspire to bring about the true, superb, assured, and splendid creative development of our national life, we must rely on the actualization of the fundamental energy that sustains and drives it, that is, the force of national defense.

National defense is not aimed just at armed warfare arising from international competition; it is the energy and force behind the life of the nation. The idea that national defense is the actualization of the fundamental energy sustaining the creation and development of the nation-state is absolutely central to the life of the nation. As international rivalry intensifies and international

struggle for supremacy spreads, national defense is of the utmost necessity to clarify the ideals of our imperial land and to emerge victorious in the violent competition. . . .

Given the situation enveloping our imperial land at present, it goes without saying that we must make extraordinary efforts in the face of heavy pressure from the Powers. In these unprecedented times, nothing is more urgent than to strengthen our national defense organization. Since our latent strength in national defense has been sufficient to overcome the current emergency, the Powers clearly feel strongly that the rapid advances of our imperial land constitute an enormous threat to them in the future. The question is, how can we achieve our actual strength through the power of organization?

To secure the future of our imperial land, we must adopt various necessary emergency measures to overcome the current emergency. It will be difficult, but we must succor the masses who have grown poor under the present system and improve the living standards of the nation's people. We must exert ourselves to achieve the highest level of our national strength by reexamining all our national state organizations in light of our relations with the outside world; by resolutely carrying out a fundamental reconstruction of our national finances, our national economy, our diplomacy, and our education of the people; by organizing and harnessing the enormous latent spiritual strength of our imperial land for the sake of national defense; and by managing all this in a consistent and unified way. These measures will at the same time serve as policies to deal with the crisis now confronting our imperial land.

Some take the optimistic view that international conflict is not inevitable in the present situation and that we can turn things to our advantage solely through diplomatic means. But such are the views of people who do not understand international conditions. These mistaken notions must not lead the people of the nation astray. . . .

When we hear the word *war*, we immediately think of armed warfare. To be sure, armed warfare is the marrow of war. But as we said earlier, modern war does not begin and end with simple armed conflict. To overcome and crush the enemy requires a complete break from ordinary life. Economic warfare, political warfare, [and] ideological warfare play an enormous role as instruments of war in confronting the enemy in battle.

Why was it that Germany was defeated [in the Great War]? Ultimately, of course, it lost on the battlefield. But depending on one's viewpoint, one could also say that until the very end, Germany was in the position of the victor. For five years, Germany kept the Allied countries from penetrating its borders. Is it not truly amazing that it did so simply by relying on its own strength, fighting bravely and well?

Germany's downfall lay in the fact that it could not withstand the economic blockade of the Allied Powers, that its people were succumbing to malnutrition, that its energy to resist weakened, and that on top of all this, as a result of

ideological warfare, the people lost their fighting spirit, and revolutionary ideas spread. In the end, when a process of internal disintegration began, a rush to make peace was inevitable.

To fully manifest the dynamic force of national defense, it is absolutely necessary to organize and coordinate all elements of national defense into one indivisible body. The Powers know this, and at this moment they are anxiously exerting their efforts to complete their military preparations. This is why victory or defeat in future wars will depend on how well a country is bound together and organized for national defense. To put it in a nutshell, modern war is struggle based on the ability to organize. . . .

We have described the goal and essence of national defense. To summarize, it is the fundamental energy behind the creation and development of the nation-state. Naturally, it is wrong to argue that the scale and content of a country's absolute national defense should be tied to how large or small a country is or how wealthy or poor it is. In this world it is an undeniable axiom that every country has an autonomous and independent right of national defense. It is clear that efforts in the past to limit or prohibit military preparedness by means of international treaties have been little more than subterfuges of the Powers to maintain the superiority of their own national defense under the name of pacifism. No internationalist can deny this fact.

As we said already, the passive goal of national defense is to prevent war before it starts. The ultimate goal of law is to create a world in which laws are no longer necessary. In the same way the ultimate goal of an army is to avoid using an army. In other words, nothing could be more desirable than persisting in a passive policy of national defense.

But if we remember how many wars have broken out since the Great War, which many hoped or thought would be the last one; or how the recent upheavals in Austria might have brought on a second great world war if they had gone a step further; or how irrational the new national borders in Europe are; or how unfair and improper the possession of colonial territories is; or how much racial discrimination, economic and financial collapse, conflict over trade and tariffs, and other such problems [plague the world], then there seems little need to discuss whether or not war is inevitable.

[Rikugunshō, *Kokubō no hongi to sono kyōka no teishō*, pp. 2–4, 6–8, 10–13; PD]

KONOE FUMIMARO

Using the mounting sense of crisis created by the military stalemate in China, the Konoe cabinet decided in the summer of 1940 to establish a "new political order," entailing wide-ranging domestic political reforms to strengthen Japan in its confrontations with the outside world. In its original conception, as outlined in the following statement by Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro, the "new

political order" was envisioned as a way to end the political infighting and opposition that had persisted even after the outbreak of the China War. Shortly before this statement was issued, on August 28, 1940, the political parties in the Diet dissolved themselves, paving the way for the creation of a new domestic political order. Critics accused the Konoe cabinet of setting up a "*bakufu*-like structure" between the people and the emperor, but Konoe insisted that the system would exist only to serve the emperor.

CONCERNING THE NEW NATIONAL STRUCTURE (SHIN TAISEI)

In the midst of a world upheaval of unprecedented magnitude, Japan is today going forward with the unparalleled task of creating a new order in East Asia. If she is to bring the China affair to a successful conclusion while adjusting herself to the international situation and taking a leading part in the establishment of a new world order, she must concentrate upon the accomplishment of this task the moral and material resources of the nation to the utmost degree so as to be in a position to take independently, swiftly, and resolutely appropriate measures to meet whatever situation may arise. To this end Japan must perfect a highly organized national defense structure, the basis of which is a powerful internal structure. Consequently, there has arisen the pressing demand for the setting up of a new structure in politics, economy, education, culture, and in all phases of the life of the state and of the people.

This demand is indeed the expression of the will of the nation, transcending cabinet, faction, or individual; nor is it of an ephemeral character for the carrying out of a specific policy but, rather, of a lasting nature for rendering possible the energetic pursuance of any policy when the necessity arises. Whether or not Japan can firmly set up such a strong national structure will decide the rise or fall of the nation. . . .

The aim of the new national structure is to unite all the forces of the state and people, welding into one living whole our hundred million fellow countrymen and enabling them to fulfill in the highest degree their duty as subjects of the throne. The realization of this purpose can only reside in the due performance by each of his appointed task. It is but natural when, as has been the case in the past, the majority of the people have no other opportunity of taking part in government than by casting a vote as the occasion arises once every three or four years, that the nation as a whole should find itself unable to take to heart the destiny of the country.

The organization of the nation is to be that in which the people serve the state in their everyday life, and must therefore embrace the economic and cultural spheres. There must be a solid nationwide structure in which each component part is organized vertically and yet works in coordinated unity on

a horizontal plane. It is because there does not exist such a structure, in which the people can effectively assist the throne, that we see today a tendency toward conflict between those who govern and those who are governed; an absence on the part of the authorities who formulate the nation's policies of a true understanding of the people's real activities; and an indifference on the part of the people toward the formulation of state policies. . . .

The new national structure movement aims at superseding the old party politics predicated upon liberalism. It is essentially national, all-embracing, and public spirited in character. It aims at the concentration and unification of all the forces and resources of the nation. Its activities extend to the whole life of the nation. Even were this movement to rise as a popular movement, its character would not be that of a political party in the old sense. It would, on the contrary, be a national movement standing above any political party, embracing all parties and factions, economic and cultural bodies, and uniting all in the spirit of public service. When such a movement is led by the government, those who hold the reins of government and are entrusted with the task of assisting the throne are always placed in a position where they must seek the welfare of the whole but never be permitted to indulge in party politics which, in their very nature, contain elements of sectional antagonism and conflict.

As I have just stated, the national structure cannot take the form of a political party, especially when it is led by the government. Nor can it be allowed to take the form of a single party system. Such a political system takes a "part" and makes of it a "whole"; it considers the state and the party as one and the same thing and views any opposition to the party as a revolt against the state; it renders permanent the ruling position of one party, with the head of that party as a permanent wielder of the power to govern. No matter what brilliant results such a system may have reaped in other lands, it is not acceptable in Japan, as it is contrary to the basic principle of our national polity of "one sovereign over all." In Japan, it is the privilege of every one of His Imperial Majesty's subjects to assist the throne, and that privilege cannot be monopolized by the power of either a single person or a single party.

If there should arise a difference of opinion concerning the assistance to be offered, the final decision would rest with the throne. And once an imperial decision has been given, all the subjects of the throne should unite in obeying His Majesty's command. That is the very essence of Japanese polity.

[*Tokyo Gazette* 4 (October 1940): 133–36]

THE IMPERIAL RULE ASSISTANCE ASSOCIATION

In October 1940, the Konoe government organized the Imperial Rule Assistance Association (Taisei yokusankai), a national political organization intended to act as the core of the "new political order." The following radio address by

Prime Minister Konoe, delivered on September 28, 1940, explained the reasons for establishing it.

CONFRONTING THE CRISIS

In a period of peace and tranquillity, a nation is liable to live a life of laxity and irresponsibility in all its phases. Nevertheless, once the country is threatened with a national crisis, the entire nation will band together to surmount it. No room is left then for sectionalism, dissensions, or untrammeled discussions. Personal comforts and living must be sacrificed willingly to the common welfare; personal renown and profits must likewise be jettisoned for the sake of the throne and the country. The true character of the Japanese nation finds expression in the unfaltering, courageous service for the cause of the state on the part of all its members in time of emergency. It devolves, on the one hand, on the emergency cabinet to see to it that every member of the nation each finds his or her proper place while serving the state, with heart and soul to the best of his or her ability. What the new structure aims at is the perfection of a political system founded on the principle of the unity of sovereign and subject, under which the will and ideas of those who govern will be made known to those who are governed for the guidance of the latter; and the will and ideas of those who are governed will be communicated to those who govern. In other words, the function of government is to see that the people are enabled to find each his proper place; the duty of each subject is to devotedly serve the throne. This constitutes the essence of our national polity, which predicates loyalty as a supreme virtue existing between sovereign and subjects, a loyalty that is conterminous with the mutual affection of father and son. Herein lies the key to the ideals of the new national structure.

[*Tokyo Gazette* 4 (November 1940): 176]

SPIRITUAL MOBILIZATION

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

After nearly a decade of fighting in China, the national leadership feared a decline in popular morale. To boost support for the war and to affirm the country's moral and political superiority over its adversaries, the Ministry of Education produced several textbooks aimed at counteracting foreign intellectual influences and clarifying the nature of the "Japanese spirit." *The Way of Subjects* (*Shinmin no michi*), published in early 1941, was used as a textbook in ethics (*shūshin*) and history courses in schools all over the country. Its call for a return to what many regarded as Japan's traditional values had enormous influence on public discourse during the wartime period.

THE WAY OF SUBJECTS (*SHINMIN NO MICHI*)

The way of the subjects of the Emperor issues from the polity of the Emperor, and is to guard and maintain the Imperial Throne coexistent with Heaven-and-Earth. This is not in the sphere of the abstract, but a way of daily practice based on history. The life and activities of the nation are all attuned to the task of giving great firmness to the foundation of the Empire.

In retrospect, this country has been widely seeking knowledge in the world since the Meiji Restoration, thereby fostering and maintaining the prosperity of the state. With the influx of European and American culture into this country, however, individualism, liberalism, utilitarianism, and materialism began to assert themselves, with the result that the traditional character of the country was much impaired, and the virtuous habits and customs bequeathed by our ancestors were affected unfavorably.

With the outbreak of the Manchurian affair and further occurrence of the China affair, the national spirit started to be elevated gradually, but there is still more or less to be desired in point of understanding the fundamental principle of polity by the people as a whole and their consciousness as subjects of the Emperor. It is to be deeply regretted that, well knowing the dignity of the polity of the Empire, people are likely to be satisfied with making it a mere conception and fail to let it be manifest in their daily lives.

If this situation is left unremedied, it will be difficult to eradicate the evils of European and American thought that are deeply penetrating various strata of the national life of Japan, and to achieve the unprecedentedly great tasks by establishing a structure of national solidarity guarding and maintaining the prosperity of the Imperial Throne. Herein lies an urgent need of discarding the self-centered and utilitarian ideas and of elevating and practicing the way of the subjects of the Emperor based on state service as the primary requisite.

The Construction of a New World Order

An old order that has been placing world humanity under individualism, liberalism, and materialism for several hundred years since the early period of the modern epoch of history is now crumbling. A new order is now in the making amid unprecedented world changes. An outline of the modern history of the world must be looked over to give clearness to the significance of the new world order. . . .

The thoughts that have formed the foundation of the Western civilization since the early period of the modern age are individualism, liberalism, materialism, and so on. These thoughts regard the strong preying on the weak as reasonable, unstintedly promote epicurean desires, seek a highly expanded material life, and stimulate the competition for acquiring colonies and securing

trade, thereby leading the world to a veritable hell of fighting and bloodshed through complicated causes and effects. The self-destruction in the shape of the world war finally followed. It was only natural that cries were raised even among men of those countries after the war that the Occidental civilization was crumbling. A vigorous movement was started by Britain, France, and the United States to maintain the status quo by all means. Simultaneously, a movement aiming at social revolution through class conflict on the basis of thoroughgoing materialism like Communism also was developed with unremitting vigor. On the other hand, Nazism and Fascism arose with great force. The basic theories of these new racial principles and the totalitarianism in Germany and Italy are to remove and improve the evils of individualism and liberalism.

That these principles show great concern for Oriental culture and spirit is a noteworthy fact that suggests the future of the Occidental civilization and the creation of a new culture. Thus, the orientation of world history has made the collapse of the world of the old order an assured conclusion. Japan has hereby opened the start for the construction of a new world order based on moral principles. . . .

Japan's Ethical Code

Since the Meiji Restoration, Japan has been strenuously absorbing Western civilization under the national policy of progress followed since the reopening of the country. After going through thick and thin, the country adopted the merits of that civilization, and their accretion fostered the foundation of the development of the national destiny. National strength has thus grown apace. Especially, the Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War led Japan to elevate her national prestige and glory abroad. The world war shot Japan up to the top as a strong power. Cultural systems have realized phenomenal development; educational diffusion, scientific progress, industrial growth, replenishment of national defensive equipment, and many other domains have put on entirely new aspects. In name and in reality, Japan has thus secured a position as a stabilizing force in East Asia.

This prosperous expansion and development of Japan's national destiny aroused great jealousy in Europe and America, where ambition to annex East Asia exists. Retaliatory measures have been directed against Japan in the forms of economic pressure, internal disturbances through thought, and a plot to isolate Japan diplomatically in an attempt to nip the expansion of Japan's national strength in the bud. This means at the same time that East Asiatic nations would be deprived of their autonomous nature in a desire to reduce them to the status of puppets of Europe and America. . . .

The construction of a new world order has just started on its task. A group of liberalistic and democratic nations standing for maintenance of the status

quo is uniting in their front in an attempt to check its realization. Their colonies have not yet awakened from their dreams of relying upon these countries through clever means of the latter. The task, therefore, will have to go a long way, to say the least. Commonplace determination will not suffice for the great task of causing world humanity to seek stabilization. A quick reform and strengthening of various domestic structures are necessary for the country to break through this difficult situation. This is why the need for the establishment of a new internal setup is actually felt. . . .

The Imperial Family is the fountain source of the Japanese nation, and national and private lives issue from this. In the past, foreign nationals came to this country only to enjoy the benevolent rule of the Imperial Family and become Japanese subjects spiritually and by blood. The Imperial virtues are so great and boundless that all are assimilated into one. Here is the reason for the present glorious state, in which the Emperor and his subjects are harmonized into one great unit. That the myriad subjects with one mind are glad to be unified to the Throne is the substance of the Imperial subjects.

The way of the subjects is to be loyal to the Emperor in disregard of self, thereby supporting the Imperial Throne coextensive with Heaven-and-Earth. All the rulers of Japan respected their subjects, calling them "honorable treasures." The subjects are conscious of their being the Imperial subjects. . . .

In Japan, filial piety cannot exist singly without its absolute counterpart. It is loyalty. Loyalty is the principle. Filial piety at home must be loyalty. Both are one and inseparable. This is the Japanese characteristic unexcelled by other countries. In Japan, husband and wife do not form the standard of home, as in the Occident, but the relations of parents and sons are its center. It is natural that filial piety is given great prominence. The first requisite of filial piety is to fulfill the duty of subjects of guarding and maintaining the Imperial Throne in observance of the bequeathed will of their ancestors. This is the essence of filial piety.

Sons obey fathers, who did the same to their forefathers in offering their loyal services. Respect for gods and the worship of ancestors at home are the manifestation of this. The Emperor worships the Imperial Founder and other Imperial Ancestors to set an expressive example before the subjects and, in conformity with the way intact from the Age of the Gods, to rule the state and the people. The guarding and maintenance of the Imperial Throne, therefore, is an inherent asset of the Japanese people. It is an invariable truth that "when civil officials love money and military officers save their lives, a country will go to ruin." Unless men offer their lives and submerge their desires for money and fame, they cannot render their unswerving services to the state and place it in a secure position in time of emergency, thereby answering the Imperial Will. When a national crisis comes, the country must cope with it in its total war structure, but the guarding and maintenance of the Imperial Throne is not

necessarily limited to the time of emergency, but should be practiced at all times.

The great duty of the Japanese people to guard and maintain the Imperial Throne has lasted to the present since the Empire-founding and will last forever and ever. To serve the Emperor is its key point. Our lives will become sincere and true when they are offered to the Emperor and the state. Our own private life is fulfillment of the way of the subjects; in other words, it is not private, but public, insofar as it is held by the subjects supporting the Throne.

The China affair is a holy task for Japan to propagate the ideals of the Empire-founding throughout East Asia and also the world over. The duty of one hundred million people is not at all ordinary and commonplace. In order that Japan may be able to obtain her mission and establish a new order, it is natural that the country must be prepared to meet with many difficulties and obstructions in the future. This is the very moment that the Japanese nation should thoroughly understand the fundamental character of the Empire, eliminate selfish and utilitarian ideas, enhance national morals of service to the state as prior to all, have keen insight into the international situation, and fulfill the duty of the people with indomitable and unflinching determination, thereby diffusing the glorious and great principle of the Japanese Empire to the world.

Japan is the fountain source of the Yamato race, Manchukuo is its reservoir, and East Asia is its paddy field.

[Tolischus, *Tokyo Record*, pp. 409–10, 408, 416, 424–27]

ECONOMIC MOBILIZATION

RYŪ SHINTARŌ

In March 1938, the Diet passed the National Mobilization Law, which gave the government extensive new powers over the county's manpower, resources, trade, and other economic activities. Big business leaders and their political allies in the Diet objected to many of these changes. In 1940, Ryū Shintarō, a journalist close to Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro, wrote a best-selling book explaining the economic reorganization. The following excerpt deals with government controls over the profits of business firms.

JAPAN'S ECONOMIC REORGANIZATION (*NIHON KEIZAI SAIHENSEI*)

Investment and Controls on the Profit Rate

Investors of capital argue that if profits are placed under government control, productive activities will stagnate. . . . Others object [to government controls

on company profits] on the fundamental economic ground that according to the tenets of liberalism the source of all productive activity lies in the human impulse toward "gain." This view dominates the conventional wisdom of today's businessmen (*jitsugyōka*).

With respect to the first point . . . [the fear that production will stagnate] is an illusion that results from the concentration of capital in the high-profit sector. The high-profit sector invigorates and stimulates productive activity, but it does so only relatively compared with other sectors. If the present dividend rate were to continue fluctuating at around 30 percent, would investment slow down if dividends were held under 30 percent ? . . . What would the owners of capital gain by hesitating to invest? If the international movement of capital were free and if capital could be exported, controls on the profit rate clearly would lead to a decline in productive activity. At present, however, these assumptions do not hold, so there is no problem.

The Pursuit of Gain

Let us turn to the second point. This is the problem of *Homo economicus* (economic man) familiar to every first-year economics student wrestling with Adam Smith. In these final days of liberalism, it is probably inevitable that we must mention Smith, the founding father of liberalism.

The essence of liberalism lies in the proposition that when individuals pursue their own gain as they compete with one other to express their distinctive characteristics, they are acting in complete accord with the public good (*kōeki*). Basically, this proposition rests on the assumptions that an individual's "creativity" or "originality" derives from his "pursuit of gain" and that without pursuing one's gains, it is not possible to display one's creativity or originality.

This way of thinking lies at the core of economic liberalism. Transcending this way of thinking must be the point of departure for building a new economic system. That is clear if we point out the following two misconceptions.

First of all, some people labor under a foolish illusion, cloaked in the guise of economic liberalism, that the "pursuit of gain" is nothing more than a human desire for improvement. The urge to survive, the human drive toward ever higher betterment, is present during any period of history. But it always takes a characteristic form appropriate to the society of the time. For example, tradesmen are said to think only of their own interests. If society does not tolerate their money grubbing, then it cannot maintain itself. But their money grubbing is not the consequence of their inborn character. It is simply a consequence of the fact that in a liberal [economic] structure, you will fail if you don't work with your abacus as cleverly as you can. Money grubbing is simply the form of survival within that structure. . . . In a liberal economy "pursuit of gain" must be tolerated, but in itself it is nothing more than the economic psychology of those who find themselves in an economy organized on liberal principles. . . .

The Motive for Action in Modern Business Firms

Second, in the most highly developed business firms today, the "pursuit of gain" is not always the direct motive behind economic activity. The pursuit of gain is the sole motive for activity in business enterprises in which one person—for example, a small shopkeeper, a small factory owner, or an old-style big merchant—not only owns capital but also uses it. In a large modern joint stock company, however, individual economic motives differ depending on an individual's actual function. Stockholders are interested mainly in the dividends paid on the capital they have invested, but many of them are completely divorced from the enterprise's management. Top executives who are also big stockholders in their firms are certainly interested in dividends, but as executives they play a technical role in the management of the firm as well. Employees working under them perform functional or technical roles in their various workplaces. To be sure, their activities are organized within a management structure designed to produce a rise in the profit rate and an increase in dividends, but the motives of an individual engineer, white-collar worker, or blue-collar worker, varied though they might be, are not so different from those of a public official working to fulfill his duties. At the very least, the "pursuit of gain" is not the direct motive behind their activities as individuals.

Since the collective result of their activity is the improvement of company profits, the main issue is whether the "organization" is configured to deliver continual improvements in the rate of profit. It is no longer the case that the pursuit of gain permeates large business firms from top to bottom or that it serves as the driving force behind the economy. Gain accrues to the entire business organization as a whole, but within that organization the activities of individuals . . . are based for the most part on their "function." Core employees in large concerns probably work with a consciousness that they are serving a social or national function. This consciousness, however, often contradicts or collides with the firm's "pursuit of gain."

Since the modern business firm is organized for the continual pursuit of profit, what is at issue here is clearly not a question of human nature but a question of economic organization. It is safe to say that even systems based on liberal [economic] principles are, for the most part, moving in the direction of "functionality."

Looked at in this way, the idea that controls on profits will slow down productive activity or bring the economy to a halt is behind the times. It reflects the mentality of a small shopkeeper who thinks the commercial spirit of the greengrocer or the fishmonger is what drives the modern business firm. The problem clearly is to free the development of productive power by stripping the old shell from modern business firms that have developed on the basis of functional specialization, by emphasizing their "functional" position and by transforming them from "organizations based on profit" to "organizations based on function."

The Control of Profits and the Freedom of Creativity

However, since an organization based on function constitutes a unified whole, we must decisively regulate profits, which are at the core of a liberal economic system.

The control of profits involves both a reduction and a fixing of the dividend rate. What the system must determine is not how high the dividend rate should be but, rather, how upper limits on the dividend rate can be fixed at a level appropriate to current conditions. Since we can imagine that at some point there will be an economic turndown, it ought to be set at a low level . . . the point of departure for the new system lies in whether or not dividends should be considered equivalent to interest payments. More specifically, since profits over and above the fixed dividend are either retained as company reserves or used directly in the expansion of the business firm, not only must profits be considered as interest payments but the meaning of invested capital also must change to some degree. Since the owners of capital simply collect fixed dividends similar to a kind of interest payment, the function of the businessman (*kigyōka*) and the position of the capitalist differ. There is no reason why a capitalist cannot also be a businessman at the same time, of course, but his function [in each role] is quite distinct. The businessman assumes the role of a purely managerial technician charged with running the business firm. He sees to it that the company pays fixed dividends on capital, but beyond that he has no responsibility toward the capitalist. On the other hand, as a business manager, he has an enormous responsibility toward the state and society. His function is to manage the enterprise in its state and social roles with the highest degree of efficiency, and it is for that that he is rewarded.

Just as the engineer carries out his state and social functions through his technical contributions , . . . so too the businessman [in his role as manager] acts like an "engineer" for a particular business firm. In that sense he stands as a true leader of production. Since he is completely liberated from the supervision of the capitalist, he acquires freedom of "creativity" in running the business firm. His "creativity" is not driven by moneymaking, as it once was. As he becomes conscious of his role in society, he achieves a new and purer freedom. Today both the businessman and the capitalist must put aside the notion that profit is everything, or to put it another way, a framework based on individualistic economic activity. By carrying out their own particular "function" in state or society, they finally will be able to express an influential "public voice" in state and society. If they act individualistically by putting profit ahead of everything else, businessmen will gradually lose their "public voice." . . . Only by putting aside their individualism and their profit seeking will their public views acquire political weight. In the view of the current political situation facing Japan, it is extraordinarily important that they do so.

[Ryū, *Nihon keizai no saihensei*, pp. 147–48, 149–54; PD]

THE GREATER EAST ASIA WAR

ARITA HACHIRŌ

When war broke out in Europe in September 1939, the Japanese leadership found itself with opportunities to break out of the military stalemate in China by expanding into the European colonial territories left vulnerable by the German occupation of France and Holland and its aerial assaults on England in 1940. On June 29, 1940, in a radio address entitled "The International Situation and Japan's Position," Foreign Minister Arita Hachirō proposed a new vision of a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere under the leadership of Japan. This vision assumed that the future world would be divided among large regional blocs dominated by major powers like Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union, and the United States.

THE GREATER EAST ASIA CO-PROSPERITY SPHERE

Japan's ideal since the foundation of the empire has been that all nations should be enabled to find their proper places in the world. Our foreign policy has also been based upon this ideal, for which we have not hesitated at times even to fight by staking our national existence.

What all mankind longs for is the firm establishment of world peace. But it goes without saying that peace can never endure unless it is a peace in which all nations enjoy their proper places. Unfortunately, however, the establishment of world peace in this sense is difficult of speedy realization at the present stage of human progress. In order to realize such a high ideal, therefore, it seems to be a most natural step that peoples who are closely related with one another geographically, racially, culturally, and economically should first form a sphere of their own for coexistence and co-prosperity and establish peace and order within that sphere and, at the same time, secure a relationship of common existence and prosperity with other spheres.

The causes of strife mankind has hitherto experienced lie generally in the failure to give due consideration to the necessity of some such natural and constructive world order and to remedy the irrationalities and injustices of old. The war in Europe brings home the truth of this with special emphasis. Accordingly, in order to establish international peace on a permanent foundation, every effort must be exerted for the rectification of the errors that have been committed in this regard.

It is in this spirit that Japan is now engaged in the task of establishing a new order in East Asia. . . .

The countries of East Asia and the regions of the South Seas are geographically, historically, racially, and economically very closely related to each other.

They are destined to cooperate and minister to one another's needs for their common well-being and prosperity and to promote peace and progress in their regions. The uniting of all these regions under a single sphere on the basis of common existence and insuring thereby the stability of that sphere is, I think, a natural conclusion.

The idea to establish first a righteous peace in each of the various regions and then establish collectively a just peace for the whole world has long existed also in Europe and America. This system presupposes the existence of a stabilizing force in each region, with which as a center the peoples within that region are to secure their coexistence and co-prosperity as well as the stability of their sphere. It also presupposes that these groups will respect one another's individual characteristics, political, cultural, and economic, and they will cooperate and fulfill one another's needs for their common good.

When the present European war broke out, the Japanese government at once declared their policy of noninvolvement and made it clear that this country did not intend to intervene in Europe and at the same time did not want to see the war spread into East Asia. Quite naturally Japan expects that the Western Powers will do nothing that will exert any undesirable influence upon the stability of East Asia.

[Arita, "The International Situation and Japan's Position," June 29, 1940; reprinted in *Tokyo Gazette* 4 (August 1940): 78–79]

THE DECISION FOR WAR WITH THE UNITED STATES

After the cabinet of Konoe Fumimaro signed the so-called Axis Pact with Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy and sent troops to occupy the northern part of French Indochina in the fall of 1940, Japan's relations with the United States, already strained by the Japanese invasion of China, steadily deteriorated. The two countries opened bilateral talks in the spring of 1941, but the United States insisted that Japan accept four "basic principles" that would have compelled it to give up all its territorial gains since 1931. In early September 1941, the Konoe cabinet decided to prepare for war while continuing to negotiate with the Americans. In October, Tōjō Hideki, the war minister, replaced Konoe as prime minister, and the final decision for war was made at an imperial conference on December 1, 1941. The following excerpts from the discussion make clear the frustration of the Japanese leaders in dealing with the Americans.

STATEMENT BY PRIME MINISTER TŌJŌ HIDEKI

On the basis of the Imperial Conference decision of November 5, the Army and Navy, on the one hand, devoted themselves to the task of getting everything

ready for military operations; while the Government, on the other hand, used every means at its disposal and made every effort to improve diplomatic relations with the United States. The United States not only refused to make even one concession with respect to the position she had maintained in the past but also stipulated new conditions, after having formed an alliance with Great Britain, the Netherlands, and China. The United States demanded complete and unconditional withdrawal of troops from China, withdrawal of our recognition of the Nanking Government, and the reduction of the Tripartite Pact to a dead letter. This not only belittled the dignity of our Empire and made it impossible for us to harvest the fruits of the China Incident, but also threatened the very existence of our Empire. It became evident that we could not achieve our goals by means of diplomacy.

At the same time, the United States, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and China increased their economic and military pressure against us; and we have now reached the point where we can no longer allow the situation to continue, from the point of view of both our national power and our projected military operations. Moreover, the requirements with respect to military operations will not permit an extension of time. Under the circumstances, our Empire has no alternative but to begin war against the United States, Great Britain, and the Netherlands in order to resolve the present crisis and assure survival. . . .

STATEMENT BY FOREIGN MINISTER TŌGŌ SHIGENORI ON JAPANESE–AMERICAN NEGOTIATIONS

The United States Government has persistently adhered to its traditional doctrines and principles, ignored realities in East Asia, and tried to force on our Empire principles that she herself could not easily carry out. Despite the fact that we made a number of concessions, she maintained her original position throughout the negotiations, lasting for seven months, and refused to budge even one step. I believe that America's policy toward Japan has consistently been to thwart the establishment of a New Order in East Asia, which is our immutable policy. We must recognize that if we were to accept their present proposal, the international position of our Empire would be reduced to a status lower than it was prior to the Manchurian incident, and our very survival would inevitably be threatened. . . .

STATEMENT BY PRIVY COUNCIL PRESIDENT HARA YOSHIMICHI

In negotiating with the United States, our Empire hoped to maintain peace by making one concession after another. But to our surprise, the American position from beginning to end was to say what Chiang Kai-shek wanted her to say and to emphasize those ideals that she had stated in the past. The United States is

being utterly conceited, obstinate, and disrespectful. It is regrettable indeed. We simply cannot tolerate such an attitude.

If we were to give in, we would give up in one stroke not only our gains in the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars, but also the benefits of the Manchurian incident. This we cannot do. We are loath to compel our people to suffer even greater hardships, on top of what they have endured during the four years since the China incident. But it is clear that the existence of our country is being threatened, that the great achievements of the Emperor Meiji would all come to naught, and that there is nothing else we can do. Therefore, I believe that if negotiations with the United States are hopeless, then the commencement of war, in accordance with the decision of the previous Imperial Conference, is inevitable.

I would like to make a final comment: there is no doubt that initial operations will result in victory for us. In a long-term war, however, it is necessary to win victories, on the one hand, while, on the other hand, we keep the people in a tranquil state of mind. This is indeed the greatest undertaking since the opening of our country in the nineteenth century. We cannot avoid a long-term war this time, but I believe that we must somehow get around this and bring about an early settlement. In order to do this, we will need to start thinking now about how to end the war. Our nation, governed by our magnificent national structure [*kokutai*], is, from a spiritual point of view, certainly unsurpassed in all the world. But in the course of a long-term war, there will be some people who will fall into erroneous ways. Moreover, foreign countries will be actively engaged in trying to undermine the morale of the people. It is conceivable that even patriotic individuals will on occasion attempt to do the same. It will be very difficult to deal with these people. I believe that it is particularly important to pay attention to our psychological solidarity. We must be very concerned about this. Be sure you make no mistakes in handling the inner turmoil of the people.

I believe that the proposal before us cannot be avoided in the light of present circumstances, and I put my trust in officers and men whose loyalty is supreme. I urge you to make every effort to keep the people in a tranquil state of mind, in order to carry on a long-term war.

CONCLUDING REMARKS BY PRIME MINISTER TŌJŌ HIDEKI

I would now like to make one final comment. At this moment our Empire stands at the threshold of glory or oblivion. We tremble with fear in the presence of His Majesty. We subjects are keenly aware of the great responsibility we must assume from this point on. Once His Majesty reaches a decision to commence hostilities, we will all strive to repay our obligations to him, bring the government and the military ever closer together, resolve that the nation united will

go on to victory, make an all-out effort to achieve our war aims, and set His Majesty's mind at ease.

I now adjourn the meeting.

[During today's Conference, His Majesty nodded in agreement with the statements being made, and displayed no signs of uneasiness. He seemed to be in an excellent mood, and we were filled with awe.]

[Ike, *Japan's Decision for War*, pp. 263, 270, 281–83]

THE WAR'S GOALS

Japan's war planners envisioned a long struggle, in several stages, to achieve their new Asia. The new Asia was to be known as the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. The southern region would supply raw materials and surplus food, while Manchuria and northern China would provide the materials and basis for a heavy-industry complex. The rest of Asia would become a vast market, defended and integrated by Japanese planning, tools, skills, and arms.

DRAFT OF BASIC PLAN FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF GREATER EAST ASIA CO-PROSPERITY SPHERE

This document, produced in January 1942 as a secret planning paper by the Total War Research Institute, a body responsible to the army and cabinet, reveals the nature of long-range planning during the early war years before defeats began to take their toll on optimism and confidence.

Part I: Outline of Construction

The Plan. The Japanese empire is a manifestation of morality, and its special characteristic is the propagation of the imperial way. It strives but for the achievement of *hakkō ichiu*, the spirit of its founding. . . . It is necessary to foster the increased power of the empire, to cause East Asia to return to its original form of independence and co-prosperity by shaking off the yoke of Europe and America, and to let its countries and peoples develop their respective abilities in peaceful cooperation and secure livelihood.

The Form of East Asiatic Independence and Co-Prosperity. The states, their citizens, and resources, comprised of those areas pertaining to the Pacific, Central Asia, and the Indian Oceans formed into one general union, are to be established as an autonomous zone of peaceful living and common prosperity on behalf of the peoples of the nations of East Asia. The area including Japan, Manchuria, north China, lower Yangtze River, and the Russian Maritime Province forms the nucleus of the East Asiatic Union.

The above purpose presupposes the inevitable emancipation or independence of eastern Siberia, China, Indochina, the South Seas, Australia, and India.

Regional Division in the East Asiatic Union and the National Defense Sphere for the Japanese Empire. In the Union of East Asia, the Japanese empire is at once the stabilizing power and the leading influence. To enable the empire actually to become the central influence in East Asia, the first necessity is the consolidation of the inner belt of East Asia, and the East Asiatic Sphere shall be divided as follows for this purpose:

The Inner sphere—the vital sphere for the empire—includes Japan, Manchuria, north China, the lower Yangtze area, and the Russian Maritime area.

The Smaller Co-Prosperity Sphere—the smaller self-supplying sphere of East Asia—includes the inner sphere plus eastern Siberia, China, Indochina, and the South Seas.

The Greater Co-Prosperity Sphere—the larger self-supplying sphere of East Asia—includes the smaller co-prosperity sphere, plus Australia, India, and island groups in the Pacific. . . .

For the present, the smaller co-prosperity sphere shall be the zone in which the construction of East Asia and the stabilization of national defense are to be aimed at. After their completion there shall be a gradual expansion toward the construction of the Greater Co-Prosperity Sphere.

Outline of East Asiatic Administration. It is intended that the unification of Japan, Manchoukuo, and China in neighborly friendship be realized by the settlement of the Sino-Japanese problems through the crushing of hostile influences in the Chinese interior and through the construction of a new China in tune with the rapid construction of the Inner Sphere. Aggressive American and British influences in East Asia shall be driven out of the area of Indochina and the South Seas, and this area shall be brought into our defense sphere. The war with Britain and America shall be prosecuted for that purpose.

The Russian aggressive influence in East Asia will be driven out. Eastern Siberia shall be cut off from the Soviet regime and included in our defense sphere. For this purpose, a war with the Soviets is expected. It is considered possible that this northern problem may break out before the general settlement of the present Sino-Japanese and the southern problems if the situation renders this unavoidable. Next the independence of Australia, India, etc. shall gradually be brought about. For this purpose, a recurrence of war with Britain and her allies is expected. The construction of a Greater Mongolian State is expected during the above phase. The construction of the Smaller Co-Prosperity Sphere is expected to require at least twenty years from the present time.

The Building of the National Strength. Since the Japanese empire is the center and pioneer of Oriental moral and cultural reconstruction, the officials and people of this country must return to the spirit of the Orient and acquire a thorough understanding of the spirit of the national moral character.

In the economic construction of the country, Japanese and Manchurian national power shall first be consolidated, then the unification of Japan, Manchoukuo, and China shall be effected. . . . Thus a central industry will be constructed in East Asia, and the necessary relations established with the Southern Seas.

The standard for the construction of the national power and its military force, so as to meet the various situations that might affect the stages of East Asiatic administration and the national defense sphere, shall be so set as to be capable of driving off any British, American, Soviet or Chinese counterinfluence in the future. . . .

Chapter 3: Political Construction

Basic Plan. The realization of the great ideal of constructing Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity requires not only the complete prosecution of the current Greater East Asia War but also presupposes another great war in the future. Therefore, the following two points must be made the primary starting points for the political construction of East Asia during the course of the next twenty years: (1) preparation for war with the other spheres of the world and (2) unification and construction of the East Asia Smaller Co-Prosperity Sphere.

The following are the basic principles for the political construction of East Asia, when the above two points are taken into consideration:

a. The politically dominant influence of European and American countries in the Smaller Co-Prosperity Sphere shall be gradually driven out, and the area shall enjoy its liberation from the shackles hitherto forced upon it.

b. The desires of the peoples in the sphere for their independence shall be respected, and endeavors shall be made for their fulfillment, but proper and suitable forms of government shall be decided for them in consideration of military and economic requirements and of the historical, political, and cultural elements peculiar to each area.

It must also be noted that the independence of various peoples of East Asia should be based upon the idea of constructing East Asia as "independent countries existing within the New Order of East Asia" and that this conception differs from an independence based on the idea of liberalism and national self-determination.

c. During the course of construction, military unification is deemed particularly important, and the military zones and key points necessary for defense shall be directly or indirectly under the control of our country.

d. The peoples of the sphere shall obtain their proper positions; the unity of the people's minds shall be effected; and the unification of the sphere shall be realized with the empire as its center. . . .

Chapter 4: Thought and Cultural Construction

General Aim in Thought. The ultimate aim in thought construction in East Asia is to make East Asiatic peoples revere the imperial influence by propagating the imperial way based on the spirit of construction and to establish the belief that uniting solely under this influence is the one and only way to the eternal growth and development of East Asia.

And during the next twenty years (the period during which the above ideal is to be reached) it is necessary to make the nations and peoples of East Asia realize the historical significance of the establishment of the New Order in East Asia and, in the common consciousness of East Asiatic unity, to liberate East Asia from the shackles of Europe and America and to establish the common conviction of constructing a New Order based on East Asiatic morality.

Occidental individualism and materialism shall be rejected, and a moral worldview, the basic principle of whose morality shall be the imperial way, shall be established. The ultimate object to be achieved is not exploitation but co-prosperity and mutual help, not competitive conflict but mutual assistance and mild peace, not a formal view of equality but a view of order based on righteous classification, not an idea of rights but an idea of service, and not several worldviews but one unified worldview.

General Aim in Culture. The essence of the traditional culture of the Orient shall be developed and manifested. And casting off the negative and conservative cultural characteristics of the continent (India and China), on the one hand, and taking in the good points of Western culture, on the other, an Oriental culture and morality, on a grand scale and subtly refined, shall be created.

[IMTFE, International Prosecution Section, document 2402B, exhibit 1336 (Draft of Basic Plan for Establishment of Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere)]

THE GREATER EAST ASIA CONFERENCE

In November 1943, two years after the outbreak of the Greater East Asia War, the cabinet of Tōjō Hideki convened the Greater East Asia Conference at the Diet Building in Tokyo to strengthen ties with leaders in occupied territories like the Philippines or allied countries like Thailand. Five such leaders, including the prime minister of Manchukuo, attended, and the conference issued a final declaration intended to challenge the principles enunciated in the Atlantic Charter, promulgated by President Franklin Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill in the summer of 1941. The following excerpt from Prime Minister Tōjō's inaugural speech encapsulates the basic rationale for the Greater East Asia War.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS TO THE GREATER EAST ASIA CONFERENCE

During the past centuries, the British Empire, through fraud and aggression, acquired vast territories throughout the world and maintained her domination over other nations and peoples in the various regions by keeping them pitted and engaged in conflict one against another. On the other hand, the United States who, by taking advantage of the disorder and confusion in Europe, had established her supremacy over the American continent, spread her tentacles to the Pacific and to East Asia following her war with Spain. Then, with the opportunities afforded by the first World War, the United States began to pursue her ambition for world hegemony. More recently, with the outbreak of the present war, the United States has further intensified her imperialistic activities and has made fresh inroads into North Africa, West Africa, the Atlantic Ocean, Australia, the Near East, and even into India, apparently in an attempt to usurp the place of the British Empire.

The need of upholding international justice and of guaranteeing world peace is habitually stressed by America and Britain. They mean thereby no more and no less than the preservation of a world order of their own, based upon division and conflict in Europe and upon the perpetuation of their colonial exploitation of Asia. They sought to realize their inordinate ambitions in Asia through political aggression and economic exploitation; they brought on conflict among the various peoples; they tried to destroy their racial integrity under the fair name of education and culture. Thus, they have to this day threatened constantly the existence of the nations and peoples of Asia, disturbed their stability, and suppressed their natural and proper development. It is because of their notion to regard East Asia as a colony that they harp upon the principles of the open door and equal opportunity simply as a convenient means of pursuing their sinister designs of aggression. While constantly keeping their own territories closed to us, the peoples of Asia, thus denying us the equality of opportunities and impeding our trade, they sought solely their own prosperity. The Anglo-American ambition of world hegemony is indeed a scourge of mankind and the root of the world's evils.

Movements for emancipation have occurred from time to time among the nations and people of East Asia, but due to the ruthless and tyrannical armed oppression by America and Britain or due to their malicious old trick of division and alienation for ruling other races, these patriotic efforts ended largely in failure. Meanwhile, Japan's rise in power and prestige was looked upon by America and Britain with increasing dislike. They made it the cardinal point of their East Asia policy, on the one hand, to restrain Japan at every turn and, on the other, to alienate her from the other countries of East Asia. It was obviously unwise for them to permit either the rise of any one country as a great power or the banding together of the various nations and peoples. These Amer-

ican and British methods became more and more sinister and high-handed, especially in the last several years. . . .

It is my belief that for all the peoples of greater East Asia, the present war is a decisive struggle upon whose outcome depends their rise or fall. It is only by winning through this war that they may ensure forever their existence in their greater East Asian home and enjoy common prosperity and happiness. Indeed, a successful conclusion of this war means the completion of the very task of constructing the new order of greater East Asia. . . .

It is my belief that to enable all nations each to have its proper place and to enjoy the blessings of common prosperity by mutual efforts and mutual help is the fundamental condition for the establishment of world peace. And I must furthermore say that to practice mutual help among closely related nations in one region, fostering one another's national growth and establishing a relationship of common prosperity and well-being, and, at the same time, to cultivate relations of harmony and concord with nations of other regions is the most effective and the most practical method of securing world peace.

It is an incontrovertible fact that the nations of greater East Asia are bound, in every respect, by ties of an inseparable relationship. I firmly believe that such being the case, it is their common mission to secure the stability of greater East Asia and to construct a new order of common prosperity and well-being. . . .

The war of greater East Asia is truly a war to destroy evil and to make justice manifest. Ours is a righteous cause. Justice knows no enemy, and we are fully convinced of our ultimate victory.

Japan is grateful to the nations of greater East Asia for the wholehearted cooperation which they are rendering in this war. Japan is firmly determined, by cooperating with them and by strengthening her collaboration with her allies in Europe, to carry on with indefatigable spirit and with conviction insure victory [in] this war, the intensity of which is expected to mount from day to day. Japan, by overcoming all difficulties, will do her full share to complete the construction of a greater East Asia and contribute to the establishment of world peace which is the common mission of us all.

[Tōjō, "Address to Greater East Asia Conference," pp. 1343–47]

DEFEAT

After initial spectacular successes at Pearl Harbor and in Southeast Asia, Japan suffered defeats in the central Pacific that led to the fall of the government of Tōjō Hideki and, after the United States's attack on Okinawa, to diplomatic initiatives to obtain peace terms from the Allies, resulting in the Potsdam Declaration in July 1945 demanding unconditional surrender. Although it was divided on the issue, the Japanese government was finally compelled by the

atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to resolve the matter at a meeting of the Supreme War Council on August 14, at which the emperor insisted on making peace. The next day, he took the unprecedented step of broadcasting to the nation at large the following rescript.

IMPERIAL RESCRIPT ON SURRENDER

To our good and loyal subjects:

After pondering deeply the general trends of the world and the actual conditions obtaining in our Empire today, we have decided to effect a settlement of the present situation by resorting to an extraordinary measure.

We have ordered our Government to communicate to the Governments of the United States, Great Britain, China, and the Soviet Union that our Empire accepts the provisions of their joint declaration.

To strive for the common prosperity and happiness of all nations as well as the security and well-being of our subjects is the solemn obligation that has been handed down by Our Imperial Ancestors, and we lay it close to the heart.

Indeed, we declared war on America and Britain out of our sincere desire to ensure Japan's self-preservation and the stabilization of East Asia, it being far from our thought either to infringe upon the sovereignty of other nations or to embark upon territorial aggrandizement.

But now the war has lasted for nearly four years. Despite the best that has been done by everyone—the gallant fighting of the military and naval forces, the diligence and assiduity of our servants of the state, and the devoted service of our one hundred million people—the war situation has developed not necessarily to Japan's advantage, while the general trends of the world have all turned against her interest.

Moreover, the enemy has begun to employ a new and most cruel bomb, the power of which to do damage is, indeed, incalculable, taking the toll of many innocent lives. Should we continue to fight, it would not only result in an ultimate collapse and obliteration of the Japanese nation, but also it would lead to the total extinction of human civilization.

Such being the case, how are we to save the millions of our subjects, or to atone ourselves before the hallowed spirits of our Imperial Ancestors? This is the reason why we have ordered the acceptance of the provisions of the joint declaration of the powers.

We cannot but express the deepest sense of regret to our allied nations of East Asia, who have consistently cooperated with the Empire toward the emancipation of East Asia.

The thought of those officers and men as well as others who have fallen in the fields of battle, those who died at their posts of duty, and those who met with death and all their bereaved families, pains our heart night and day.

The welfare of the wounded and the war sufferers, and of those who have lost their homes and livelihood is the object of our profound solicitude. The hardships and sufferings to which our nation is to be subjected hereafter will be certainly great.

We are keenly aware of the inmost feelings of all you, our subjects. However, it is according to the dictates of time and fate that we have resolved to pave the way for a grand peace for all the generations to come by enduring the unendurable and suffering what is insufferable. Having been able to save and maintain the structure of the Imperial State, we are always with you, our good and loyal subjects, relying upon your sincerity and integrity.

Beware most strictly of any outbursts of emotion that may engender needless complications, and of any fraternal contention and strife that may create confusion, lead you astray and cause you to lose the confidence of the world.

Let the entire nation continue as one family from generation to generation, ever firm in its faith in the imperishableness of its divine land, and mindful of its heavy burden of responsibilities, and the long road before it. Unite your total strength to be devoted to the construction for the future. Cultivate the ways of rectitude, nobility of spirit, and work with resolution so that you may enhance the innate glory of the Imperial State and keep pace with the progress of the world.

All you, our subjects, we command you to act in accordance with our wishes.

Hirohito
(The Seal of the Emperor)
The fourteenth day of the eighth month of the twentieth year of Shōwa
(Countersignatures of the Ministers of State)

[Adapted from Jones, *Japan's New Order in East Asia*, pp. 474–75]

PART VI

Postwar Japan

At noon on August 15, 1945, the emperor of Japan announced the end of the war. With this unprecedented radio broadcast, Imperial Japan (1868–1945), too, came to an end, its military defeated, its empire in ruins, and its homeland in ashes. And yet within a few months, the moment of unconditional surrender had come to mean not only the end of a long and catastrophic war but also the bright beginning of a "new Japan," whose people had turned resolutely away from aggression and empire toward peace and democracy. This is what John Dower calls "embracing defeat" in his study of Japanese attitudes toward the galvanic changes that took place during the Allied Occupation following the war. Japanese frequently referred to the immediate postwar period as the "second opening" of the country and compared the postwar reforms with those that followed the Meiji Restoration. The reforms undertaken between 1945 and 1947 were indeed wide ranging, including everything from land reform and a new constitution to educational reform and the rights of women. Whereas the Meiji reforms had looked to the future to establish a modern society and state, the postwar reforms first had to sort out the past, identifying the factors that had led Japan to war so they could be altered to pave the way for democracy and peace.

Although the postwar reforms were carried out under the often strenuous leadership of the American Occupation, many of them drew on previous Japanese blueprints, and nearly all were implemented by Japanese officials. The most successful measures, like the land reform, also had the deepest Japanese

base, whereas the American-style policies, like a decentralized police force and daylight saving time, disappeared when the Occupation did, sometimes sooner. In short, General Douglas MacArthur and his General Headquarters supplied the authority and the Japanese provided the energy for reconstruction and reform. The Occupation also used coercion, as it did in forcing the government to approve the constitution almost exactly as the Americans had written it, although it was the subsequent half-century of constitutionalism that established the constitution in Japanese belief and practice. Some aspects of Japan's reconstruction owed little to either Americans or Japanese. This was particularly true of the economic effects of the Korean War, which finally launched the disabled economy on its way to recovery after a series of Occupation policies had failed to do so.

Although Japanese (and Americans) habitually spoke of the postwar (*sengo*) period as if history had begun anew in 1945, in fact the rise of Japan was based on prewar antecedents as well as on the structural effects of mobilization for total war. These "transwar" factors helped account for the nature of Japan's postwar democracy and prosperity and were also linked to its longer modern history. This fact did not, however, alter the general sense of postwar Japan as a phoenix risen from the ashes. After a decade of recovery, Japan entered a period of "high growth" that lasted until the oil and dollar "shocks" of the early 1970s sent the economy into recession. At the same time, environmental pollution and other problems made the Japanese conscious of the costs of high growth, although this consciousness ebbed as the economy reached new heights in the 1980s. Japan became an economic superpower and creditor to the world, and millions of middle-class Japanese enjoyed the benefits of a "lifestyle revolution."

The boom ended in the 1990s. The conclusion of the Cold War made the world more complicated than it had seemed when the U.S.–Japanese alliance had occupied the central place on Japan's international agenda. Reestablishing relations with Asia now became a new focus, made more complicated by Japan's long silence concerning its colonial past in Korea and its wartime actions in China and other parts of Asia. In economic affairs, the "lost decade" began with the recession at the beginning of the 1990s, and by the decade's end, the media overflowed with gloomy talk of the "disappearance of Japan" and the "second defeat." The pessimism at the turn of the new century contrasted sharply with the optimism that had attended the beginning of the postwar period in 1945. Japan's postwar era, which had lasted for decades, appeared finally to be over.

Chapter 46

THE OCCUPATION YEARS, 1945–1952

In July 1945, the land, air, and sea forces of the United States were massed in the western Pacific, poised to invade a Japan already devastated by intensive aerial bombardments. On July 26, the Allied Powers issued the Potsdam Declaration, an ultimatum calling on the Japanese to surrender or face "utter destruction." Then, in rapid succession, on August 6 the United States dropped an atomic bomb on Hiroshima; on the eighth, the Soviet Union entered the war; on the ninth, the United States dropped another atomic bomb, this time on Nagasaki; on the tenth, the Japanese government opened communications with the Allied Powers; on the fourteenth, the Japanese government communicated to the Allied Powers its decision to surrender; and on the fifteenth, in an unprecedented radio address to the nation, the emperor announced the end of the war.

By August 28, American troops had begun to take up positions in Japan, and two days later General Douglas MacArthur arrived in Japan as the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers. The American Occupation of Japan had begun.

POTSDAM DECLARATION

Proclamation by Heads of Governments, United States, United Kingdom, and China, July 26, 1945

1. We—the President of the United States, the President of the National Government of the Republic of China, and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, representing the hundreds of millions of our countrymen, have conferred and agreed that Japan shall be given an opportunity to end this war.

2. The prodigious land, sea, and air forces of the United States, the British Empire and of China, many times reinforced by their armies and air fleets from the west, are poised to strike the final blows upon Japan. This military power is sustained and inspired by the determination of all the Allied Nations to prosecute the war against Japan until she ceases to resist.

4. The time has come for Japan to decide whether she will continue to be controlled by those self-willed militaristic advisers whose unintelligent calculations have brought the Empire of Japan to the threshold of annihilation, or whether she will follow the path of reason.

5. Following are our terms. We will not deviate from them. There are no alternatives. We shall brook no delay.

6. There must be eliminated for all time the authority and influence of those who have deceived and misled the people of Japan into embarking on world conquest, for we insist that a new order of peace, security, and justice will be impossible until irresponsible militarism is driven from the world.

8. The terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be carried out, and Japanese sovereignty shall be limited to the islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, Shikoku, and such minor islands as we determine.

9. The Japanese military forces, after being completely disarmed, shall be permitted to return to their homes with the opportunity to lead peaceful and productive lives.

10. We do not intend that the Japanese shall be enslaved as a race or destroyed as a nation, but stern justice shall be meted out to all war criminals, including those who have visited cruelties upon our prisoners. The Japanese Government shall remove all obstacles to the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people. Freedom of speech, of religion, and of thought, as well as respect for the fundamental human rights, shall be established.

11. Japan shall be permitted to maintain such industries as will sustain her economy and permit the exaction of just reparations in kind, but not those which would enable her to rearm for war. To this end, access to, as distinguished from control of, raw materials shall be permitted. Eventual Japanese participation in world trade relations shall be permitted.

12. The occupying forces of the Allies shall be withdrawn from Japan as soon as these objectives have been accomplished and there has been established in

accordance with the freely expressed will of the Japanese people a peacefully inclined and responsible government.

13. We call upon the government of Japan to proclaim now the unconditional surrender of all Japanese armed forces and to provide proper and adequate assurance of their good faith in such action. The alternative for Japan is prompt and utter destruction.

[SCAP, Government Section, *Political Reorientation of Japan*, vol. 2, p. 413]

INITIAL OFFICIAL POLICIES, AMERICAN AND JAPANESE

INITIAL U.S. POLICY FOR POSTSURRENDER JAPAN: REQUIRED REFORMS

Although the Pacific War had ended much more abruptly in mid-August than U.S. foreign policy planners anticipated, they were already in the final stages of drafting a comprehensive postsurrender policy for defeated Japan. After being endorsed by President Harry S. Truman on September 22, this draft was well publicized in the foreign and Japanese press. Along with the Potsdam Declaration, the postsurrender policy served as basic guidance for General Douglas MacArthur, amplified by a more detailed and secret directive from the Joint Chiefs of Staff on November 4. In addition, Washington sent MacArthur numerous detailed position papers on a wide variety of political, economic, educational, and social reforms. This initial policy, exclusively American in formulation, was to be implemented by working through the organs of the existing Japanese government, although without necessarily endorsing them. By March 1946, seven months into the Occupation, when the Allies succeeded in joining policy discussions through the creation of the nine-member Far Eastern Commission in Washington, D.C., and the four-power Allied Council for Japan in Tokyo, the basic reforms were well advanced and firmly under American direction.

In tone, the initial U.S. policy was moderately reformist in its statement of general provisions for the democratization and demilitarization of Japanese institutions, thought, and culture. It reflected the expertise of foreign service officers and academic scholars who had language competence, living experience, and scholarly knowledge of Japan dating from the 1920s and 1930s. As reformers, their prime concern was to revive those democratic tendencies that had developed in pre-1930s Japan and to eliminate totalitarian measures and laws. Although opposed to revolution of any kind, the reformers endorsed punishment for war crimes, reorientation of Japanese values, and control of the mass media.

In contrast, the initial U.S. economic and fiscal policies were harsh and radical, calling for vast agrarian, labor, and corporate reform and for reparations. The job of economic recovery was left strictly to Japan's devices, with no regard for its loss of empire, external resources, and foreign trade. These policies were the work of economists who had joined the official U.S. planning process in 1945 but had relatively little firsthand knowledge of Japan. They were heavily in favor of grassroots egalitarianism and against big business, believing that it had been a driving force in war and empire. For reasons of security, Okinawa, a prefecture that had been part of Japan proper since the 1870s, was retained as a key U.S. base and placed under direct American military rule until 1972. Most of the Kurile Islands, or Northern Territories, were lost to Soviet rule.

This initial policy was closely followed by General MacArthur and the members of the special staff sections that he set up in his General Headquarters, Tokyo, for liaison with the still-intact Japanese government. Indeed, they used its guidelines to order and, when possible, to persuade Japanese officials to carry out political, social, and economic reforms. This policy was the source for the first orders from the Supreme Command of the Allied Powers (SCAP) in the opening months of the Occupation to transform the Japanese government into a more open and democratic system, legalize labor unions, dissolve giant trusts, engage in agrarian reform, demobilize the armed forces, repatriate Japanese soldiers and civilians from liberated colonies and territories, and end state-sponsored Shinto. In late 1945, 200,000 American troops, arriving in several stages, were stationed at strategic points throughout Japan to ensure sole U.S. control of the military occupation. In early 1946, 37,000 British Commonwealth Forces joined the Americans. Whenever possible, MacArthur's staff sought out sympathetic Japanese to act as spokespersons, collaborators, and perfecters of envisioned reforms.

GENERAL MACARTHUR'S STATEMENT TO THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT

Even more basic than Washington's policy was General Douglas MacArthur's interpretation of his orders. In one of his earliest and most dramatic moves, on October 4, 1945, he issued the Civil Liberties Directive, which ordered the annulment of all laws restricting political, civil, and religious liberties, as well as the release of political prisoners from prison. At a meeting on October 11, with the new prime minister, Shidehara Kijūrō, a member of the House of Peers and a former foreign minister, MacArthur simplified and reduced his policy guidelines to liberalization of the constitution and five major reforms, adding certain emphases of his own. Technically, he presented this as a public "statement" to the Japanese government and not as an order, but he clearly expected compliance. The only variation from Washington's priorities was MacArthur's emphasis on the emancipation of Japanese women, about which U.S. policy planners had had little to say except for a few lines on the importance of

women and the home in nurturing and sustaining pacific values. In common with Japanese officials, MacArthur expressed grave concern about the economy, warning the government to find ways of meeting basic needs and preventing social upheaval. He did not mention agrarian reform, but quickly corrected the oversight after receiving additional guidance from Washington.

Concerning Required Reforms, October 11, 1945

In the achievement of the Potsdam Declaration, the traditional social order under which the Japanese people for centuries have been subjugated will be corrected. This will unquestionably involve a liberalization of the Constitution.

The people must be freed from all forms of government secret inquisition into their daily lives which holds their minds in virtual slavery and from all forms of control which seek to suppress freedom of thought, freedom of speech, or freedom of religion. Regimentation of the masses under the guise or claim of efficiency, under whatever name of government it may be made, must cease.

In the implementation of these requirements and to accomplish purposes thereby intended, I expect you to institute the following reforms in the social order of Japan as rapidly as they can be assimilated.

1. The emancipation of the women of Japan through their enfranchisement—that being members of the body politic, they may bring to Japan a new concept of government directly subservient to the well-being of the home.

2. The encouragement of the unionization of Labor—that it may be clothed with such dignity as will permit it an influential voice in safeguarding the working man from exploitation and abuse and raising his living standard to a higher level; with the institution of such measures as may be necessary to correct the evils which now exist in child labor practices.

3. The opening of the schools to more liberal education—that the people may shape their future progress from factual knowledge and benefit from an understanding of a system under which government becomes the servant rather than the master of the people.

4. The abolition of systems which through secret inquisition and abuse have held the people in constant fear—substituting therefor [*sic*] a system of justice designed to afford the people protection against despotic, arbitrary, and unjust methods.

5. The democratization of Japanese economic institutions to the end that monopolistic industrial controls be revised through the development of methods which tend to ensure a wide distribution of income and ownership of the means of production and trade.

In the immediate administration field, I hope for vigorous and prompt action on the part of the government with reference to housing, feeding, and clothing

the population in order to prevent pestilence, disease, starvation, or other major social catastrophe. The coming winter will be critical, and the only way to meet its difficulties is by the full employment in useful work of everyone.

[SCAP, Government Section, *Political Reorientation of Japan*, vol. 2, p. 741]

REVISED REPORT TO THE DIET AND PEOPLE BY THE SHIDEHARA CABINET

A month and a half later, on November 28, 1945, in an address to an extraordinary session of the Diet broadcast on national radio, Prime Minister Shidehara Kijūrō, who had taken office on October 9, indicated considerable acceptance of Occupation requirements, as did his subsequent legislative agenda. Although careful to express gratitude for the emperor's generosity and to extol virtue and peace over the sword and the gun, the address displayed overwhelming preoccupation with the economic problems of a devastated country and a demoralized people. And although Shidehara spoke of elections, the popular will, and the resumption of democracy, he spent little time on spiritual rehabilitation and did not call for collective repentance. As before, the Japanese seem to have had more interest in the causes of defeat than in the origins of the war or the victimization of their Asian neighbors.

It fills me with trepidation that unworthy as I am, I should have been commanded to head the government at a time when our nation is confronted with a difficult situation unparalleled in history. I only hope to conform to the august will of our Sovereign by doing everything in my power.

His Majesty the Emperor visited the Grand Shrine and the Imperial Mausoleum of Unebi and Momoyama on the thirteenth and fourteenth and the Imperial Tama Mausoleum on the seventeenth of this month to report personally the termination of the war. On express orders of the Sovereign, the journey was arranged as simply as possible, but it was attended with the most touching manifestations of the genuine feeling of the people who flocked all along the way to give sincere welcome to His Imperial Majesty. . . .

The war has been ended between Japan and the Allied Powers. But the way is still long to the final restoration of peace. In our foreign relations, we are incapacitated; we do not possess the power to uphold and carry out our policies, which we ourselves may believe to be just and equitable. Such is the inevitable lot of a vanquished nation. Of course, there exists in human society a universal sense of justice, also the inviolable right of public opinion to express itself. Only, as you may readily understand, the postwar conditions in all countries of the world are yet too abnormal to permit them to be brought into full play. Nevertheless, the ultimate power that controls the minds of men and regulates

internal and external affairs of all countries must be neither the sword nor the gun but virtue.

There must be a rule of the rational spirit. That this is so will, I think, be admitted readily by world public opinion. What is wanted of our people today is not to be downhearted or bewildered but to march forth bravely toward the construction of a new Japan on the basis of justice and fair play. That is the only way, and there we may find hope for the future. . . .

Japan, having accepted the Potsdam Declaration, is obliged to remove all obstacles to the revival and development of democratic tendencies among the people. Such tendencies were gradually growing in this country following the Meiji Restoration, but they have been in recent years suppressed by reactionism. Fortunately, those tendencies have not been killed entirely; their roots remain alive; and it is expected that with the elimination of reactionary forces, they will recover rather easily and grow up again. We will see to it that no obstacle is put in the way of their growth and development.

First of all, it is necessary for us to allow the Diet to function fully as an organ for reflecting the popular will. For that purpose, there must be a full and fair election. When viewed from this standpoint, the existing Election Law does not fit in entirely with demands of the day. Accordingly, we are making haste to draft a plan for its revision which will be submitted to the present session of the Diet. In fact, that is one of the primary reasons for convening this extraordinary session.

Secondly, another prerequisite for the revival and growth of democracy lies in the renovation of the country's educational system. By wiping out all vestiges of militarism and ultranationalism from the schools, the government has set the goal of education in service to state and society by a complete development of the individual. Special emphasis is to be laid upon effecting an epoch-making advance in the training of the younger generation in civics. . . .

We must by all means renovate the system of social education and seek the elevation of the ethical standard; at the same time we must strive to keep alive in the hearts of all people the spirit of liberty and independence and the enthusiasm for resurgence and reconstruction.

Since its formation, the present government has annulled various laws and regulations restricting political, civil, and religious liberties in order to ensure the freedom of speech, thought, and religion. By abolishing the Higher Special Police, it has also paid particular attention to realizing a wholesome police administration such as will deserve the confidence and cooperation of the public. Liberalism calls for a sense of responsibility on the part of every individual; it does not imply lawlessness or absence of discipline. Any act detrimental to public order or morals will, of course, be dealt with according to law without the least leniency.

The most urgent task facing the country is the stabilization of the people's

life. With the major portion of its production power destroyed and the national wealth exhausted almost to nothing on account of the war of these past years, it is imperatively necessary that we devise measures for stabilizing the people's life and put those measures in operation without delay. . . .

Deleted here are sections devoted to resolving food shortages; helping war victims; protecting nationals in North Korea, Taiwan, Sakhalin, and Manchuria; finding jobs for an army of unemployed; explaining the necessity for commodity controls; and improving land and sea transportation.

The rehabilitation of devastated areas is possible only through the revival of industries, which calls for the importation of necessary materials and which in turn requires the securing of funds for payment. It means we must develop export industry as much as we must increase the production of civilian goods. Since the success of industrial policies along these lines depends largely upon private initiative and enterprise, the government is doing away, as far as it is permitted by circumstances, with the hitherto existing controls.

However, in the face of the present extreme scarcity of materials and the terrible havoc that has been wrought by war, control is necessary on such basic commodities as iron, coal, and textiles in order to ensure the stability of national life and to accelerate economic recovery.

It is the policy of the government to limit control to these categories of goods and to exercise the control in such a manner as to leave as much room as possible for autonomous operation of industry on the basis of individual initiative and ingenuity.

It is believed that in the coming years Japan's economic activities will largely be carried on by medium and small industry and trade enterprises, to which the government should afford positive guidance and assistance.

On the other hand, it is most desirable to bring about a healthy growth of labor unions as a means of solving labor questions in a democratic way. To that end the government is now engaged in drafting the necessary laws. . . .

Finally, the War Inquiry Commission has been set up in the cabinet because it is believed necessary to probe the cause and the actual conditions that brought on defeat in order that egregious errors committed may not be repeated in the future.

I have now stated the views of the government concerning the major aspects of administration. Let us hope that our entire people, united as one man, will exhibit the most vigorous constructive spirit in response to the imperial wishes to consolidate the foundation of peace for all ages to come.

[*Contemporary Japan* 14 (April–December 1945): 289–93;
Nippon Times, November 28, 1945]

A NEW BASIC DOCUMENT: THE 1947 CONSTITUTION

Liberalization of the constitution, including a change in the image and role of the emperor, became uppermost in the Occupation's early agenda for Japan. Political parties, which had been ruled out of existence in October 1940, rebounded and were thriving in a variety of persuasions by the end of 1945. The mass media, although closely monitored by Occupation authorities, provided a wide forum for political debate and commentary. Some defended the Meiji constitution, while others pointed to flaws, such as the continued existence of the House of Peers. A few even proposed a new constitution. While MacArthur and his staff waited expectantly, Prime Minister Shidehara appointed a special cabinet committee to investigate the possible revision of the Meiji constitution.

On January 1, 1946, the issue of the emperor's being "sacred and inviolable" was partly settled by Emperor Hirohito's imperial rescript, which paid homage to the Five-Article Charter Oath of 1868 and renounced his divinity. "The ties that bind us together," he proclaimed, "rest in our shared history." When MacArthur and his staff learned in late January that the cabinet committee was on the whole satisfied with the existing constitution, including the position of the emperor, and envisioned only a few changes, they decided to prepare a model draft constitution for the government. This was done in secret, taking only six days, by a team of Americans working under the authority of General Courtney Whitney, the head of MacArthur's Government Section. MacArthur's personal participation was limited to a brief outline of four recommendations: (1) the emperor as head of state only, (2) total disarmament, (3) adequate budget powers for the Diet, and (4) an end to feudalism (by which he seems to have meant reform of the outmoded social order). The Americans, a diverse group headed by three lawyers, had guidelines from Washington, reference books, and their own political ideals. The urgency was only in part explained by the superficial nature of the cabinet proposals. Also relevant, MacArthur had just learned that the emperor, whom he had come to believe was crucial to social stability and to the success of the Occupation, had been named by Australia as the number-one war criminal. Moreover, the Far Eastern Commission, which was scheduled to begin meeting in March, had ultimate authority over revision of the constitution. The general, with visions of running for the U.S. presidency, wished to be perceived as the great man who remade Japan. Basic revision of the constitution was necessary to enhance his reputation, ensure democratization, and secure Japan's return to international society. In other areas, too, such as labor and land reform, SCAP resorted to pressure to extract more drastic reforms than Japanese officials were able or willing to produce.

The model draft—in effect a new constitution—was handed to Yoshida Shigeru, Shidehara's foreign minister, by a delegation from the Government

Section on February 13, 1946, giving the Japanese only a short time to review the contents. General MacArthur was prepared, as General Whitney, the head of the Government Section delegation, told them, "to leave the sponsorship of the document to your government with his firm approval, but failing in that, if necessary, he is prepared to lay it before the people himself." Yoshida asked for secrecy, and Whitney agreed, reportedly "for your convenience and protection, not for that of the Supreme Commander."

Carefully translated into Japanese under watchful American eyes, the draft was thoroughly discussed over the next six months by Japan's cabinet, the Privy Council, the House of Peers, and the newly elected Lower House of the Diet, which included thirty-nine women representatives. Yoshida, who emerged as the new prime minister following the April elections and was the dominant political figure on the Japanese side for the duration of the Occupation, appeared frequently on the Diet floor to answer questions from all points of view, conservative to Communist. In the process, the text was rewritten into more idiomatic language, and the contents were somewhat amended by the Diet and the Far Eastern Commission. The constitution was promulgated by the emperor on November 3, 1946, and became effective on May 3, 1947. During the interval, an intensive six-month campaign of political education, designed by Americans and Japanese and utilizing all the media, explained and promoted the virtues of the new constitution. The story of how it actually came into existence, although suspected by the Japanese and the foreign press, was kept an official secret until the end of censorship controls in late 1949.

A close reading of the final text indicates that to a considerable extent, the makers had respected Japan's parliamentary tradition and history and its multiparty system but had replaced imperial sovereignty with popular sovereignty, by transforming the monarch into a "symbol emperor" who was not even the head of state. As Japanese liberals had long advocated, the drafters also expanded the authority of the Lower House, replaced the appointed House of Peers with the elected House of Councillors, stipulated that the prime minister be the head of the majority party and that all cabinet members be civilians, and required the election of prefectural governors. In the most American of the changes, they incorporated the concept of judicial review. The guarantee of inalienable rights was expanded from freedom of speech, conscience, and religion to include academic freedom, freedom of choice in marriage, and gender equality. Article 9 abolished the right to wage aggressive war or to maintain war matériel. Amending the new constitution was a difficult process, requiring a two-thirds vote of the Diet and a popular referendum. Before its promulgation, small changes in the wording, mutually acceptable to Diet members and Occupation authorities, gave Japan's courts in future years an opening to declare the right of self-defense. Neither the Americans nor the Japanese, however, dealt with another basic feature of Japanese political life: the central bureaucracy.

Even though its origins, manner of imposition, and content were controver-

sial, Japan's 1947 constitution quickly became popular with a large segment of the population. Socialists, at first suspicious, became devoted supporters of article 9, which renounced war. For women, it was a gift in undercutting Japanese patriarchy and stemming militarism. Conservatives lamented the loss of the imperial mystique, social controls, and a standing army—to them the basic requisites of a normal state—but they could perhaps find some small comfort in the document's promulgation by means of imperial rescript.

THE NEW CONSTITUTION

Preamble

We, the Japanese people, acting through our duly elected representatives in the National Diet, determined that we shall secure for ourselves and our posterity the fruits of peaceful cooperation with all nations and the blessings of liberty throughout this land, and resolved that never again shall we be visited with the horrors of war through the action of government, do proclaim that sovereign power resides with the people and do firmly establish this Constitution. Government is a sacred trust of the people, the authority for which is derived from the people, the powers of which are exercised by the representatives of the people, and the benefits of which are enjoyed by the people. This is a universal principle of mankind upon which this Constitution is founded. We reject and revoke all constitutions, laws, ordinances and rescripts in conflict herewith.

We, the Japanese people, desire peace for all time and are deeply conscious of the high ideals controlling human relationship, and we have determined to preserve our security and existence, trusting in the justice and faith of the peace-loving peoples of the world. We desire to occupy an honored place in an international society striving for the preservation of peace, and the banishment of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance for all time from the earth. We recognize that all peoples of the world have the right to live in peace, free from fear and want.

We believe that no nation is responsible to itself alone, but that laws of political morality are universal; and that obedience to such laws is incumbent upon all nations who would sustain their own sovereignty and justify their sovereign relationship with other nations.

We, the Japanese people, pledge our national honor to accomplish these high ideals and purposes with all our resources.

Chapter I: The Emperor

Article 1. The Emperor shall be the symbol of the State and of the unity of the people, deriving his position from the will of the people with whom resides sovereign power.

Article 2. The Imperial Throne shall be dynastic and succeeded to in accordance with the Imperial House Law passed by the Diet.

Article 3. The advice and approval of the Cabinet shall be required for all acts of the Emperor in matters of state, and the Cabinet shall be responsible therefor [*sic*].

Article 4. The Emperor shall perform only such acts in matters of state as are provided for in the Constitution and he shall not have powers related to government. . . .

Chapter II: Renunciation of War

Article 9. Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes.

In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized.

Chapter III: Rights and Duties of the People

Article 11. The people shall not be prevented from enjoying any of the fundamental human rights. These fundamental human rights guaranteed to the people by this Constitution shall be conferred upon the people of this and future generations as eternal and inviolate rights.

Article 13. All of the people shall be respected as individuals. Their right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness shall, to the extent that it does not interfere with the public welfare, be the supreme consideration in legislation and in other governmental affairs.

Article 14. All of the people are equal under the law and there shall be no discrimination in political, economic or social relations because of race, creed, sex, social status, or family origin.

Peers and peerage shall not be recognized. . . .

Article 15. The people have the inalienable right to choose their public officials and to dismiss them.

All public officials are servants of the whole community and not of any group thereof.

Universal adult suffrage is guaranteed with regard to the election of public officials.

In all elections secrecy of the ballot shall not be violated. A voter shall not be answerable, publicly or privately, for the choice he has made.

Articles 16 to 18 guarantee the right of peaceful petition for redress of damages or removal of public officials and protection against bondage or involuntary servitude except as punishment for crimes.

Article 19. Freedom of thought and conscience shall not be violated.

Article 20. Freedom of religion is guaranteed to all. No religious organization shall receive any privileges from the State, nor exercise any political authority.

No person shall be compelled to take part in any religious act, celebration, rite or practice.

The state and its organs shall refrain from religious education or any other religious activity.

Article 21. Freedom of assembly and association as well as speech, press, and all other forms of expression are guaranteed.

No censorship shall be maintained, nor shall the secrecy of any means of communication be violated.

Article 22. Every person shall have freedom to choose and change his residence and to choose his occupation to the extent it does not interfere with the public welfare.

Freedom of all persons to move to a foreign country and to divest themselves of their nationality shall be inviolate.

Article 23. Academic freedom is guaranteed.

Article 24. Marriage shall be based only on the mutual consent of both sexes and it shall be maintained through mutual cooperation with the equal rights of husband and wife as a basis.

With regard to choice of spouse, property rights, inheritance, choice of domicile, divorce, and other matters pertaining to marriage and the family, laws shall be enacted from the standpoint of individual dignity and the essential equality of the sexes.

Article 25. All people shall have the right to maintain the minimum standards of wholesome and cultured living.

In all spheres of life, the State shall use its endeavors for the promotion and extension of social welfare and security, and of public health.

Article 26. All people shall have the right to receive an equal education correspondent to their ability, as provided by law.

All people shall be obligated to have all boys and girls under their protection receive ordinary educations as provided for by law. Such compulsory education shall be free.

Article 27. All people shall have the right and the obligation to work.

Standards for wages, hours, rest, and other working conditions shall be fixed by law.

Children shall not be exploited.

Article 28. The right of workers to organize and to bargain and act collectively is guaranteed.

Article 29. The right to own or hold property is inviolable.

Property rights shall be defined by law, in conformity with the public welfare.

Private property may be taken for public use upon just compensation therefor [*sic*].

Article 31. No person shall be deprived of life or liberty, nor shall any other criminal punishment be imposed, except according to procedure established by law.

Chapter IV: The Diet

Article 41. The Diet shall be the highest organ of state power, and shall be the sole law-making organ of the state.

Article 42. The Diet shall consist of two Houses, namely the House of Representatives and the House of Councillors.

Article 43. Both Houses shall consist of elected members, representatives of all the people.

Article 44. The qualifications of members of both Houses and their electors shall be fixed by law. However, there shall be no discrimination because of race, creed, sex, social status, family origin, education, property, or income.

Articles 45 to 64 provide for four-year terms of office for representatives, except for termination by dissolution of the Diet, and six-year terms for councillors, with half to be elected every three years. Provisions are also made for salaries, ordinary and extraordinary sessions of the Diet, general elections after dissolutions, quorums, rules for members, procedures for passing laws and budgets, records of proceedings, the selection by each house of a president and officers, official investigations, approval for the conclusion of treaties, the Diet's interpellation of the prime minister and ministers of state, and the impeachment of judges.

Chapter V: The Cabinet

Article 65. Executive power shall be vested in the Cabinet.

Article 66. The Cabinet shall consist of the Prime Minister, who shall be its head, and other Ministers of State, as provided for by law.

The Prime Minister and other Ministers of State must be civilians.

The Cabinet, in the exercise of executive power, shall be collectively responsible to the Diet.

The remaining articles, 67 to 75, deal with procedures and provisions in the case of a vacancy in the post of prime minister and with additional functions of the cabinet, such as the management of foreign affairs, the conclusion of treaties with the Diet's approval,

the administration of the civil service, preparation of the budget, legal immunities while in office, and decisions on amnesty, commutation of punishment, and restoration of rights.

Chapter VI: The Judiciary

Article 76. The whole judicial power is vested in a Supreme Court and in such inferior courts as are established by law.

No extraordinary tribunal shall be established, nor shall any organ or agency of the Executive be given final judicial power.

All judges shall be independent in the exercise of their conscience and shall be bound only by this Constitution and the laws.

Articles 77 to 82 deal with the organization of the Supreme Court and the appointment, review, and tenure of its judges, as well as the high court's nomination of judges of the inferior courts. Trials and judgments are to be public except in cases in which the court "unanimously determines publicity to be dangerous to public order or morals."

Chapter VII, Finance (articles 83–91), provides for the Diet's administration of national finances, including new tax laws, expenditure of moneys, reserve funds, state ownership of the property of the Imperial Household, and the Diet's appropriation of all expenses of the Imperial Household. Article 89 bans the appropriation of public money or property for "the use, benefits or maintenance of any religious institution or association, or for any charitable, educational or benevolent enterprises not under the control of public authority."

Chapter VIII, Local Self-Government (articles 92–95), stipulates local autonomy for local public entities, the establishment of assemblies as "deliberate organs," and direct popular vote for chief executive officers of local entities and members of assemblies.

Chapter IX: Amendments

Article 96. Amendments to this Constitution shall be initiated by the Diet, through a concurring vote of two-thirds or more of all the members of each House and shall thereupon be submitted to the people for ratification, which shall require the affirmative vote of a majority of all votes cast thereon, at a special referendum or at such election as the Diet shall specify.

Amendments when so ratified shall immediately be promulgated by the Emperor in the name of the people, as an integral part of this Constitution.

Chapter X: Supreme Law

Article 97. The fundamental human rights by this Constitution guaranteed to the people of Japan are fruits of the age-old struggle of man to

be free; they have survived the many exacting tests for durability and are conferred upon this and future generations in trust, to be held for all time inviolate.

Article 98. This constitution shall be the supreme law of the nation. . . .

Chapter XI, Supplementary Provisions (articles 100–103), deal with the enactment of such laws and procedures as were necessary for enforcement of the constitution on May 3, 1947. They also address the mechanics of transition periods for representatives, ministers of state, and judges.

[*Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan*, vol. 2, pp. 9–13]

INTRODUCING A NEW CIVIL CODE

Basic among the changes required for enforcement of the constitution was a thorough revision of the civil, criminal, and other codes, which dated from the 1890s and were widely perceived by the reformers as barriers to further democratization. Revisions would affect every man, woman, and child in the exercise of individual freedom. What to conservative elites was a radical break with the social order and an affront to Japanese morals was to others a welcome and overdue liberation.

The Revised Civil Code and the Revised Family Registration Law, both of which went into effect on January 1, 1948, were the result of considerable interaction between like-minded radical reformers on the Japanese and American sides, particularly Japanese women's groups and American women officers in SCAP. They had to deal with the prejudices of not only Japanese men but also skeptical American men. For both women and younger sons, the new Civil Code was important to mandating changes in family law and inheritance rights. The main target was the *ie*, or household, as codified in the Civil Code of 1898. Critics saw it as a wrong turn in the Meiji enlightenment and charged that it enshrined a family system that in fact was based on idealized elite samurai households of late Tokugawa Japan. The old code recognized a single male patriarch, usually the eldest son, who possessed extensive rights and responsibilities. Under it, for example, the head of the household controlled all property or income. Women under twenty-five and men under thirty could marry only with parental consent. Because the patriarch could refuse to enter the bride's name on the family register, marriage was held as not the union of a man and a woman, but the admission of a bride to her husband's household. Divorce was difficult, and husbands retained legal custody of the children.

THE REVISED CIVIL CODE

The new Civil Code of Japan, a product of numerous sessions involving Japanese legal experts and Occupation authorities as well as public hearings in the Diet, is lengthy and detailed. Its underlying General Provision is "the individual dignity and the essential equality of the sexes." Book I promises the enjoyment of private rights, which "commence at birth." Book II deals with real rights, such as property and ownership; book III, with obligations, such as contracts, leases, and the hiring of services. Book IV, entitled "Relatives," describes marriage and property, and books V and VI discuss succession and wills. The code also establishes the Court of Domestic Relations, an innovation in Japanese law. The key passages establishing individual rights within the family are in book IV and focus on marriage, matrimonial property, divorce, parental power, adoption, and guardianship.

Book IV: Relatives

Article 731. A man may not marry until the completion of his full eighteen years of age, nor a woman until the completion of her full sixteen years of age.

Article 732. A person who has a spouse may not contract an additional marriage.

Article 733. A woman may not remarry unless six months have elapsed from the day of the dissolution or annulment of her previous marriage.

Article 750. Husband and wife assume the surname of the husband or wife in accordance with the agreement made at the time of the marriage.

Article 752. Husband and wife shall live together, and shall cooperate and aid each other.

Article 760. Husband and wife shall share the expenses of the married life with each other, taking into account their property, income and all other circumstances.

Article 762. Property belonging to either a husband or wife from a time prior to the marriage and property acquired during the subsistence of the marriage in his or her own name constitutes his or her separate property. . . .

Article 763. Husband and wife may effect by agreement divorce.

Article 766. In case a father and mother effect a divorce by agreement, the person who is to take the custody of their children and other matters necessary for the custody shall be determined by their agreement, and if no agreement is reached or possible, such matters shall be determined by the Court of Domestic Relations. . . .

Article 770. Husband or wife can bring an action for divorce only in the following cases:

1. If the other spouse has committed an act of unchastity;
2. If he or she has been deserted maliciously by the other spouse;

3. If it is unknown for three years or more whether the spouse is alive or dead;
4. If the other party is attacked with severe mental disease and recovery therefrom is hopeless;
5. If there exists any other grave reason for which it is difficult for him or her to continue the marriage. . . .

[SCAP, Government Section, *Political Reorientation of Japan*, vol. 2, p. 1261]

THE REVISED FAMILY REGISTRATION LAW

Together with the Revised Civil Code, the Revised Family Registration Law effectively abolished the *ie* system. It ended the old *koseki* (family register) system, further removing the power, influence, and obligations of the single male head of household (*koshu*). In previous practice, all household members were registered together; no changes were possible without the consent of the head. In the new system, registers were to be made up for each single individual or married couple. The family was to consist of a husband and wife and their minor children, both natural and adopted, as well as any children born out of wedlock but recognized by the father. Registers were required for marriage, birth, divorce, remarriage, parental power and guardianship, entry into or separation from the parental register, death and disappearance, and acquisition or loss of nationality. Any person could apply to the domestic relations courts to rectify statements, mistakes, or omissions. In short, every married couple was a separate family. Members were no longer under legal obligation to the head of the household. Any married man, not just an elder son, could head a family. An unmarried woman of adult age could create her own family and household. Bans on changing first and second names were lifted.

Article 6

Any Family Register shall be made up for each husband and wife who have their registered locality within the district of a City, Town or Village and their children whose surnames are the same as that of such husband and wife, but in cases where a family register is newly made up for any person having no spouse, it shall be made up for such person and his children whose surnames are the same as that of such person.

[SCAP, Government Section, *Political Reorientation of Japan*, vol. 2, p. 1076]

THE NEW EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Crucial to the Occupation's goal of reorientation and to the Japanese goal of reconstruction was educational reform. On its own initiative, the Ministry of Education took steps toward classroom and textbook reform while awaiting the

formulation of the Occupation's policy. The initial moves of SCAP's education experts, starting in the first months of the Occupation, were to eliminate military drill and martial arts from the schools, ban militaristic and ultranationalist content from textbooks and inaugurate work on new textbooks, revise curricula to include social sciences, and extend educational opportunities in higher education. They were especially anxious to eliminate *shūshin* ethics, which emphasized loyalty and filial piety. The overall goal was to redefine the entire education system, extending from its organization and administration to its underlying ideology and classroom pedagogy.

Before the passage of the final reform legislation, as in labor laws, General MacArthur invited an education commission from the United States, which toured Japan in the spring of 1946. After much discussion with their counterparts on the Japan Education Reform Council, which had its own ideas, the commission offered extensive recommendations to MacArthur. They were heavily tinged with American models and much debated in the Diet, mass media, and academic journals. To accord with the new constitution, two basic laws were passed in March 1947: the School Education Act and the Fundamental Law of Education.

The new patterns became permanent, although they were challenged in following decades by critics who questioned the quality of standards and lamented the absence of moral education. As for language reform, a few Americans wanted to abolish the use of Chinese characters (*kanji*), but the Occupation left the final decision to the Japanese. The result was simplification of the existing system by reducing the number and strokes of characters for mass communication. Americans also pressed hard—though in the end unsuccessfully—for decentralizing the administration of education along the American pattern of local controls. They wanted more power for parent–teacher associations and less for the Ministry of Education in Tokyo. As a safeguard, the Occupation also insisted on a recision in 1948 of the 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education.

THE SCHOOL EDUCATION ACT

The School Education Act, passed on March 29, 1947, revamped the existing educational structure of multiple tracks into a single track system of six years at the primary level, three in junior high, three in senior high, and four-year universities—the 6/3/3/4 American pattern. It also required the provision of universities, higher professional schools, kindergarten, and special schools for the blind, deaf, and handicapped.

Article 17. The primary school shall aim at giving children elementary general education according to the development of their minds and bodies.

Article 18. In primary school education efforts shall be made to attain the principles mentioned in each of the following items. . . .

1. To cultivate a right understanding and the spirit of cooperation and independence in connection with relationships between human beings on the basis of the children's experience in social life both in and outside the schools.
2. To develop a proper understanding of the actual conditions and traditions both of children's native communities and of the country and, further, to cultivate the spirit of international cooperation.

Article 21. At elementary school, the textbooks to be used shall be those authorized by the Minister of Education, Science and Culture, or textbooks, copyrighted by the said Ministry.

Article 77. The kindergarten's aim shall be bringing up young children and developing their minds and bodies, and providing a suitable environment for them.

Article 78. In order to realize the aim in the foregoing Article, the kindergarten shall endeavor to attain the objective in each of the following items:

1. To cultivate everyday habits necessary for a sound, safe and happy life and to effect a harmonious development of bodily functions.
2. To make children experience group life and to cultivate a willingness to take part in it, as well as to foster the spirit of cooperation and independence.
3. To foster an understanding of the correct attitude toward social life and events.
4. To guide the correct usage of language and foster an interest in fairy-tales and picture books.
5. To cultivate an interest in expressing themselves through music, dance, pictures and other means.

[SCAP, Civil Information and Education Section, *Education in the New Japan*, vol. 2, pp. 112–30]

THE FUNDAMENTAL LAW OF EDUCATION

The Fundamental Law of Education, part of which is quoted here, states the basic premises of a democratic education, using rhetoric similar to that of the preamble to the constitution and that of the new Labor Standards Law. Passed on March 31, 1947, it envisions the building of a peaceful and cultural state, and on a more practical level, it requires the extension of compulsory education from six to nine years and mandates coeducation.

Preamble

Having established the Constitution of Japan, we have shown our resolution to contribute to the peace of the world and welfare of humanity by building a democratic and cultural state. The realization of this idea shall depend fundamentally on the power of education.

We shall esteem individual dignity and endeavor to bring up the people who love truth and peace, while education aimed at the creation of culture, general and rich in individuality, shall be spread far and wide. . . .

Article 1: Aim of Education

Education shall aim at the full development of personality, striving for the rearing of the people, sound in mind and body, who shall love truth and justice, esteem individual value, respect labor and have a deep sense of responsibility, and be imbued with the independent spirit, as builders of a peaceful state and society.

Article 3: Equal Opportunity in Education

The people shall all be given equal opportunities for receiving education according to their ability, and they shall not be subject to educational discrimination on account of race, creed, sex, social status, economic position, or family origin. . . .

Article 4: Compulsory Education

The people shall be obligated to have boys and girls under their protection receive nine years' general education. . . .

Article 5: Coeducation

Men and women shall esteem and cooperate with each other. Coeducation, therefore, shall be recognized in education.

[SCAP, Civil Information and Education Section, *Education in the New Japan*, vol. 2, pp. 109–11]

LABOR UNIONS

As in educational reform, the Occupation pressed on with more drastic labor and land laws than had been contemplated by prewar Japanese labor leaders, agrarian reformers, government bureaucrats, or, as it turned out, policy makers

in Washington. When the Japanese government was slow to act on its own to carry out social reconstruction, the Occupation stepped in. This pattern of pressure, resistance, compliance—or active seizure of opportunity—was repeated many times.

In accordance with the Occupation's initial goals, labor unions and collective bargaining were legalized by the end of 1945 when the Trade Union Law was approved by the Diet on December 21. It guaranteed the right to organize, bargain collectively, and strike. By September 1946, the Occupation not only was sponsoring innovative welfare legislation and a more effective means of worker–manager mediation, but also was promoting stronger labor legislation.

THE LABOR STANDARDS LAW

The Labor Standards Law (enacted, as were so many other laws at this time, to accord with the new constitution) was passed by the first postwar Diet on April 1, 1947. The Japanese drafters, who were closely monitored by SCAP experts, were familiar with the conventions of the International Labor Organization and U.S. labor practice, as well as the history of labor repression in Japan. The final law was a comprehensive labor protection code setting minimum standards for contracts, wages, working hours and conditions, paid holidays and annual vacations, safety and sanitation, and accident compensation—and singling out women and minor workers for special attention. Its aims were to offer workers a better life under a capitalist democracy and to help counter elitist attitudes toward the working class. Police authority was eliminated from labor affairs.

Article 1 (Principle of Working Conditions). Working conditions should meet the need of the worker who lives a life worthy of a human being.

The standard of working conditions affixed by this law is minimum. Therefore parties of labor relations must not reduce working conditions with the excuse of this standard and, instead, should endeavor to raise the working conditions.

Article 2 (Decision of Working Conditions). Working conditions should be decided by the worker and employer on an equal basis.

The worker and employer must abide by the collective agreement, rule of employment, and labor contract and must discharge their respective duties faithfully.

Article 3 (Equal Treatment). No person shall discriminate against or for any worker by reason of nationality, creed, or social status in wages, working hours, and other working conditions.

Article 4 (Equal Wages for Men and Women). The employer shall not discriminate women against men concerning wages by reason of the worker being women.

Article 5 (Prohibition of Forced Labor). The employer shall not force workers to work against their will by means of violence, intimidation, imprisonment, or any other unfair restraint on the mental or physical freedom of the workers.

Article 7 (Guarantee for the Exercise of Civil Rights). The employer shall not refuse when the worker requires necessary time to exercise franchise and other civil rights or to execute public duty during the working hours. However, the employer may change the required time as far as the change does not hinder the exercise of the right or the execution of public duty.

Further detailed provisions for working hours, rest days, recesses, women and minor workers, minimum age, restrictions on dangerous work, and the like follow.

[SCAP, Government Section, *Political Reorientation of Japan*, vol. 2, pp. 872–84]

RURAL LAND REFORM

Even more than labor legislation, agricultural reform went beyond the initial policy of the United States. The basic law in 1947 was heavily influenced by the views of the non-American members of the Allied Council and was considered key to the democratization of Japan. There was wide agreement in Japan, even among conservatives, that something more fundamental was needed. Ironically, although the rural land reform was attacked in the United States Congress as socialistic, it helped create a strong core of conservative support for the subsequent Liberal Democratic Party, which formed in 1955.

RURAL LAND REFORM DIRECTIVE

Douglas MacArthur's first order on agricultural reform was issued on December 9, 1945, to the Japanese government.

1. In order that the Imperial Japanese Government shall remove economic obstacles to the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies, establish respect for the dignity of man, and destroy the economic bondage which has enslaved the Japanese farmer to centuries of feudal oppression, the Japanese Imperial Government is directed to take measures to ensure that those who till the soil of Japan shall have a more equal opportunity to enjoy the fruits of their labor.
2. The purpose of this order is to exterminate those pernicious ills which have long blighted the agrarian structure of a land where almost half the total population is engaged in husbandry. The more malevolent of these ills include:

a. Intense overcrowding of land. Almost half the farm households in Japan till less than one and one-half acres each.
b. Widespread tenancy under conditions highly unfavorable to tenants. More than three-fourths of the farmers in Japan are either partially or totally tenants, paying rentals amounting to half or more of their annual crops.
c. A heavy burden of farm indebtedness combined with high rates of interest on farm loans. Farm indebtedness persists so that less than half the total farm households are able to support themselves on their agriculture income.
d. Government fiscal policies which discriminate against agriculture in favor of industry and trade. Interest rates and direct taxes on agriculture are more oppressive than those in commerce and industry.
e. Authoritative government control over farmers and farm organizations without regard for farmer interests. Arbitrary crop quotas established by disinterested control associations often restrict the farmer in the cultivation of crops for his own needs or economic advancement. Emancipation of the Japanese farmer cannot begin until such basic farm evils are uprooted and destroyed.

3. The Japanese Imperial Government is therefore ordered to submit to this Headquarters on or before 15 March 1946, a program of rural land reform. This program shall contain plans for:
   a. Transfer of land ownership from absentee land owners to land operators.
   b. Provisions for purchase of farm lands from nonoperating owners at equitable rates.
   c. Provisions for tenant purchase of land at annual installments commensurate with tenant income.
   d. Provisions for reasonable protection of former tenants against reversion to tenancy status. Such necessary safeguards should include:
      (1) Access to long- and short-term farm credit at reasonable interest rates.
      (2) Measures to protect the farmer against exploitation by processors and distributors.
      (3) Measures to stabilize prices of agricultural produce.
      (4) Plans for the diffusion of technical and other information of assistance to the agrarian population.
      (5) A program to foster and encourage an agricultural cooperative movement free of domination by non-agrarian interests and dedicated to the economic and cultural advancement of the Japanese farmer.

e. The Japanese Imperial Government is requested to submit in addition to the above, such other proposals as it deems necessary to guarantee to agriculture a share of the national income commensurate with its contribution.

[SCAP, Government Section, *Political Reorientation of Japan*, vol. 2, p. 575]

VIEWS OF YOSHIDA SHIGERU

In his memoirs, Yoshida Shigeru offered an interesting account of land reform from a conservative's viewpoint. Over the years, he was involved with the question as a cabinet minister (September 1945–May 1946) and the prime minister (May 1946–May 1947, October 1948–December 1954).

The reform of agriculture was . . . [a] major objective of Occupation policy. Viewed from the standpoint of the Allied Powers, the Japanese land system was not only feudalistic, but it weakened the national economy while providing the militarists with one of their firmest bases of support. The agrarian half of the nation represented a reservoir of soldiers and cheap labor. Rural landlords impeded the democratization of Japan equally with the militarists, the financiers, and the bureaucracy. To end this state of affairs by liberating the agricultural classes and raising their living standards was, therefore, regarded by the Occupation authorities as a vital step in bringing about the demilitarization and democratization of Japan.

We had, indeed, anticipated that this would be the case. The agricultural problem had been a major issue confronting successive Japanese Cabinets since the early years of the century. Furthermore, agricultural controls enforced during the Pacific war had the effect of placing small farmers in a specially favored position in the country, so that by 1945 the existing state of affairs, whatever the outward form might suggest, differed to a marked degree from what was widely imagined abroad from available textbooks on the subject. It was true that the change had been occasioned by the need to maintain the food supply during the period of hostilities. But that objective became even more pressing with the end of the war, so that Japan's agricultural system would in any event have had to be reconsidered in order to bring it closer in line with the actual situation.

That circumstance led to the passing of the first agricultural reforms at the time of the Shidehara Cabinet, when Mr. Kenzō Matsumura was Minister of Agriculture, and before any SCAP directive had been issued on the subject. . . . Two main points [of the reform] were the substitution of payment of farm-rent in money, instead of in kind as previously, and the restriction of individual ownership of agricultural land to three *chō* (one *chō* being approximately 2.45 acres), beyond which amount the plan made it compulsory for landowners to turn over the land to the tenants, a revolutionary step at the time.

This Japanese plan was doubtless evolved with knowledge of GHQ's [General Headquarters] intentions to seize the opportunity of solving the agricultural problem that had been troubling the nation for so long. But even so it met with a chorus of objections when it was originally outlined at one of our Cabinet meetings. In particular, the compulsory acquisition of agricultural land by tenants was a revolutionary idea never before proposed in Japan. . . . In the event, the plan was endorsed by the Cabinet after the limit of individual holdings had been raised from three to five *chō*. . . .

Although, as I have mentioned, agricultural land reform was one of the more important Occupation objectives, both the Allied Council for Japan and General MacArthur's headquarters adopted a somewhat more leisurely attitude to this question than toward other problems and appeared disposed to give the question serious consideration before proceeding to take any definite steps. This was, no doubt, because reforms and changes connected with farm land had invariably been accompanied by a good deal of trouble and rural unrest, and sometimes even by bloodshed, in other countries. Thus it happened that the first plan for agricultural reform proposed by Mr. Matsumura must not only have furnished GHQ with a practical blueprint for carrying out the reform, but also have been instructive in indicating to the Occupation authorities, at the time of its publication, that, while some objected to it as being too radical, the number of those in Japan who expressed a contrary opinion—that the plan did not go far enough—was by no means small. . . .

The bill embodying the Matsumura plan was introduced in the lower House of the Diet on 6 December 1945 and, as was to be expected, met with stiff resistance. On 11 December a GHQ directive concerning agricultural land reform, dated 9 December, was read to the House Committee to which the bill had been referred. This did not differ materially in content from the bill proposed by the Government, but its wording—including a demand for the raising of the living standards of the Japanese farmers who had been "enslaved . . . for centuries of feudal oppression"—left no doubt as to the real intentions of GHQ. This document transformed the atmosphere in the Diet toward the Government measure, and the bill passed both Houses with only slight modifications. . . .

The law based upon the Matsumura plan was promulgated before the end of 1945 and became effective from February 1946. That part of the measure dealing with the compulsory transfer of land was not enforced because General MacArthur's headquarters thought the provisions of the law on that point could be improved upon; wherefore land ownership remained unchanged until the implementation of the second agricultural land reform.

Officially, GHQ was waiting for the Japanese Government's reply to be submitted by 15 March 1946, but, unofficially, the Occupation authorities had early indicated to the Ministry of Agriculture flaws which they had detected in the details of the first agricultural reform. These were made public for the first time

at a press conference held by William J. Gilmartin and Wolf I. Ladejinsky, the experts within the GHQ in charge of the reform, on 12 March 1946, just before the deadline fixed for the Government's reply to SCAP, and consisted of two points: that the maximum holding of five *chō* was too large and would leave too many tenant farmers in the same position as before, and that, in order to ensure that land transfers were carried out and to shorten the period for this to be accomplished, the Government itself should act as agent instead of transfers being direct between landlords and tenants. . . .

General MacArthur next referred the question to the Allied Council for Japan. As a result of the deliberations of this body, agreement was . . . reached . . . [on a plan that] did not differ materially from the plan that had emerged from discussions between GHQ and officials of our Ministry of Agriculture, except on one point—the Allied Council plan contained a clause that would have limited the average area of land to be transferred to a tenant farmer to one *chō*. This clause, no doubt based upon ignorance of actual farming conditions in Japan, would have played havoc with agricultural production had it been adopted. Fortunately we were able to make this clear to GHQ and the suggestion was dropped. The Soviet representative [on the Allied Council] favored the confiscation from the owners of all tenant-worked lands without compensation, and the knowledge that such a proposal had been advanced probably helped in reconciling the landowners to the actual terms of the second land reform.

The final details of the reform measure were decided upon in the course of our negotiations with GHQ, and then brought together and communicated to the Japanese Government, not officially as a directive, but more privately in the form of advising us of their opinion. Apparently General MacArthur took that step because he thought that such an undertaking as agricultural land reform—affecting as it did the fundamental economic structure of our society—could only bear fruit if it was planned by the Japanese themselves and of a nature genuinely acceptable to the Japanese people. I think that the methods employed in this matter of land reform, at least, enabled GHQ and the Japanese Government to work well together which was not always the case.

The general election was held on 10 April 1946, as a result of which the Shidehara Cabinet resigned on 22 April. By that time the food shortage had become acute and social unrest had grown. What was called "Food May Day" was held on 19 May, following the usual May Day observance on 1 May, and the political scene at the time appeared mainly composed of masses of red flags and demonstrators. In such an atmosphere . . . the first Yoshida Cabinet came into being on 22 May, with agricultural land reform now a matter of pressing importance.

The population in the rural districts had in the meantime remained relatively calm in the face of the mounting unrest in the cities, and gave the impression of eyeing the burgeoning agitation in the urban areas with distrust and

disapproval. One does not care to think what would have happened had events taken another course and if the farmers had made common cause with the city crowds. Again, if at that time the Government had failed to carry out a thorough agricultural land reform, and aroused discontent in the rural areas, the result would have been incalculable. . . . [A]cting as my representative, [the minister of agriculture] was handed, toward the end of June, the GHQ communication concerning agricultural reform based upon the report of the Allied Council. The Government set to work to examine the details and, after further negotiations had taken place with GHQ on some minor questions involved, the Cabinet finally decided on the plans for the second agricultural reform at a meeting on 26 July 1946.

The major points of the reform as finally agreed upon were that all agricultural land belonging to landowners who did not reside in the districts where the land was located, and which was being tilled solely by tenants, was to be transferred to the tenants; and that individual ownership of tenant land was to be limited to the average of one *chō* (four *chō* in Hokkaido); that the total amount of agricultural land to be owned individually, including tenant land was to be limited to three *chō* (twelve *chō* in Hokkaido); that it was to be made compulsory for land beyond that limit to be sold to the Government for resale to tenant farmers; and that payment to landowners for their requisitioned land was to be made in Government bonds. A bill embodying these provisions was introduced into the Lower House of the Diet on 7 September 1946 and passed both Houses without amendment on 11 October 1946. . . .

The final result [when implemented in 1950] was that two million *chō* of agricultural land were requisitioned from some 1,500,000 landowners and turned over to those who had previously been tenant farmers, numbering around four million persons. In addition to which operation 450,000 *chō* of pasturage and 1,320,000 *chō* of uncultivated land were also disposed of in the same manner. Tenant-tilled land, which until that time had accounted for 46 percent of Japan's agricultural land, diminished to 10 percent. The tenant farmer practically ceased to exist, while the great landowners of the old days and absentee landlords passed into history.

The effects of such sweeping changes on Japan's agriculture as a whole are, of course, incalculable. The agricultural land reform was, in fact, a revolutionary measure, and to have carried it out without any major friction, and certainly without anything in the nature of serious disturbance or bloodshed, was an achievement that cannot be dismissed lightly, particularly when one remembers the unsettled state of the country at that time. The possible outbreak of such troubles had been feared by some during the deliberations on the reform bill in the Diet, but the event showed our apprehension to have been groundless.

There occurred, of course, a certain amount of confusion in some districts; there were bound to be details in the reform plans that were open to criticism. But no one can deny that the reform contributed immeasurably toward raising

the standards of living of the agricultural classes, or that the effects this stabilization and improvement of life in the rural areas had on the social unrest in Japan as a whole were profound. This was one of the immediate benefits of the land reform. And when we think of what that fact saved us from, we should also remember at the same time the sacrifice paid by the landowners and their uncomplaining attitude throughout. Had they been so minded, they could have expressed their discontent in political and social activities of no uncertain kind, that would not only have hindered the implementation of the reform, but would have endangered still further the precarious state of our country. It is not too much to say that it is to the admirable behavior of the landowners that the success of the reform is largely due. . . .

Following the signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty, there were those who demanded, and others who vaguely expected, that as the agricultural land reform had been enacted with the strong support and encouragement of the Occupation authorities, some of its measures should be repealed. We decided, on the contrary, to incorporate the principles of the reform into the body of our national laws by combining them in one law, for which purpose a bill was introduced during the thirteenth session of the Diet held in 1952, while my third Cabinet was in office, under the title of the Agricultural Land Bill. This was passed by both Houses by an overwhelming majority, including the Socialists, and became law on 15 July 1952.

The agricultural land reform thus enacted and enforced does not by any means solve all the problems which confront Japanese agriculture, if only for the simple reason that there is not enough farm land in Japan to provide our large rural population with a sufficiently high standard of living. But the aim of the reform lies in helping to increase total agricultural production in order to permit the raising of the standard of living of those engaged in agriculture. The reform is not an end in itself, but a means.

[Yoshida, *The Yoshida Memoirs*, pp. 196–203]

ECONOMIC STABILIZATION AND RECONSTRUCTION

Economic reconstruction along capitalist lines was a prime goal of the first postwar cabinets. While Japan floundered in economic malaise, the Occupation, as ordered, at first gave little positive help beyond shipments of food. Instead, SCAP, in the name of economic democratization, demanded the dissolution of family-controlled holding companies (*zaibatsu*), the enactment of an antimonopoly law, and the payment of harsh reparations. As Japanese bureaucrats, politicians, and businessmen struggled to overcome high rates of inflation and revive domestic production, they drew selectively from prewar experiences in mobilizing the economy to fight the Great Depression and the

more recent military-led mobilization for total war. The state's economic guidance of the private sector was already a fixed pattern, although the degree and extent of it were contested, as was the shift toward heavy industry and mass production. Still to be sorted out, however, were postwar interrelationships among state, capital, and labor in the Japanese model of modified capitalism and the creation of an industrial policy geared exclusively to peacetime industries and the revival of foreign trade.

POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION OF THE JAPANESE ECONOMY

In September 1946, the Special Survey Committee, a study group formed in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as the war was ending in mid-August 1945, issued an extensive report, *Postwar Reconstruction of the Japanese Economy*, with copies to SCAP and Japanese government agencies. This was shortly after the cabinet of Yoshida Shigeru had set up the Economic Stabilization Board (ESB; forerunner of the Economic Planning Agency, 1955) to deal with Japan's shattered economy. The various members included bureaucrats and economists of varying opinions and expertise, as well as businessmen and a journalist. The group took note of Japan's wartime state central controls and the necessity of postwar economic democratization but retained the concept of economic planning. Contrary to the emphases in the initial policy of the United States, their report stressed the promotion of heavy industries and a return to export-driven trade as the best way to create a viable, self-sustaining economy and genuine worker livelihood. Years later, in 1991, when preparing the report for an English-language edition, Ōkita Saburō—by then a veteran economic planner of world renown and a former foreign minister—characterized Japanese "postwar economic development" as "catch-up capitalism" or "latecomer capitalism" and justified planning as a necessary complement to the operation of free-market mechanisms. Others might reasonably argue that Japan, until 1943 the world's fastest-growing economy, was far more advanced than Ōkita cared to admit and that state involvement in economic planning had preceded mobilization for total war.

The report, which gives great insight into the thinking of many of Japan's most influential economists, was more concerned with Japan's near or mid-future than with solving immediate problems of food supplies and inflation. The purpose was to help generate economic rehabilitation while refashioning the economy along modified capitalist and socialist lines and ridding it of any militaristic and feudalistic vestiges. Divided into two parts, "Prerequisites for Reconstruction" and "Measures for Reconstruction," and backed up with statistics, the report analyzes Japan's economy under the new conditions of defeat and occupation, including the loss of empire. It also addresses the postwar international environment and lists special Japanese characteristics. Throughout the report are constant reminders that Japan has a large population, is poor in natural resources, and, in some ways, is still backward in economic development. Since foreign trade was deemed vital, the report offers recommendations to

make Japan more competitive once it returns to world markets. One of the major problems it does not address, although Japan had had ample experience with it, is the impact of industrialization on the environment.

Difficulties in the Resumption of Production

The resumption of production is a most basic task for the present-day Japanese economy. Without an increase in production, no improvement in the national life can be expected. There can be no real democratization where there is no substantive guarantee of the people's standard of living. The production of essential goods has decreased of late to a fraction of the figures registered during the war. If production in general remains stagnant at such low levels for a long time, then even the production of the export commodities required to pay for minimally required food imports cannot be realized.

The fundamental reasons why things have come to this pass are the abstraction of people's behavior due to the defeat in the war and their psychological uncertainty owing to the sharply changed environment. Further, the various new conditions stated above—the loss of territory, the effect of war damages, the progress of inflation, the burden of reparations, and food shortages—are all powerful factors obstructing the resumption of productive activities.

Meanwhile the government, which has lost the capability of comprehensive planning and leadership, has remained an idle onlooker to the collapse of the wartime control system and the resultant confusion in the economic community. . . . Thus the whole productive structure of the Japanese economy has come to a standstill, as if a big wheel has stopped turning, and cannot be reactivated unless some well-coordinated, planned, and systematic measures are taken.

The report proceeds to list the many problems of resuming production, among them the loss of independence, the sluggish production of basic materials, the interruption of commodity imports, the progress of inflation, labor unrest, an arrested entrepreneurial system, and the conversion from wartime heavy industry to peacetime civilian production. The agricultural sector was confronted by many difficulties, although less so than urban areas: consumption of productive capital, mass return of labor to rural areas, indifference to improving farm management, and delays in shipments of rationed foods. Nonetheless, there were favorable conditions in rural Japan, such as advances in mechanical engineering, experience and training in a planned economy, relief from military burdens, mechanization of agriculture, progress toward cooperative farming, and the rise of democracy.

The Rise of Democracy

Even though touched off by outside forces, the rise of democracy is a step forward that will ultimately bring about a fundamental gain in the nation's

productive capacity through an increase in the number of people who will have self-consciousness and who will take responsibility for themselves, although the change may give rise to confusion in various forms during the transitional period.

The authors next offer several recommendations for the direction that Japan must follow to achieve reconstruction (some of the named reforms were already under way). For example, economic democratization and the upgrading of technological standards, as in the rationalization of agricultural production, are necessary—"that is, the abolition of oppressive tenant relations and the enlargement of managerial scale"—as is the promotion of manufacturing industries and foreign trade. The various measures of democratic reconstruction, which were governed by external "American coloration" of disarmament and destruction of Japanese militarism as well as by internal demands, required the prohibition of industrial monopoly, limitations on government intervention in the economy "in order to encourage free competition in the private sector," the encouragement of the growth of trade unions, the modernization of agriculture, assurance of an equality of national life, bans on international cartels and restrictive international contracts, and equal opportunity for foreign capital. Basic to the thinking of this committee were the promotion of manufacturing, overall planning, and resumption of foreign trade.

Promotion of Manufacturing Industries and Foreign Trade

The starting point for the democratization of the Japanese economy is the modernization of agriculture and the improvement of farmers' living standards. In order to realize these objectives, the excess of farmers relative to arable land has to be eliminated, and farmers have to be provided with arable land of optimal size. In other words, it is necessary to extract surplus population from farm villages. But as most of the population thus extracted will have no place to go other than the manufacturing industries, the promotion of manufacturing industries is regarded as indispensable for furnishing a specific basis for economic democratization.

Meanwhile, in order to import food, clothing, and other necessary goods in large quantities every year, it is necessary to promote exports to pay for these imports. Japan is, however, endowed very poorly with natural resources within the country. The nation has only manpower in abundance. In case direct exports of labor are not permitted, emphasis has to be placed on the export of industrial goods by changing labor into commodities. The promotion of manufacturing industries is needed from this standpoint, too. As to which industries should be developed in Japan hereafter, it will be appropriate from the viewpoint of international division of labor to choose those that require as much labor as possible in manufacture and do not allow easy automation of the production process, based on the condition that labor is abundant but natural resources are in short supply.

The report attempts to sort out what Japan should and could do on its own initiative and from internal demand while governed by conditions of external control and mandated reform. Sooner or later, Japan would return to the "world international community" and participate in the 1944 Bretton Woods Agreement for trade and investment and the recently established International Monetary Fund. Because Japan's industries were in an intermediate stage of development, Japan would "be required for the time being to take part in international labor division by combining cheap labor with relatively high-level technology and to increase wages gradually, backing up such measures with mechanization of production processes and upgrading technological standards based on future capital accumulation." Here the report stresses the importance of a planned economy.

Planning required careful preparation, beginning with a scientific study of the causes for the failure of the wartime controlled economy. Data should also be gathered about other planned economies, particularly the Soviet Union's five-year plans, the United States's New Deal, and Britain's postwar policies. Properly trained planning experts and a "large-scale, powerful, and comprehensive research organ, either private or governmental," are needed. Whether Japan's economy became capitalist or socialist in the future, it would require "well-prepared statistical data" and statistical publications. A planned economy was inevitable.

Toward a Planned Economy

A comprehensive and specific year-to-year reconstruction program will have to be formulated in order to revive the Japanese economy from the extreme destitution in which it finds itself now. The waste of economic power that would result from allowing laissez-faire play to market forces will not be permitted in order that all the meager economic power remaining may be concentrated in a direction toward reproduction on an enlarged scale and that the process of reconstruction may be expedited. . . .

Contents of a Planned Economy

The specific process of devising a plan for economic reconstruction would be, first, to fix a target living standard to be attained and the time period during which this target should be reached; then, taking as a starting point a demand and supply plan for essential materials and also a national land reconstruction plan formulated on the basis of the target and time period, to work out in a coordinated manner programs regarding production, exports and imports, funds, public finance, employment, and so on. . . . Such a plan should not be drawn in the bureaucratic and coercive way, as was done in the past, but would need to be formulated in a democratic manner that would fully reflect views in private business or at the labor site. Striving for the creation of the objective conditions would allow the achievement of a planned economy by placing a clear-cut responsibility on the parties concerned for the materialization of the

plan formulated by such a democratic process and also by constantly reviewing actual performance in order to prevent the plan from being too distant from reality. The scale and speed of Japanese economic construction would be affected greatly by the form of government taken by the nation and also by the political party in power. Therefore an economic program ought to be drawn up on the basis of the outlook of political situations and also in accordance with the need to contrive for its realization at the political level by taking into consideration the form of government that would promote the accomplishment of the program. Only after a comprehensive grasp of such interactive relations between politics and the economy could a truly realistic economic program be drawn up.

A truly democratized economy, the report continues, should guarantee freedom of economic activity and a minimum standard of living and should provide social security and welfare. To avoid social unrest and bankruptcy of the economy, labor leaders were cautioned to keep workers well disciplined and to look constructively at the "aggressive economy" in expanding their activities. Recommendations for restructuring the economy covered the fiscal and monetary systems, capital accumulation, currency reform, and the budget. Not to be overlooked was an increase in spending "for cultural objectives" so that Japan might in fact be reconstructed as a "cultural nation." The manufacturing sector was seen as playing "the principle role in Japan's economic reconstruction."

The Future of Heavy Industries

Although a large part of Japanese heavy industry will be lost as a result of implementing reparation payments, that does not imply that Japan will be wholly denied heavy industries. Japanese heavy industries had a strong militaristic character in the past, but in the future, heavy industries of a peaceful nature will have to be developed through opening up a new market for them within the country. . . . Various favorable conditions, such as the proximity of marine transport, a diligent and large labor force, and the ready supply of electric power and industrial water, provide a foundation favorable to the growth of the manufacturing industry in Japan. Therefore when the Japanese political and economic systems have been democraticized and their aggressive character wiped out, the nation's heavy industries should be allowed to grow to a considerable extent. . . . As Japanese heavy industries are certain to be subjected to international competition in the future, on the one hand, and because the benefit of adequate governmental protection as experienced in the past will become difficult to obtain, on the other hand, they will have to cultivate—through the rationalization of management and the elevation of technological levels—the ability to withstand the competition from foreign goods in terms of production costs as well.

In its key message, the report once again stresses proper organization of the industrial setup: the rationalization of business management, importance of large-scale operations in certain industries, elevation of technological levels, place of smaller enterprises, reform of corporate organization, and modernization of the civil service system by removing its feudalistic character. Inevitably, "state assistance" by a democratic government "will be much relied on in economic operations in the future, too, due to the nation's economic backwardness, narrowness of markets, and insufficiency of raw material resources." The bureaucracy should not intervene, but "provide private enterprise with information and guidance on the basis of careful investigation and research." To this end, an agency for comprehensive planning and investigation should be established, and national research institutions expanded.

Establishment of an Agency for Comprehensive Planning

The function of the Economic Stabilization Board should be strengthened so that it may assume the task of collecting basic data and drafting overall plans for economic reconstruction. . . . The staff of the Stabilization Board should not be a mere group of ordinary administrative officials, as was the case in the past; instead, it must be a systematic collection of excellent experts in various fields selected from both government and private circles. By making such an agency a brain trust for the prime minister and giving the premier the power to give orders to various ministers if necessary, a systematic and unified administrative operation should be made possible. Such a system would correspond to the general staff in the armed forces. . . .

Industrial Structure in the Future

A consideration of Japan's prospective industrial structure must proceed on the premise that the nation is poorly endowed with natural resources but has an abundant labor supply and must aim at establishing an equilibrium in the international payments balance while realizing the maximum employment of domestic labor. Japan in the future has to sustain and develop industries as varied as possible, partly in order to export industrial manufactures in quantities necessary to cover its imports of large quantities of food, clothing, and other essential commodities and partly in order to provide job opportunities for its huge population. . . . Furthermore, the nation's industries must shift gradually to the manufacture of sophisticated and high-grade commodities that will not only be competitive with their counterparts in the rest of the world but also require as much human labor as possible. The production of industrial goods for domestic consumption, too, must be contrived so that job opportunities can be provided for the domestic labor force and that the nation's burden of payments to the rest of the world can be reduced by importing, as much as prac-

ticable, necessary raw materials in the form of crude materials for processing into finished goods within the national boundaries.

In other words, it will be essential for Japan to have highly developed industries in order to maintain a peaceful economy and guarantee the people's livelihood. It is also necessary that because of the geographical location of the country, Japan's industrial ability should be utilized fully for the industrialization of the Asian regions.

As the report draws toward a conclusion, the focus shifts to trends in overseas markets as well as Japan's special conditions as basic to determining precisely what it should export. To reduce burdens on foreign exchange and provide employment, Japan should aim for domestic self-sufficiency in the production of iron and steel, ships, rolling stock, machinery, chemical goods, paper, fertilizers, and cement. As in the past, exports of industrial manufactures for daily use (the report did not specify to where), such as textiles, toys, bicycles, rubber goods, electric bulbs, together with machinery and chemical goods, would enable Japan to import food, fertilizers, clothing, and other products for its growing population. In order to modernize and rationalize the economy, electric power development and utilization were crucial. For a peaceful economy, Japan should revive its fishing and shipping industries and promote tourism. It should formulate plans for the development of national land, the full utilization of river water and hilly districts, improved transportation and communications, and the spread of technology.

Tasks for Japanese Technology

The development of advanced technology and constant research are needed not only for the conservation of such resources, products, and imported goods but also for the purpose of using them effectively without waste. In other words, the nation's technology must support such technical tasks as the creation of new resources, making unutilized resources useful, sophisticated product processing, economization in the per unit consumption of raw materials in factories, reduction in product wastage, increasing product durability, and so forth.

The second task of Japanese technology is the maintenance and development of export trade through technological advancement. Japan must maintain a superiority in know-how over other Asian countries by constant advancement of its own technology so that it may be able to export industrial manufactures to such countries. The nation must also improve the quality of its exports so as to contribute to reductions in unit prices or to the cultivation of reliable markets abroad. . . .

Third is the contribution of technology to the elimination of cheap labor. . . .

Through advances in technology, Japan would be able to contribute to Asian industrialization and provide technical assistance: "It is considered inevitable that the economy will move in a direction toward a planned economy," requiring "a new type of technician." However, Japan's future technology would not be utilized to strengthen military power but to serve the people and better living standards: "Japanese technology must also get rid of its traditional, imitation-centered colonialistic character and strive for the development of a technology that conforms to the nation's environment." It must strive for economy in the use of raw materials. Engineers should awaken to their responsibilities in economic revival and concentrate on "the lowering of production costs, qualitative improvement, economization of materials."

At the end, the report briefly discusses rationalization in daily life and consumption, including the economic emancipation of Japanese housewives.

Real Emancipation of Housewives

Japanese housewives are too busy. A way must be opened for them to have leisure hours in which to acquire the culture worthy of humans by emancipating them, in terms of both time and physical conditions, through ample introduction into households of such modern facilities as electricity and gas. Only after such real improvement has been realized in their daily lives can women effectively exercise the franchise that has been extended to them.

It is also a requisite for an expansion of the domestic-market manufacturing industry that electrical appliances and other modern equipment be used widely in Japanese households. If the living standards of Japanese people are so low that they cannot afford to purchase appliances, the joint use of such equipment may be promoted through the groups of residential housing. . . .

Economic Reconstruction and Education

In a rapidly changing period, such as the present age in particular, the educational system must be rebuilt on a clear recognition of the direction that Japan will follow in the future. Of course, because education is endowed with the primary objective of the training of character, we should refrain from treating education as a means to pursue actual profits. At the same time we must reconsider whether an ideal character training that is apart from real life is advisable. Education in the future should aim at the training not of careerist-type utilitarians but, among others, of those many nationals who are diligent, reliable and regard their jobs as duties entrusted by Heaven, and of a great number of producers. . . .

[Adapted from Special Survey Committee, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan, *Postwar Reconstruction of the Japanese Economy*, pp. 65–66, 74, 78, 98, 130, 139, 175, 184–86]

JAPAN'S FIRST WHITE PAPER ON THE ECONOMY

Economic conditions remained chaotic in 1947 and 1948, during the two coalition cabinets headed first by Katayama Tetsu (1887–1978), the Christian Socialist leader of Japan's first leftist government, and then by Ashida Hitoshi, a former career diplomat and conservative Speaker of the House (1947/1948). Commerce was at a standstill; workers were antagonistic; and households were desperate. SCAP continued to press its reformist programs, but sympathy was building for more positive assistance. In July 1947, the new head of the Economic Stabilization Board, Wada Hiroo (reformist minister of agriculture in the first Yoshida cabinet until January 1947), attempted to check inflation and stabilize the economy by instituting increased price controls as part of an emergency program. Once again, planning was stressed. As he explained in a speech delivered on July 1 to both houses of the Diet, in lieu of foreign trade, Japan had to do the best it could with materials at home. To effect rehabilitation, "it is absolutely essential to operate our economy by an overall planning."

A few days later, on July 4, 1947, in a historic move, the cabinet issued Japan's first White Paper on the Economy. The sixty-thousand-word report, highly factual and written in plain and readable language, was a frank depiction of Japan's broken economy. Although little colored by ideology, it promoted a mixed economy and statistical planning. The chief drafter was Wada's colleague on the ESB, Tsuru Shigeto (b. 1912), a Marxist economist with a doctorate from Harvard. The paper was divided into three parts: government (national finance), private enterprise (production), and household economy (consumption). If the people were well informed about the actual condition of the economy as a whole, the assumption was, they would take their share of responsibility and face up to continued hardship. Under manufacturing, the White Paper reiterated the vital importance of coal production. It took a stand on war guilt, placing blame on the military and officials for starting the war against the will of the people. It introduced a wide variety of statistics: on prices, wages, and cost of living; people's livelihood; production; transportation; public finance and banking; labor and employment; and foreign trade. Equally important was its introductory tone:

> As prerequisites, let us lay stress on two important facts. The first is the necessity to grasp the movement of our national economy in a dynamic manner. The other is the necessity of an overall analysis of our national economy. . . . It cannot be said that we have yet fully realized the profound misery our military leaders have brought upon us by starting a reckless war against the will of the people at large. Furthermore, we cannot say that in the two years that have elapsed since the end of the war we have done all that we might have done. There are some things we should have done sooner and will try to do now. We have to work with a more or less inaccurate forecast—growth in production and an improved international account.

Part 2 of the White Paper, offering statistics on food, clothing, daily commodities, household fuel, and housing, attacks the black market. It concludes:

We were apt to lack in courage in the past to face the reality straight. During the war, which was like a bad dream, our leaders' cowardice helped to bring tragedy to our nation; they tried to lead our nation to close their eyes to the facts which they did not like and to distort the facts in such a way as to suit the direction in which they wanted to lead the nation. . . . The facts that honest men are quite often fooled and that those who work sincerely suffer from losses, testify to the "physiological" malady of the economic organism of this country. The Government desires to share the facts of these difficulties frankly with the people, and to make such realization a basis for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of our country. . . .

The stages in which the people, after going through conditions in which the base of reproduction gets more and more restricted, emerge, with hope for the future, into the road to rehabilitation and reconstruction, shall be the stages in which those who work honestly in close relation with each other, will make their livelihood easier through their own effort. . . . The starting point of a democratic government must mean that we are faced with the question of forming a government of the people, by the people and for the people. . . .

[*Nippon Times*, July 6, 1947]

REVISED U.S. POLICY FOR OCCUPIED JAPAN

Midway through the Occupation, on October 18, 1948, President Truman endorsed a considerably revised policy for Japan in National Security Council (NSC) Document 13/2. Based on a year-long study, the recommendations reflected a calculated shift from punitive measures to positive support of Japan's economic recovery to a level of self-sufficiency but did not necessarily require a reverse course in all other reforms. Instead, emphasis was placed on Japan's "assimilation of the reforms in place." The eventual peace settlement with Japan, moreover, should be as "nonpunitive" as possible. The altered direction came on the urging of SCAP experts, Japanese and American businessmen, high-level officials on both sides, and a fiscally conservative American Congress. Of prime importance was a visit to Japan in early 1948 by George Kennan, head of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff and a major author of the United States's Cold War policy to contain Communism. The underlying conviction in Washington was that a vibrant democracy and a healthy economy were interdependent. Japan was reenvisioned as a workshop for Asia, similar to the role already projected for West Germany in postwar Europe, although the Japanese version was not expected to be as advanced in heavy industry and quality products. The key recommendation stated the following.

Economic Recovery. Second only to U.S. security interests, economic recovery should be made the primary objective of United States policy in Japan for the coming period. It should be sought through a combination of United States aid programs envisaging shipments and/or credits on a declining scale over a number of years, and by a vigorous and concerted effort by all interested agencies and departments of the United States Government to cut away obstacles to the revival of Japanese foreign trade, with provision for Japanese merchant shipping, and to facilitate restoration and development of Japan's exports. In developing Japan's internal and external trade and industry, private enterprise should be encouraged. . . . We should make it clear to the Japanese Government that the success of the recovery program will in large part depend on Japanese efforts to raise production and to maintain high export levels through hard work, a minimum of work-stoppages, internal austerity measures and the stern combating of inflationary trends including efforts to achieve a balanced internal budget as rapidly as possible. . . .

[Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1948*, vol. 6, p. 861]

RECONSTRUCTING JAPAN AS A NATION OF PEACE AND CULTURE

Throughout the Occupation, there was much rhetoric about reconstructing Japan as a nation of both peace and culture. It crept into the speeches of prime ministers and Diet members and into the writings of journalists and critics. At times vague, this inseparable equation envisioned the re-creation of a nonmilitarist Japan, a new Japan that would regain the respect of the world through its promotion of philosophy, science, and the arts. It also entailed deep thinking about the real meaning of pacifism, especially after the adoption of the peace constitution. Was a peace state in fact not a normal state, or somehow a lesser state, or was it something to cherish as Japan's singular contribution to a new world of international politics? The discourse embraced new issues as the Cold War progressed in Asia and as Japan came closer to a peace and security settlement.

MORITO TATSUO

In January 1946, an important essay, "The Construction of a Peaceful Nation," appeared in the first postwar issue of *Kaizō* (*Reconstruction*), an influential magazine that Japanese officials had suspended during the war. Its author, the economist Morito Tatsuo, had been the central figure in a famous case in 1920 involving academic freedom. For publishing an article about the Russian anarchist Pyotr Kropotkin, he was dismissed from Tokyo Imperial University and

briefly jailed. To earn a living, Morito spent the next two decades at the Ōhara Institute for Social Research. In postwar Japan, he was elected as a Social Democrat to the House of Representatives and in 1947 became minister of education in the short-lived cabinet of Katayama Tetsu. This was followed by a long tenure as president of Hiroshima University.

In his lead essay for *Kaizō* in January 1946, which predated by one month the incorporation of a peace clause in the model draft constitution, Morito raised several hypothetical questions about the meaning and requirements of a peaceful nation and discussed their application to a defeated Japan. Two of his passages in the Japanese version were deleted by American censors. Ironically, when the essay appeared in English translation a few months later, it was again censored, but different passages were selected and for different reasons. This is a reminder that freedom of debate was sometimes seriously circumscribed in Occupied Japan. At the same time, censored remarks often served to betray the bias of both the writer and the censor. In the excerpt, the italicized words are those that were deleted because they criticized the Allies.

Throughout history, Morito began, peace, not war, had been a high ideal in international relations. But on second thought, a peaceful state "can mean either 'a state that cannot wage a war' or 'a state that does not desire war.'" In which of the two categories did Japan belong? In Japan's present condition, it was obviously the first, but the Allies would also try to make Japan incapable of war in the future by disarming the military and prohibiting a war industry.

"THE CONSTRUCTION OF A PEACEFUL NATION"

The democratization of politics with the revision of the constitution as the initial, basic step, the democratization of national economy with the dissolution of *zaibatsu* as an important beginning, and the emphasizing of antimilitarist education as the most effective means of psychological disarmament will be indirect steps yet to be completed.

This nation, devoid of war potential, might be regarded as an absolutely peaceful state. But is this the peaceful state that humanity has so long sought as an ideal? *Had we the Japanese sought such a state when we desired peace?*

To speak frankly, Japan is now forced to be such a peaceful state as her punishment for the aggressive war, and she has in no way chosen it of her free will. Under the circumstances, her being a peaceful state is merely superficial, not affecting her inner life to the core. It is true that an antimilitarist education is carried out vigorously to influence the coming generations as the militarist education had done in the former days. Since, however, it is an education forced upon them from outside, its effect does not go deep enough to change their inner life.

Should the complete pacification of the mind of its people not be effected,

what road will the outwardly peaceful state follow? There may be two possibilities. The first case is that of a morally weak people where they will inevitably fall in decadence, losing the spirit of independence, liberty, and self-reliance under the pressure of the enforced peace while at the same time falteringly observing the wish of the victor nation. If that is the destiny to be followed by a peaceful state, it has to be called a slave state, or a collective existence unworthy of the name of a state, far from the peaceful state in its highest sense.

The second case is that of a morally strong people, where the spirit of independence will not only remain unsmashed by war defeat, but all the more be strengthened in its certain respects. When peace is forced upon this type of people, in the sense of inability to fight, it certainly will revolt against the fate of a slave state brought upon it under the beautiful name of a peaceful nation. Yet, being unable to resist with force, it will acquiesce in being such a nominally peaceful state, while cherishing resentment against the forces compelling it to be so. Consequently, the possibility of its joining in the anti-peace camp rather than consistently standing for peace cannot be precluded.

When viewed in this light, to keep a people long in a state of a forced peaceful nation will result either in reducing it to a slave state or in driving it to be a psychologically bellicose country, which is the type of state radically different from what is originally intended. Such a policy, therefore, can never be commended. The question is, what is a peaceful state in the true sense of the term? It is no other than one which does not desire war, or a state that seeks peace of its own free will and from its own inner conviction, striving with all its moral powers for the realization of that ideal. In this case the possession or nonpossession of armed forces is totally out of the question.

The essential prerequisite to the peaceful state, therefore, is that it is independent and free; in other words, it must have free will to seek peace instead of war. . . . It must be a state which has economically attained a certain level in productive capacity and culturally in morality and arts. . . .

A truly peaceful state, Morito continued, "must stand for pacifism in a particular sense"—a pacifism of the present and not as a future social idea. To do so was not easy. It would require sacrifice and "spiritual effort." Real peace, like liberty, "must be gained by our own efforts, not being a gift from outsiders." To prepare for peace required the removal of social evils and the establishment of three foundations: a socialist economy, democracy, and a cultural revolution. A socialist state, he thought, would weaken the motive for exploitation. Democracy would eliminate despotism and liberate "the working masses and women." A cultural revolution would help wipe out notions of Japan as a chosen people. However, the perfection of a peaceful state was a matter for all nations, not one in isolation: "Just as militarist nations have always prepared for aggressive wars, so the nations should not neglect to prepare for peace." This might be accomplished through a single democratic world federation of all states, a worldwide planned economy, and a world culture "that does not belittle the original culture of any people." A peace

offensive should seek to harmonize conflicting ideologies and "accelerate the tendency of independent states limiting the exercise of their sovereign right as a step toward forming a single world federal state."

Morito discussed the roles of major and minor powers in this peace offensive: "Under present conditions, without doubt, the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain, and particularly the former two will be the propellant powers." (In the Japanese version, he clarified that America represented democracy; the Soviet Union, socialism; and Britain, a combination.) To construct a peaceful international society, the major powers would have to give up selfish interests and refrain from victimizing minor states. The road would not be easy. Advocates of democracy did not understand socialism, and socialists did not fully appreciate democracy. At this point, Morito lost in the Japanese version (which was therefore deleted in English translation) the added thought: "Also, who is there who can definitely say that there is no mixture of racial and national egoism and obstinacy within the natural pride and self-esteem of these victor nations? And in such cases, would it not be that the construction of a peaceful international society will, again, in some shape or other be deformed?"

Lesser powers, like the defeated Japan, could play important roles "simply because they are small and weak. Japan, who has suddenly fallen from the rank of a major power to that of a lesser nation as a result of the defeat, is apparently destined to become a sort of leader of minor powers ideologically, for good or ill." Since Japan was no longer an imperialistic threat, it could revive relations on an equal basis with its neighbors. Since it was a poor and starving country, it could sympathize with "other suffering peoples" and advocate "the rational distribution of world wealth and resources." Since Japan was disarmed, it could denounce militarism and aggression "and severely criticize without any reserve the armed peace, which is only a mask for militarism." Here, apparently in this paragraph, censored in the Japanese text (and therefore also omitted later in English), Morito was not permitted to say the following.

We belong to the colored races which are apt to receive discriminatory treatment. Of course, this fact was not too strongly felt while our nation remained a first-rate power, but now that we have fallen into the class of a sixth-rate or eighth-rate nation, there is no doubt that we shall strongly feel this as an irrational drawback. But at the same time, we must not overlook the fact that this will serve as a tie between us and the other numerous colored races. That is, this strong awareness, together with the history and capability of our race, will not only make them (other colored races) our real friends, but will also make us the main leading power in effecting a common battle line for their liberation and elevation. . . .

Lastly, our culture now faces a serious crisis caused by the war and the defeat. Our cultural life and institutions were destroyed by the vandalism of war, the political confusion after the defeat, and the economic destitution. Consequently the moral and cultural level of the people is appreciably lowered. This state of things is brought about by our fostering militarism, which was the direct

outcome of the promotion of feudalistic culture before and during the war, as well as by our blind acceptance of the cultures of the victor nations after the surrender. Thus even the higher phases of our original culture are being threatened with being discarded. By denying the mistaken notion of cultural aspects of war, and by backing up the cultural revolution of backward nations, as taught by our own bitter experience, we will be able to devote ourselves to the creation of a harmonious world culture based on the peculiarities of different cultures, eliminating every vestige of cultural imperialism.

In the light of the foregoing considerations we fully realize that the historic mission of Japan as a lesser state in the construction of a peaceful international society is as vital as that of major powers. Are we prepared to shoulder this high responsibility?

[Morito, "Heiwa kokka no kensetsu," pp. 3–16;
"The Construction of a Peaceful Nation," pp. 109–17]

YOKOTA KISABURŌ

Article 9 in Japan's constitution converted Morito Tatsuo's speculation into reality, and for the remainder of the Occupation, it provoked considerable controversy about the renunciation of war, disarmament, and security. Yokota Kisaburō, a professor of international law at Tokyo Imperial University and a future chief justice of Japan's Supreme Court, argued in the April 1947 issue of *Shakai shichō* (*Social Thought*), an organ of the Social Democratic Party, that the keynote of Japan's future diplomacy under the new constitution should be to uphold pacifism. Moreover, he believed that the Social Democrats were the best equipped to do so.

ON PEACE

Under the new constitution, Japan has definitely renounced war and has decided on the complete abolition of armaments. This is, indeed, a very important decision for a state to take. The decision is of great import domestically, but of still greater import internationally.

How Japan, shorn of all its armaments, can safeguard its security or can maintain its territorial integrity and independence is a big problem confronting its people. Whether or not a country is armed or how heavily it is armed has hitherto been the criterion of first importance by which to judge its international position. From this point of view, Japan's total disarmament means its fall to a very low and weak position. How, then, should its position be improved and elevated? To rearm itself is, of course, out of the question. Is it, then, possible

to elevate its international position by some other means, and, if it is possible, how can it be done? This is a big problem awaiting solution.

In order that the new constitution may be acted on faithfully so that Japan may be transformed into a perfectly peaceful state, it is of prime importance for the Japanese people generally to become convinced of the imperative need and the absolute justice of the renunciation of war and the total abolition of armaments. . . .

Now that Japan has adopted pacifism, pure and simple, the like of which has never been adopted by any other country, it is up to all political parties in this country to understand it thoroughly, study it in all its bearings, and work out a detailed and concrete diplomatic policy in strict accordance therewith.

Pacifism of the highest order will necessarily be the keynote of Japan's future diplomacy.

Yokota castigated the Social Democratic Party for not living up to this mission and challenged it to do better.

[Yokota, "Shakaitō to gaikō," pp. 305–13; MM]

REGAINING SOVEREIGNTY IN A BIPOLAR WORLD

For Japan, the restoration of its sovereignty and political independence was a constant, if often elusive, goal from the time of its surrender in August 1945 to the signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty and the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty in September 1951 (effective in April 1952). As Japan conformed to the Potsdam Declaration and to the requirements of the United States and the Far Eastern Commission, Japanese officials and diplomats wondered and worried about the terms of the ultimate treaty—how harsh or how generous and how acceptable to the public they would be. At first it seemed that a reborn Japan, peaceful and democratic and operating under a new constitution that renounced war, was the best way to regain the respect of the international community and earn entry into the United Nations. But as the Cold War intensified in Asia, another crucial issue was Japan's future security as an unarmed state. Could Japan honor article 9 and exercise the right of self-defense? Was it possible or even wise for Japan to be neutral in a bipolar world, or should Japan rely for security on the continued military presence of the United States in Japan?

The possibility of a formal peace treaty was first raised by American and Japanese officials in 1946. Douglas MacArthur, too, made an early but abortive move in 1947, motivated in part by his presidential aspirations. Various methods were advocated, including bilateral negotiations and joint conferences, and ideas were exchanged, often behind the scenes. After his return to power, Prime

Minister (and Foreign Minister) Yoshida Shigeru told the Diet in November 1949 that Japan was ready to accept a peace treaty. The question, however, was precisely what the Allies and the Japanese government had in mind. The Peace Problems Discussion Association was already pressing for an overall peace and unarmed neutrality, trusting for Japan's security in the United Nations. It was also building strong connections with the media and labor movement. In the Diet, the opposition Social Democrats were in complete support of article 9 and disarmament. As the negotiations became more concrete, the official U.S. position in early 1950—a few months after the takeover of mainland China by Mao Zedong's Communist forces—was that Japan should sign a separate peace with the Allies and take its place with the free world in the global struggle against Communism. Japan should also guard against Communist subversion at home—a warning that Yoshida did not need—and, less welcome to him, it should also consider gradual rearmament.

In an address to the Diet on January 24, 1950, as Japan began to show mixed signs of economic recovery within the framework of the Dodge Plan, an economic stabilization program sponsored by the Occupation to develop Japan's export capacity, Yoshida declared that article 9 did not forbid the right to self-defense. By May, it had become clear that his cabinet was ready to accept a separate peace with the West and to rely on the United States for post-Occupation security. Privately, Yoshida hoped somehow to revive economic ties with mainland China. The international situation changed abruptly in late June with the arrival in Tokyo of the State Department's foreign policy adviser, John Foster Dulles, and the invasion a few days later of South Korea by North Korea. Dulles had just told the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in Tokyo, on June 22, that Japan had the responsibility of choosing between the Free World or the Captive World. The Japanese "have seen what the Free World can produce in terms of military might. They have seen the moral authority for righteousness of free people who, having conquered, stoop to lift up the conquered, offering them economic aid and fellowship. Our material might was exemplified by the atomic bomb; our moral might is exemplified by General MacArthur."[1] Within a month of the outbreak .of the Korean War, Yoshida laid the foundations of the future Self-Defense Forces when he authorized in July, at MacArthur's directive, an armed police reserve. Tokyo and Washington were even more firmly opposed to an overall peace settlement. That autumn, with the massive military intervention in Korea of Communist Chinese forces and rumors of the possible use of nuclear weapons, Japan's media, peace groups, and opposition parties increasingly voiced their concerns, in a prelude to the contentious decade ahead.

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1. Dulles, "Free or Captive World?"

NEGOTIATING A FORMAL PEACE SETTLEMENT

In defending his position on the forthcoming peace settlement and rearmament to the House of Representatives of the Diet in January 1951, Yoshida Shigeru was subjected to sharp questioning from Social Democrat Mrs. Tokano Satoko (from Tochigi Prefecture).

The foreign policy of Yoshida, Ashida, and Shidehara is a remnant of prewar royal court diplomacy. Diplomacy today should represent the peace-loving desires of the people and strive to secure national independence and obtain a proper international position for Japan . . . Statesmen should not betray the wish of Japanese women, baptized by atomic bombs, never again to send their sons and husbands to the battlefield . . . Even if we call for security from the U.S., we should abide by the New Constitution. Japan should call upon the U.N. to guarantee its security as an unarmed nation. Britain, U.S., China, and Russia should be held responsible for our security.

Even more outraged was Communist representative Mrs. Tajima Hide (Aichi Prefecture).

All of Japan has been made a military base for aggressive war and is being placed in a state of war. Entertainment of American soldiers, blood donations, and compulsory contributions of money are being conducted, while war-wounded Japanese soldiers are begging on the streets. Which of these, American soldiers or Japanese, requires more protection? The remains of Japanese workers and seamen who died in Korea have been sent back to Japan, but what kind of disposal do you think was made of those victims? Are you not resolved to discontinue once and for all the war collaboration with the U.N.? . . . What is the Prime Minister's opinion on rearmament? The question of rearmament is not limited only to the size of a regular army or to an increase in police reserve forces. Wages for women are deplorably low; widows are unable to keep body and soul together; streets are overrun with homeless and disreputable girls; hungry peasants in Yamagata Prefecture are even selling their children for about four kilograms of dried gourd. This is the economic basis of the proposed rearmament. The general tendency at present is to regard prostitution as a desirable thing; education tries to give the impression that the U.S. is a paradise on earth; militaristic education urges willing participation in the police reserve force. This is the moral foundation of the proposed rearmament. Mr. Yoshida's assertion that he will move cautiously with regard to rearmament is only a gesture to sell us a separate peace. Is not the Yoshida government practically going ahead with rearmament? Japanese women, who want peace, will arise boldly to oppose rearmament.

Yoshida's reply was simply: "The interpellation amounts to nothing more than a bit of communist propaganda based on misrepresentation. Hence, I don't think it deserves a serious answer."

[SCAP, Government Section, January 30, 1951,"Opposition Representatives Interpellate PM on Treaty" (January 29, 1951)]

TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN THE ALLIED POWERS AND JAPAN

The San Francisco Peace Conference commenced in the first week of September 1951, with Prime Minister Yoshida and a delegation from Japan present. The Allies, India abstaining, signed a multilateral peace treaty with Japan on September 8. Technically, the pact ended the Occupation by recognizing the full sovereignty of the Japanese people over Japan and its territorial waters and by restoring independence. In fact, however, it was a partial peace treaty that excluded the Soviet Union and the newly established People's Republic of China. It made a point of recognizing Japan's right of individual or collective self-defense but did not take specific note of or require Japan to maintain the Occupation's reforms. Indeed, chapter II, article 3, was a source of turmoil for decades to come. Okinawa was to be placed under United Nations trusteeship, with the United States as the sole administrative authority, although Japan was to retain residual sovereignty. Okinawans had little to say in the matter. The prefecture remained under U.S. military occupation until 1972 and was used as a staging base during the Korean and Vietnam Wars.

Whereas the Allied Powers and Japan are resolved that henceforth their relations shall be those of nations which, as sovereign equals, cooperate in friendly association to promote their common welfare and to maintain international peace and security, and are therefore desirous of concluding a Treaty of Peace which will settle questions still outstanding as a result of the existence of a state of war between them;

Whereas Japan for its part declares its intention to apply for membership in the United Nations and in all circumstances to conform to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations; to strive to realize the objectives of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; to seek to create within Japan conditions of stability and well-being as defined in Articles 55 and 56 of the Charter of the United Nations and already initiated by postsurrender Japanese legislation; and in public and private trade and commerce to conform to internationally accepted fair practices;

Whereas the Allied Powers welcome the intentions of Japan set out in the foregoing paragraph;

The Allied Powers and Japan have therefore determined to conclude the present Treaty of Peace, and have accordingly appointed the undersigned Plen-

ipotentiaries, who, after presentation of their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed on the following provisions:

Chapter I: Peace

Article 1.

a. The state of war between Japan and each of the Allied Powers is terminated as from the date on which the present Treaty comes into force between Japan and the Allied Powers concerned as provided for in article 23.

b. The Allied Powers recognize the full sovereignty of the Japanese people over Japan and its territorial waters.

Chapter II: Territory

Article 2.

a. Japan, recognizing the independence of Korea, renounces all right, title and claim to Korea, including the islands of Quelpart, Port Hamilton and Dagelet.

b. Japan renounces all right, title and claim to Formosa and the Pescadores.

c. Japan renounces all right, title and claim to the Kurile Islands, and to that portion of Sakhalin and islands adjacent to it over which Japan acquired sovereignty as a consequence of the Treaty of Portsmouth of September 5, 1905.

Japan also renounced claims to the Pacific islands formerly under the mandate of Japan, to any part of the Antarctic area, and to the Spratly Islands and Paracel Islands.

Article 3. Japan will concur in any proposal of the United States to the United Nations to place under its trusteeship system, with the United States as the sole administering authority, Nansei Shoto south of 29 degrees north latitude (including the Ryukyu Islands, and the Daito Islands), Nanpo Shoto south of Sofu Gan (including the Bonin Islands, Rosario Island and the Volcano Islands) and Parece Vela and Marcus Island. Pending the making of such a proposal and affirmative action thereon, the United States will have the right to exercise all and any powers of administration, legislation and jurisdiction over the territory and inhabitants of these islands, including their territorial waters.

Chapter III: Security

Article 5.

c. The Allied Powers for their part recognize that Japan as a sovereign nation possesses the inherent rights of individual or collective self-defense referred to in article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations and that Japan may voluntarily enter into collective security arrangements.

Article 6.

a. All Occupation forces of the Allied Powers shall be withdrawn from Japan as soon as possible after the coming into force of the present Treaty, and in any case not later than ninety days thereafter. Nothing in this provision shall, however, prevent the stationing or retention of foreign armed forces in Japanese territory under or in consequence of any bilateral or multilateral agreements which have been or may be made between one or more of the Allied Powers, on the one hand, and Japan on the other. . . .

Chapter IV: Political and Economic Clauses

Article 10. Japan renounces all special rights and interest in China. . . .

Article 11. Japan accepts the judgments of the International Military Tribunal for the Far East and of other Allied War Crimes Courts both within and outside Japan, and will carry out the sentences imposed thereby upon the Japanese nationals imprisoned in Japan. . . .

[Dennett and Durance, eds., *Documents on American Foreign Relations*, vol. 9, *1951*, pp. 470–79]

BILATERAL SECURITY TREATY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND JAPAN

Since a constitutionally unarmed Japan could not effectively engage in self-defense, Yoshida was required, at the insistence of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, to sign a separate security treaty with the United States, also on September 8, 1951, as a condition for the peace treaty. In requesting American military aid and continuance of American military bases in Japan, Japan sided officially with the United States in the Cold War. It, too, became effective in April 28, 1952. Many Japanese, including those who accepted the peace treaty, regarded the security treaty as an infringement on Japanese sovereignty and contrary to article 9. The preamble states that the United States expected Japan to "increasingly assume responsibility for its own defense against direct and indirect aggression." The United States gained the right to dispose of its Japan-based troops or supplies to meet trouble anywhere in the Far East but made no specific commitment to defend Japan. It promised assistance to the Japanese government in putting down large-scale internal riots and disturbances. The expiration date was indefinite. The allusions to Japan's right to "inherent self-defense," however, provided a loophole in later court rulings concerning the constitutionality of the U.S. military presence in Japan and the emerging Japanese self-defense forces.

In addition, a lengthy administrative agreement, signed on February 18, 1952, laid down detailed conditions for areas and facilities pertaining to the presence of U.S. troops in Japan. Its provision of extraterritoriality for American troops accused of committing crimes while on official duty in Japan would be yet another source of future

controversy and protest throughout the 1950s reminiscent of nineteenth-century battles over unequal treaties. In another pressure tactic, Yoshida Shigeru was required to state that he would deal with nationalist China (Taiwan) in trade and diplomacy and not the Communists in control of mainland China. Otherwise, he resisted, even during the Korean War, anything more than a light and gradual buildup of Japanese defense forces. As the war progressed, Japan's factories and sex industry gained a considerable and questionable profit from the vast expenditures by the United Nations and the United States. Misbehavior by GIs, once censored in the media, became open season in Japanese film, fiction, and newsprint.

Japan has this day signed a treaty of peace with the Allied Powers. On the coming into force of that treaty, Japan will not have the effective means to exercise its inherent right of self-defense because it has been disarmed.

There is danger to Japan in this situation because irresponsible militarism has not yet been driven from the world. Therefore, Japan desires a security treaty with the United States of America to come into force simultaneously with the treaty of peace between the United States of America and Japan.

The treaty of peace recognizes that Japan as a sovereign nation has the right to enter into collective security arrangements, and further, the Charter of the United Nations recognizes that all nations possess an inherent right of individual and collective self-defense.

In exercise of these rights, Japan desires, as a provisional arrangement for its defense, that the United States of America should maintain armed forces of its own in and about Japan so as to deter armed attack upon Japan.

The United States of America, in the interest of peace and security, is at present willing to maintain certain of its armed forces in and about Japan, in the expectation, however, that Japan will itself increasingly assume responsibility for its own defense against direct and indirect aggression, always avoiding any armament which could be an offensive threat or serve other than to promote peace and security in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

Accordingly, the two countries have agreed as follows:

Article 1. Japan grants, and the United States of America accepts, the right, upon the coming into force of the Treaty of Peace and of this Treaty, to dispose United States land, air, and sea forces in and about Japan. Such forces may be utilized to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security in the Far East and to the security of Japan against armed attack from without, including assistance given at the express request of the Japanese Government to put down large-scale internal riots and disturbances in Japan, caused through instigation or intervention by an outside power or powers.

Article 2. During the exercise of the right referred to in Article 1, Japan will not grant, without the prior consent of the United States of America, any bases or any rights, powers or authority whatsoever, in or relating to bases or the right

of garrison or of maneuver, or transit of ground, air, or naval forces to any third power.

Article 3. The conditions which shall govern the disposition of armed forces of the United States of America in and about Japan shall be determined by administrative agreements between the two Governments.

Article 4. This treaty shall expire whenever in the opinion of the governments of the United States of America and Japan there shall have come into force such United Nations arrangements or such alternative individual or collective security dispositions as will satisfactorily provide for the maintenance by the United Nations or otherwise of international peace and security in the Japan area.

[Dennett and Durance, eds., *Documents on American Foreign Relations*, vol. 9, *1951*, pp. 266–67]

SOME JAPANESE VIEWS OF THE WAR

KURIHARA SADAKO

Kurihara Sadako was born in Hiroshima in 1913 and was a longtime resident of that city and its vicinity. She therefore witnessed the atomic bombing of the city and, along with her husband, Kurihara Tadaichi, became an important leader of the antinuclear movement, which had a long record of antiestablishment activities. Kurihara fought vigorously on behalf of peace, social justice, and human rights, but at the same time, she and her husband did not hesitate to denounce Japanese wartime atrocities.

A DISSIDENT POET'S CRITIQUE OF WAR

WHAT IS WAR?

I do not accept war's cruelty.
In every war, no matter how beautifully dressed up,
I detect ugly, demonic intent.
And I abhor those blackhearted people
who, not involved directly themselves,
constantly glorify war and fan its flames.
What is it that takes place
when people say "holy war," "just war"?
Murder. Arson. Rape. Theft.
The women who can't flee take off their skirts
before the enemy troops
and beg for mercy—do they not?
In fields where the grain rustles in the breeze,

sex-starved soldiers chase the women,
like demons on the loose.
At home they are good fathers, good brothers, good sons,
but in the hell of battle,
they lose all humanity
and rampage like wild beasts.

LET US BE MIDWIVES

An Untold Story of the Atomic Bombing

Night in the basement of a concrete structure now in ruins.
Victims of the atomic bomb
jammed the room;
it was dark—not even a single candle.
The smell of fresh blood, the stench of death,
the closeness of sweaty people, the moans.
From out of all that, lo and behold, a voice:
"The baby's coming!"
In that hellish basement, at that very moment,
a young woman had gone into labor.
In the dark, without a single match, what to do?
People forgot their own pains, worried about her.
And then: "I'm a midwife. I'll help with the birth."
The speaker, seriously injured herself,
had been moaning only moments before.
And so new life was born in the dark of that pit of hell.
And so the midwife died before dawn, still bathed in the blood.
Let us be midwives!
Let us be midwives!
Even if we lay down our own lives to do so.

Kurihara, along with the teachers' unions, was opposed to SCAP's relaxation in 1950 of the rule prohibiting the flying of the rising-sun flag (Hinomaru), not only on holidays, but on any occasion. She wrote the following poem in June 1952.

THE FLAG, I

As if nothing at all had gone wrong,
the flag fluttered once more
high over the roofs
and began to dream again of carnage in broad daylight.
But no one looked up to it,
and people resented its insatiable greed
and gnashed their teeth at its monstrous amnesia. . . .

Ah! Red-on-white flag of Japan!
The many nightmarish atrocities carried out at your feet.
Manila and Nanjing, where they splashed gasoline
over women and children
and burned them alive—
consummate crimes of the twentieth century.
Yet today the flag flutters again, shameless,
all those bloody memories
gone;
fluttering, fluttering in the breeze,
in dreams once more of redrawing the map.

[Kurihara, *Black Eggs*, trans. Minear, pp. 53, 67, 246–47]

ŌE KENZABURŌ

In 1965, a newly famous novelist and future Nobel laureate, Ōe Kenzaburō (b. 1935), looked back on his generation, which was born during the war and raised during the Occupation.

GROWING UP DURING THE OCCUPATION

When the war ended I was only ten years old, a grade-school boy in a mountain village, and I couldn't understand what the Emperor was saying over the radio when he announced that we had surrendered. The grownups sat in front of the radio and cried. I watched them from the garden, which was bathed in strong summer sunlight. The room where the grownups sat, crying, was dark.

Soon I got bored and went out to play. As all the adults were inside, listening to the radio, there were only children on the village road. We gathered here and there in small groups, and talked.

Not one of us knew exactly what had happened. We were most intrigued by the strange and somewhat disappointing fact that the Emperor had spoken in a *human voice* no different from any ordinary adult's. None of us understood what he had been saying, but we had certainly heard his voice. One of my friends was even able to imitate it very cleverly. We surrounded him, a boy in grimy shorts who spoke in the *Emperor's voice*, and we howled with laughter. . . .

My present image of the Emperor bears no resemblance to the awe-inspiring figure I imagined when I was an indiscriminating schoolboy. I feel no particular affection for the Emperor himself or for the Imperial Household. My mother, on the other hand, if she were given the opportunity, would hurry to the great square in front of the palace to do reverence to the Emperor as though he were a god, and seems keenly interested in all the doings of the Imperial Household.

But this attitude is not unique with my mother: at least half of the Japanese people demonstrate a keen interest in the Imperial Court. The feeling of deep esteem for the Emperor himself also seems to be general all over Japan. . . .

I remember seeing a picture of some grade-school children parading and flag-waving in celebration of the Crown Prince's betrothal. This crowd of young, cheering faces was rather a shock for me.

What made those children parade the streets with banners in their hands? Was it the influence of their parents and teachers? Was it the Emperor worship that remains embedded in some recess of the Japanese consciousness? Or was it merely an innocent love of fun and parades?

As long as every Japanese is able to formulate for himself whatever image of the Emperor he pleases, the word *symbol* will denote something wholesome. But what if the power of journalism created that parade and set those voices cheering by forcing on the children some specific image of the Emperor?

Those grade-school boys and girls were wreathed in smiles, but when we were children, we passed before the Imperial portrait with frightened faces and bowed heads.

Hallo-Hallo!

The children had gathered on the stone-paved wharf and now they were shouting. They faced the men on the decks of the foreign ships, and they shouted *Gibu mee monee—Gibu mee monee*. The foreigners threw some coins; the children fought for them. Shouting and screaming, these unmistakably Japanese children scrambled for a few cents worth of coins.

When I read the newspaper articles about this incident and the criticism that it provoked, I couldn't help thinking about myself, for I too am unmistakably Japanese. Yet I am not qualified to criticize these children, for I have shouted as they did; I too, in my youth, used to scream without knowing shame. And now I am a young man who cannot forget it. The only difference between these children and me is that their shouting is greeted by indignant glares from the adults, the same adults who taught me how and what to shout. . . .

Foreigners enter a country, a place where other people live, and they are clad in military uniform. Surely such an invasion cannot always proceed naturally and smoothly. It would seem unavoidable, proper even, that various frictions arise.

And yet the Japanese people, who had surrendered unconditionally, welcomed the victors into their country with smiles and waves and shouted *hallos*. There were no resistance movements of any significance. And looking back today, we can be thankful that the futile spilling of blood was thus avoided. Nevertheless, it is significant that resistance movements just naturally did not occur, and that the defeated Japanese were willing and able to grin and shout

hallo. I discovered some years later when I first read French history that the people of a defeated nation are capable of behaving very differently than we Japanese did. It was the first time that such a possibility had ever occurred to me. I had often heard people say that World War II was Japan's first defeat since the beginning of recorded history. Considering it was something that we had never done before, it seemed to me that we had accepted defeat with remarkable poise and skill.

At any rate, when the occupation troops first arrived in our village, we children shouted to them at the top of our lungs. We put everything we had into those shouted *hallos*, but the foreign soldiers looked very grim as they rode past us in their jeeps. I suppose it was a weird experience for them, entering a small village at the bottom of a hushed valley deep in the mountains to be greeted by beaming Japanese children who were shouting *hallo*. That is probably why they wore such sullen expressions as they rode past in the jeeps, hands tightly gripping their automatic rifles.

But the soldiers very quickly grew accustomed to our way of welcoming them. They began to wave back, and sometimes they would throw us gum and chocolate. At that point we began to grow decadent. Some of the cleverest in our group managed somehow to equip themselves with more elaborate phrases. *Gibu mee chocorayto*, they would shout, or *Gibu mee cigarayto*, requests that seemed to have been inspired by their parents.

The foreign soldiers threw candy and cigarettes to the children; the children fought each other for these spoils. I have no intention of hiding the fact that my own fingers have fastened on chocolate bars which were hurled out of a jeep. It is an embarrassing recollection, but there is no denying that it happened. I have no right to criticize the children who turned to the sailors on a foreign ship and shouted *Gibu mee monee*!

But the average Japanese undoubtedly sees in these children a reflection of his own shame. There is no essential difference between occupied Japan and Japan today, yet the child who shouts *Gibu mee monee* today is certain to be severely reproved.

But how, we might ask, do the Japanese react when positions are reversed? Some time ago a member of the Diet—he was a conservative—traveled around Asia, and I remember reading his account of the trip. Apparently, whenever he went into the streets of a certain Asian seaport, a group of children would surround him and scream *Gibu mee monee*. A familiar phrase. At first he threw them coins, but after a while he began to get very annoyed and would flee to his hotel. But even in the hotel, he said, he encountered people who began right away by asking for money.

It was clear from the tone of the Diet Member's story that he, as a Japanese, had been arrogant and patronizing with the people of another Asian country. In other words, his attitude toward the people of Asia was precisely the same as the Occupation Army's attitude toward us. Of course he is not the only one:

the average Japanese feels superior in some way to the other people of Asia. When they see photographs of celebrations in the People's Republic of China, for example, pictures of young women parading in the streets, many Japanese must clench their teeth against a giggle, as though they were being tickled. This sort of defiant pride in Japan's isolation from the rest of Asia goes a long way toward explaining the difficulties, many of them incredibly trivial frictions to begin with, which constantly beset Japanese–Asian relations. The Japanese tendency to submit to mastery by the Westerner with smiles and shouts of *hallo* while he maliciously snubs his Oriental brothers, this somewhat effeminate tendency, is poisoning not only the Japanese economy but all of Japanese culture as well.

[Ōe, "Portrait of the Postwar Generation," pp. 347–51]

TANAKA KŌTARŌ

A graduate of Tokyo Imperial University, the training ground of statesmen and jurists, Tanaka Kōtarō (1890–1974) was a follower of Uchimura Kanzō (see chap. 49) before being converted to Catholicism in 1926. While chief justice of the Supreme Court in postwar Japan, Tanaka gained prominence as an interpreter of the new constitution and as an outspoken critic of Marxism at a time when few writers dared oppose it on intellectual grounds. In the following selections, Tanaka discusses the main trends of thought in modern Japan as they affect the success of democratic institutions. The "search for truth" in his title relates to questions of natural law, individualism, and morality, and to issues underlying both the Meiji and postwar constitutions.

Tanaka responds to many of the same trends as does Ōe Kenzaburō in his reminiscence of the Occupation period, but Tanaka's reactions are more sanguine with respect to the possible convergence of Japanese and Western values.

IN SEARCH OF TRUTH AND PEACE

Ethics and Politics

Surveying the general trend of political thought in the modern world and particularly in Japan, we may observe that its most striking characteristic is its ethical indifference. This reflects the domination of humanistic studies in the nineteenth century by the dogmas of natural science. After the Meiji Restoration, with the introduction into Japan of European and American culture, we ignored the ethical and religious bases of that culture and sought only to adopt its natural science, its material technology, and its external institutions. The subsequent trend of Japanese political thought has further intensified that tendency. The only thing that has lent any ethical character at all to our political

life has been the consciousness of our "national polity" and a sense of reverence for the emperor. In recent times, however, not only did these attitudes lead to superstition and a loss of sanity, but also they developed into a form of ultranationalism that recognized no ethical restraints on the nation's conduct and justified immoral policies of imperialistic aggression.

The Japanese people cannot be considered traditionally unethical. The enlightened leaders of the early Meiji period themselves had faith in Buddhism and were trained in Confucianism, but the generation that followed them was exposed neither to the discipline of Oriental moral codes nor to the influence of the Christian faith that underlies Western culture. As a result they lapsed into ethical indifference or lack of conviction. . . .

A serious weakness in our political thinking that has not yet been corrected is the attitude of relativism. In the postwar period, with the adoption of the new constitution, democracy and pacifism have been loudly acclaimed; but do our people today really have faith in these fundamental principles? Do they, in the bottom of their hearts, realize how greatly they have erred in the past, or do they take the attitude that, having been beaten, there is nothing else they can do? . . .

Politics has as its end the realization of the common good (*bonum commune*), which is inconceivable apart from the mission or destiny of man. What, then, is man's mission? Is man's mission to be found apart from his individuality, as, for instance, in an organization embracing the individual or in the service of culture existing apart from man? . . .

From the standpoint of collectivism, the supreme value lies in organization. The individuals who represent its parts are absorbed into the organization that stands for the whole and, serving it, are considered mere means for the enhancement of its power and prosperity. The extreme example of this point of view is Nazism, the errors of which need not be elaborated upon here. From the standpoint of "culturism," which places a supreme value on culture, the meaning of human life is to be found in service to culture, in the creation of cultural value. Nevertheless, just as organization should exist for the sake of man, culture should exist for the sake of man and not man for the sake of culture. In the last analysis, man's value as an individual comes first, and the value of organization or culture has no more than a subordinate significance. . . .

So to the common good that is the aim of government, although the material and economic life is by no means negligible, the most essential thing is morality, and all else is, at best, secondary in significance. . . . Our new constitution is permeated with the "lofty ideals which govern human relationships," based on the universal principle of humanity, the laws of universal political morality, equity, good faith, justice, peace, freedom, and order. Thus the primacy of morality is recognized in the conduct of both our domestic and foreign affairs. Moreover, those who discuss politics today, almost without exception, acknowledge the necessity for a moral transformation of our political life. But to achieve

this will require of our political analysis that their whole worldview be reintegrated in this direction. That is, they can no longer insist on the importance of morality while permitting themselves the contradictory view that in fact, economics and military power take precedence over morality. . . . [pp. 30–43]

On Authority

An utter denial of the idea of authority could well be called the characteristic of our present era of transition. It had been thought that authority was the most essential property of militarism and extreme nationalism. Now that they have been driven to the wall and face extinction, it is thought that authority too must be banished with them.

Authority, however, is not the special property of militarism or extreme nationalism. Like "rights" or "freedom," it is not intrinsically either good or bad but ethically neutral. It works for good or ill depending on the end it is made to serve. . . .

Let us consider first the government. In the old constitution the supreme authority in government was the emperor, but in the new constitution it is what is called "the people as a whole." . . . The Meiji constitution was adopted unilaterally by the will of the emperor; it was a so-called constitution by imperial grant. The new constitution, however, was adopted by the Diet, that is, by representatives of the people. The people's right to adopt the supreme law of the land, or constitution, derives from their possession of sovereignty.

Even assuming that the people possess absolute authority in the matter of government, can the Diet in fact decide anything and everything by majority vote? There are some things that not even the English Parliament, which is recognized as having absolute authority, can do, such as change males into females. The majority vote of the people is likewise limited by the laws of nature and the principles of things, which may take the form of natural laws or the ethical laws of human society. The constitution adopted by majority vote may not be in conflict with such fundamental principles. . . .

If this interpretation is correct, then while the constitution is the supreme law in relation to other actual laws, still . . . as an actual law itself, there stands above it, behind it and under it as a base, the natural law that represents truth and order in the universe. This natural law is what defines the limits of actual laws. It demonstrates that even the will of the people, though having the supreme authority in the adoption of a constitution, nevertheless is not absolute but is relative to and governed by a higher principle. Whether sovereignty rests with the majority of the people or with the emperor makes no difference. The question was never raised under the Meiji constitution, but it should be understood that even the supreme will of the emperor cannot be in conflict with the natural law.

The third article of the preamble [to the new constitution] states that "the

laws of political morality are universal," and the eleventh article asserts that "the basic rights of man are enduring and inviolable." Such laws—such natural laws—are not confined to one nation or one period of time. They endure, and they do so because they are founded on the true nature of man.

Therefore, to say that the people possess sovereignty and supreme authority is true in a formal sense, but intrinsically the people are limited to what in a true sense is the supreme norm: the natural law. To put it another way, it is truth itself which governs social life. In truth itself rests true authority. . . .

Japan in the World

Situated at the extreme eastern end of the known world, an isolated island with its back to the Pacific, Japan has never achieved a position, culturally speaking, as a cooperating member of the international community. It is true that Buddhist and Confucian culture were introduced by way of Korea and imported directly from China and that four hundred years ago Catholicism was introduced and showed signs of spreading with striking rapidity before being suppressed for political reasons. But in return for what Japan received from other cultures, what does it have to offer other peoples?

Since 1868 European and American culture and institutions have been introduced to Japan, but whereas the assimilation of Buddhism and Confucianism extended even to their underlying ways of thought, the transplanting of Western culture and institutions was done in such a way that they could send down no deep roots here. Our society has been culturally no more than a colony of Europe. . . . Faced by the urgent need to fashion a centralized state, to develop the material prosperity of the nation, to revise the unequal treaties that had humiliated us internationally, Japan could not help but take a superficial and imitative approach to the adoption of Western culture. What we imported was, in a word, the individualism of the Enlightenment and the material technology—the natural science—of the West. Such tendencies were quite characteristic of the exponents of Europeanization in the Meiji era [1868–1912], who believed that this type of culture actually represented Western civilization. Therefore it was not at all surprising that in reaction to this there should have appeared the exponents of Japan's "national polity." They mistook individualism and materialism for Western culture and opposed to it a Japanese culture stressing collectivism and the national spirit. . . .

At the beginning of its history, Japan kept its doors completely open to the world. Today Japan finds itself thrown completely into the maelstrom of world politics and world culture. Because of this, we should remember, we have acquired new responsibilities to the peoples of the world and to our times. To fulfill these responsibilities is the highest destiny of the Japanese people. . . . Japan must not only fulfill its own peculiarly creative mission among the peoples of the world but also realize its universal mission. Japan possesses its own

characteristic moral convictions and fine social traditions which are a legacy from Buddhism and Confucianism. Of these it must preserve all that is good. The Oriental peoples, including the Japanese, have always recognized the natural [moral] law. This [recognition of] natural law is the common spiritual basis uniting the cultures of East and West. . . . Faith in its own national moral virtues, as perfected in Christianity, could be for a reborn Japan its qualification as a member of the world community of peoples, giving us for the first time in our history a sense of Japan's place and mission in the world, and providing a spiritual bond between East and West, as well as a firm basis for world peace. [pp. 191–95]

[Tanaka, *Shinri to heiwa o motomete*, pp. 30–195; WTdB]

Chapter 47

DEMOCRACY AND HIGH GROWTH

Japan's postwar era was a long one. For decades, people grappled with the consequences of war, defeat, and the radical changes of the Occupation era. They struggled to define the proper relationship among citizens, state, and monarch and, at the same time, argued about the proper place of Japan in the global order of the Cold War era. Many of the documents in this section present the varied and evolving visions offered in the debate over these fundamental issues.

Peace was embraced by many as the essence of Japan's postwar reformation. This pacifism sprang primarily from a determination to never again be horribly victimized by war. It mobilized a powerful constituency against the U.S.–Japan security alliance [Anpo], established in 1952, and made this the most contentious foreign policy issue in Japan for at least twenty years. By the early 1950s, the concepts of "peace" and "democracy" had acquired a clear political meaning. Allegiance to these concepts defined a person as a member of the "opposition" or the "progressive" forces. In the 1950s, progressive labor unions also mobilized both their members and local communities in important campaigns for higher wages and greater control of the workplace. Such causes as a ban on nuclear weapons testing gained broad support well beyond the political left, which was centered on the Socialist and Communist Parties. Women joined these movements in large numbers. An active student movement emerged, led by the Zengakuren (All-Japan Federation of Student Self-

Governing Associations). In the divided political culture of early postwar Japan, these voices sought to give meaning to the postwar reforms through grassroots activism.

Not everyone shared this enthusiasm. Members of the prewar and wartime ruling elite, especially those in the bureaucracy and those in the Liberal and Democratic Parties, managed to preserve their positions of power. Many of these leaders tried to roll back institutional reforms at home, revive Japan's military power, open the way to an independent foreign policy, and restore the imperial symbol to something closer to its prewar perch at the apex of the social and political hierarchy. Although they were unable to realize these ambitious goals, they did gain significant popular support and enjoy some success. They reconcentrated economic power under the banks of the old *zaibatsu* (business conglomerates) and restored centralized control over education policy and the police force. They even built a new military, called the Self-Defense Forces, albeit one with no prospect of projecting power beyond Japanese borders. In the 1950s, business and cooperatively inclined labor unions consistently confronted and defeated militant unions.

The conflict in the divided politics of the early postwar era came to a peak in 1960 when the government overrode a huge protest movement to renew the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty. But the reactionary drive of the 1950s fell short of its most cherished goal of amending the constitution by eliminating article 9 and banishing its democratic "excesses." Over the next two decades, the ruling elites shifted to a strategy of accommodating the new order rather than dismantling it. They moved to capture a growing political center by co-opting programs of citizens' movements or left-wing parties with initiatives such as the "income-doubling plan." As they did so, some of the local bases and national leaders of the progressive forces moved to the center as well. A new breed of union leaders consolidated control, first in private-sector workplaces in the 1960s and gradually in the public sector in the 1970s and 1980s, arguing that cooperation with management and short-term moderation in wage and other demands would guarantee the long-range prosperity of the corporation and its employees. But in the 1960s and 1970s, other forms of political activism emerged with new force to challenge the established powers. In addition to a substantial movement opposing Japanese support for the American war in Vietnam and a new wave of activism among women demanding legal and economic equality with men, the environmental movement gained great force by defending the victims of industrial pollution in several famous cases.

As people in postwar Japan dealt with these political issues (and as the exchange in 1960 between Maruyama Masao and Yoshimoto Takaaki makes clear), they also worked hard to rebuild shattered homes and enjoy private lives, returning to more normal routines of school, work, family, and play. The economy recovered in the 1950s, surged in the 1960s, and continued to

grow through the 1970s and 1980s when other global economic leaders suffered bouts of stagflation and recession. Consumers were exhorted in print, on radio, and on television to partake of the "bright new life" of the modern era by purchasing products flooding from Japanese factories, especially electrical appliances. By the 1970s, the consumerist commercial culture that had emerged in the early twentieth century, especially among middle-class city dwellers, included the vast majority of people. Japanese society was no longer a place where most worked just to fulfill their basic needs for food, clothing, and shelter. To wit, the proportion of household budgets spent on food fell from about one-half in the early 1950s to just under one-quarter by the late 1970s.

As people were "liberated" to pursue their wants and desires as shaped and manipulated by mass advertising, a succession of consumer durables moved from undreamed luxury to possibility. In the mid-1950s, in a play on the three sacred regalia of the emperor (jewel, mirror, and sword), irreverent pundits began to speak of the "three sacred regalia" of modern life: television (black and white), washing machine, and refrigerator. By the mid-1960s, more than 90 percent of the population owned these consumer goods, and observers began to talk of the "three new regalia," also referred to as the "three C's": car, cooler (air conditioner), and color television.

More and more people became able to afford the "typical" modern life emblematized by these possessions, or at least reasonably hope to obtain this life for themselves or their children. As this happened, a large majority of people in Japan came to identify themselves as members of mainstream or middle-class society. This change in social consciousness is neatly reflected in social surveys beginning in the 1950s, which indicated that nearly 75 percent of the population felt they belonged to the upper, middle, or lower level of "the middle class." By the late 1970s, this proportion topped 90 percent. Perhaps most notable was a significant decline over these years in the number of members of the self-identified "lower-middle class," matched by a sharp rise, from about 35 to 60 percent, of those who placed themselves squarely in the middle of the middle class. This and other surveys producing similar results led observers to marvel at the advent of a nearly universal middle-class society in what had recently been a society marked by sharp divisions of social status, wealth, and power. The 1980s were a high point of Japan's celebratory rhetoric as a model to the world of economic affluence and social stability. Methods of Japanese business management, in particular, were promoted for exporting to flagging economies in the West. But as the final document of this chapter makes clear, by the end of the 1990s a decade of economic stagnation had generated a profound sense of stasis or crisis for many and a belief that the glory days of middle-class prosperity and security had come to an end.

THE MOVEMENT AGAINST THE SEPARATE TREATY AND THE U.S.–JAPAN MILITARY ALLIANCE

In the late 1940s, when the prospect of a peace treaty loomed on the horizon, an impassioned debate began over Japan's proper international role, particularly the nature of its relationship to the United States. After more than fifty years, this debate continues. Among the most important early statements of principle was the following declaration issued by a group of Japan's prominent intellectuals. In early 1949, they began to organize the Peace Problems Discussion Group. Then, when the Cold War intensified, it became clear that the Soviet Union and its allies were unlikely to sign a peace treaty allowing the United States to maintain a military presence in Japan. The debate thus centered on whether Japan should insist on a "comprehensive" treaty with all the nations of the world or sign a "separate" treaty with the United States and its allies, which would implicitly or explicitly commit Japan to a military alliance with the American side in the Cold War. In later years, the advocates of a comprehensive peace took the lead in opposing as unconstitutional the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty and the buildup of a Japanese military in the form of the Self-Defense Forces.

DECLARATION OF THE PEACE PROBLEMS DISCUSSION GROUP ON QUESTIONS SURROUNDING AN AGREEMENT ON PEACE (KŌWA MONDAI NI TSUITE NO HEIWA MONDAI KONDANKAI SEIMEI)

In late October 1949, questions surrounding the conclusion of peace with Japan occupied for a time the center stage of a lively debate, both inside Japan and abroad. When it appeared likely that peace plans could soon materialize, the two Peace Problems Discussion Groups of Eastern and Western Japan agreed to meet again for joint discussions of this question, as they had in the preceding year.

The declaration that is reproduced here . . . originated in our shared concern for the fate of Japan and our yearning for peace in the world. . . . Its conclusions were reached only after being subjected to scholarly scrutiny from every imaginable side. [Thirty-five signers' names are omitted.]

Declaration

We, who one year ago announced to all our shared opinion regarding the causes of war and the foundation of peace, issue here again a declaration regarding

the latest problems related to the conclusion of peace and its subsequent guarantees. The gravity of this matter is unparalleled for us. We are convinced that its resolution will ultimately determine the fate of Japan. As we reflect deeply on the fact that at the opening of the war, we ourselves let pass the opportunity to determine our own fate, we wish at precisely this juncture to determine our own fate by our own hands. That is, guided by a desire for peace and by love for our ancestral country, we have investigated with great care the various problems surrounding the conclusion of peace and finally come to state in public a common view that transcends our individual political positions. All will probably agree that the Occupation by the Allied Forces has afforded important stimuli and left a solid foundation for the democratization of Japan. At the same time, none can doubt that further progress toward democratization depends on the responsibility and creativity of the Japanese people themselves. In other words, it is imperative that the Japanese people firmly establish relations built on free interchange and sincere cooperation with all the peoples of the world, by securing a formal peace agreement with them. The conclusion of peace and an end to the Occupation are the urgent need and demand of the Japanese people as a whole.

Yet for a peace agreement to be truly meaningful in both content and form, it cannot be an agreement in name only; such an agreement will only heighten the danger of another war. An agreement must be all-encompassing. The present situation certainly is marked by worldwide confrontation, which obstructs the conclusion of an all-encompassing peace. We are greatly encouraged that the principles of international justice and morality, recently affirmed by the International Military Tribunal, persist even as they seem to be submerged by this confrontation. And if we reflect on the reasons that led Japan to accept the Potsdam Declaration and capitulate to the Allied nations, our desire to restore peaceful relations with the Allied Powers is surely reasonable.

Such is our general conclusion. Before summarizing the conclusions to our earnest debate, we must point out two fundamental maxims that undergird our debate. They are (1) our sacred duty to contribute to preserving world peace in accord with the peaceful spirit indicated by our constitution and (2) our fervent wish that Japan attains economic independence as soon as possible and no longer imposes a burden on other countries.

1. As its most important condition, Japan's economic autonomy requires that it engage in comprehensive, close, and free trade relations with all Asian nations, especially China. Needless to say, this condition can be met only through a comprehensive peace. Separate peace treaties will sever the relations between Japan and China as well as other nations; they will by necessity place the Japanese economy in a position of dependence on, and subordination to, particular nations. Undeniably, if it were allowed to persist, the loss of economic autonomy would lead to the loss of political autonomy. And although Japan does not wish for this result, a deteriorating livelihood for the people poses a

latent threat to peace. More than the short-term gains promised by a separate peace, we seek to emphasize the economic and political autonomy of Japan.

2. Without question, the controversy over concluding a peace treaty stems from the fact that the world is divided into two opposed camps. Our own fervent hope for a comprehensive peace and peaceful coexistence of these two worlds is strongly encouraged by continuing determined efforts of those on both sides to adjust their differences and reach a comprehensive peace with Japan. While we adhere to the peaceful spirit of our constitution, we must not approach this problem with a passive attitude in the face of a volatile international situation; rather, we must approach it with a positive determination to work toward a reconciliation of the two worlds. In addition, our obligation here to encourage a rapprochement between these two sides derives in part from the debt of our war responsibility. If we conclude a so-called separate peace, it will catapult us into one of two opposing camps. This would strengthen our ties with that side, but it would result in a continued state of war with the other side. It would further intensify the unfortunate enmity with the latter and more generally exacerbate the polarization of the world. We find this simply unacceptable.

3. With regard to post-treaty security arrangements, we call by all means for a position of neutrality and nonaggression and for membership in the United Nations. The United Nations, as is apparent from its charter, crystallizes in the present mankind's ancient, time-honored quest for peace. Together with all the people in the world who pray for peace, we invest great trust and hope in this body. The Declaration on Human Rights adopted by the third General Assembly of the United Nations enables us to demand these rights not only within our own country but in the international arena as well. This fact gives us new courage. Without doubt, both the principles of neutrality and nonaggression as well as our membership in the United Nations are premised on reaching a comprehensive peace. A separate peace treaty or a de facto separate peace will involve military cooperation with specific countries or the granting of military bases to specific countries. However one describes such arrangements, they will contradict the preamble and article 9 of our constitution. They will further contribute to the destruction of Japan and the world. Under no circumstances can we accept this. The fate of Japan will turn to the better only when Japan devotes itself fully to the spirit of peace and proceeds resolutely on the road to self-determination and independence.

Conclusions

1. We Japanese must insist on a comprehensive peace.
2. Japan's economic autonomy cannot be achieved through a separate peace.
3. In regard to post-treaty security, we desire neutrality, nonaggression, and membership in the United Nations.

4. We absolutely oppose granting military bases to any country for any reason.

January 15, 1950, The Peace Problems Discussion Group

Supplement: As has become evident already, our declaration rests on the demand for a comprehensive peace. At the same time, some of us see considerable meaning in the conclusion of a separate peace but are no less moved by a desire for peace and a loving attachment to Japan. Respecting these desires and attachments, we devoted due deliberation to these various arguments.

[Peace Problems Discussion Group, in *Sekai*, no. 51 (March 1950): 60–64; AG]

NAKASONE YASUHIRO: A CRITICAL VIEW OF THE POSTWAR CONSTITUTION

On July 30, 1953, a young parliamentarian named Nakasone Yasuhiro gave the following speech (in English) to an international forum at Harvard University. Part of why the speech is important is that Nakasone later became a leading politician in the Liberal Democratic Party, serving as prime minister from 1982 to 1987. The speech also is noteworthy for articulating the dissatisfaction felt by many other politicians and citizens at the time, who viewed Japan's postwar political system, particularly the constitution, as imposed on the nation by the United States. Nakasone objected especially to the presence of American forces in Japan under the security treaty—as did his political opponents on the left, the authors of the declaration of the Peace Problems Discussion Group.

It is noteworthy, too, that Nakasone later modified his views of the need to revise the constitution. In the late 1950s, politicians in the Liberal Democratic Party pushed the government to convene a constitutional commission as a first step toward revision, against fierce opposition from the political left. Over several years, the commission heard testimony from many individuals, including Nakasone. But in 1963, he argued that the position of the emperor in the new constitution, as "the symbol of the state and of the unity of the people," more appropriately reflected his traditional, pre-Meiji role. According to this reasoning, which many Japanese people came to accept, it was the powerful imperial institution of the Meiji constitution that was the exception. Such an interpretation led Nakasone and other conservatives to accept the postwar constitution's treatment of the emperor.

THE "MACARTHUR" CONSTITUTION

The present Japanese constitution given by General MacArthur (sometimes called the MacArthur Constitution) has many commendable points, and I be-

lieve that especially those points related to pacifism, democracy, harmony between internationalism and nationalism, and respect for the basic human rights are worthy of preservation. However, the question is not entirely one of content. The important factors of democracy lie in methods of establishment. This constitution was drawn up in English by the Occupation Forces and swallowed whole by the Japanese in their anxiety to gain independence from foreign military powers as soon as possible. Such a document could hardly be called a constitution in the true sense of the term.

If Lincoln's words "Government . . . by the people" have any truth, a constitution for the Japanese should be made by the Japanese. I have no doubt that when such a constitution is made, Americans will be satisfied and pleased with the result—the birth of real democracy in Japan.

A constitution should be of such a sacred nature that a majority of the people would risk their lives to defend it. But how many Japanese are there today who would risk their lives to preserve the MacArthur Constitution? The present Japanese constitution is a product of the honeymoon period between the United States and Russia soon after the war. In making the constitution, Russia exerted its influence to weaken Japan. Today, it has even become a strong weapon for the Communists in their so-called peace approach. In 1947, the United States changed its policy to take a strong stand against Russia, but Japan is still floundering about due to its political disability.

There are many technical points which should be revised, but two important points in the MacArthur Constitution require immediate revision. I refer to the prohibition of armaments and the article relating to the Diet cabinet system. . . .

With a view to accelerating permanent friendship between Japan and the United States, I am anxious to see the following points taken up as soon as possible:

1. To revise the MacArthur Constitution in order to establish Japan's own defense force.
2. At the same time, to convert the present security treaty into a Japanese-American alliance to be formed with both countries on an equal footing.
3. To withdraw American forces gradually in proportion to the increase of Japanese forces.
4. At the end of the Pacific War, the Allies ordered the total dissolution of Japan's armed forces. Today, in view of the menacing situation in Korea and Manchuria, that dissolution has proved to be an unexpected mistake. We hope, therefore, that the United States will now furnish us with aid sufficient for us to rebuild our defenses.

[Nakasone, "The Problems of Japanese Democracy," pp. 331–42]

THE GOVERNMENT'S VIEW OF THE ECONOMY IN 1956: "THE 'POSTWAR' IS OVER"

Published in the wake of a year of remarkable economic growth—considered by many the start of Japan's "high-growth era"—the government's 1956 White Paper on the Economy was simultaneously positive in its view of past achievements and cautionary for the future. It suggested that the economy was shifting from an era of easy gain through simple "recovery" to a time when investment in costly new technologies would be the engine of growth. The White Paper accurately described the critical importance of technological innovation in the economic takeoff of high-growth Japan. In addition, buried midway through a concluding paragraph in the introductory chapter of this long publication was a famous statement: "already, the 'postwar' is over" (*mohaya sengo de wa nai*). The phrase had appeared as the title of a magazine article several months earlier, written by a professor of literature at Tokyo University.[1] It resonated in popular imagination, and in short order it became a widely circulated buzzword that defined the upbeat spirit of the era. Perhaps nothing conveys the cultural, political, and economic centrality of the bureaucracy in modern Japanese history as well as the fact that the use of this expression in a dry government document helped it become a long-remembered slogan.

DECLARATION OF THE DIRECTOR OF THE ECONOMIC PLANNING AGENCY ON THE OCCASION OF THE PUBLICATION OF THE WHITE PAPER ON THE ECONOMY

Concluding Remarks

The swiftness of the recovery of the postwar Japanese economy has defied all expectations. It was nourished by the diligence and hard work of the Japanese people and favorable global circumstances.

However, it must not be forgotten that the very depth of the valley into which we were thrown by defeat heightened the speed of our climb out of this valley. The economy has been buoyant. During the process of recovery, it was enough for our policies to steer clear of the pitfalls of inflation, on one hand, and a deterioration in the balance of international payments, on the other. Consumers bought more goods, and businessmen eagerly made investments. Now the buoyancy of the era of recovery has run its course. To be sure, because Japan is poor, latent consumer demand and a latent need to invest remain high in comparison to other countries of the world. But compared to the time just after the war, the intensity of desire has clearly declined. Already, the postwar is over. We now

1. Nakano Yoshio, "Mohaya sengo de wa nai," *Bungei shunjū*, February 1956.

face a different situation. The growth spurt of recovery has ended. Growth from now on must be buttressed by modernization. And progress in modernization is possible only through swift and, at the same time, stable economic growth.

Introducing new things always brings resistance. It is possible that for a time contradictions in backward sectors of economy and society will be intensified by modernization. But in the long run, the manifold contradictions inherent in all sectors, such as small- to medium-size businesses, labor, agriculture, etc., can be resolved through economic development. Since modernization is the only direction the national economy can take, the burdens that accompany its pursuit have to be shared among the people in accord with their abilities. . . .

We have to adapt ourselves as quickly as possible to the constant progress of global technology and the resulting changes in the world environment. If we fail to do so, not only will a bigger and bigger gap open between ourselves and the advanced industrialized nations in qualitative levels of technology, but our quantitative lead in industrial production over the developing nations that pursue the industrialization of their countries according to long-term plans will probably narrow as well.

Reflecting on such world trends, we must not become drunk with the successes of a quantitative economic boom brought about by strokes of good fortune. Our urgent need at this point is to embark on building a new nation by riding the wave of the world technological revolution.

[Economic Planning Agency, *Economic White Paper, 1956*, pp. 42–44]

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE POSTWAR MONARCHY

One of the most important changes in twentieth-century Japan was the postwar transformation of the monarchy. Under the Meiji constitution, the emperor was a ruler with theoretically absolute powers. He used these powers to influence decisions of state, and others wielded them in his name. Under the postwar constitution, that same emperor was limited to a role as "the symbol of the state and of the unity of the people." The significance of this change, and its pros and cons, has been a subject of impassioned debate. The following insightful commentary on the character of the postwar imperial institution was written in 1959 at the height of the "prince and princess craze" sparked by the announcement that Crown Prince Akihito (the son of the Shōwa emperor, Hirohito) would marry Shōda Michiko, a commoner (albeit an extremely wealthy one, the daughter of a leading industrialist). The author, Matsushita Keiichi, was a professor of European political thought. Although he was a sharp critic of the prewar monarchy and had a detached view of the enthusiasm for the upcoming wedding, Matsushita took issue with those who lamented the "Michiko boom" as a revival of the old emperor system. Instead, he astutely interpreted it as a sign of the throne's ironic transformation into something far less menacing.

THE EMPEROR SYSTEM OF THE MASSES

On November 27 of last year, a "Chrysanthemum Curtain" covered all of Japan. At the very moment when the Chrysanthemum Curtain that shrouds the imperial house itself was said to have been lifted with the "love match" of a "commoner" princess, it rode a wave of media attention to envelop the whole of Japan.

Certainly, people will differ in their response to this Chrysanthemum Curtain. Yet no matter how they react, they cannot remain wholly indifferent. In this way, the crown prince has become "our crown prince."

In the December 8 edition of the *Yomiuri* [newspaper], Murakami Hyōe spoke of this situation as an "unconditional surrender" to the crown princess boom. He went on to state: "Times when the whole world goes crazy, so that a sane person seems mad, are not limited to far-off antiquity after all." Yet I believe Murakami is mistaken when he argues that "[the fuss over the wedding] has simply brought old things to the fore, covered in new cosmetics, for all to see." . . .

What has come to be called the princess boom is not, in Murakami's sense, a revival of "various old things" using "new cosmetics." Rather, haven't the "new cosmetics" dealt a decisive blow to these "various old things"? Surely, the boom of the commoner princess's love match could have taken place only under this new constitution. Isn't it more appropriate to call this a new constitution boom?

The objective conclusion that can be drawn from the recent designation of a crown princess is that the emperor system under the new constitution—the emperor system of the masses, so to speak—has matured. The *grief* and *resentment* felt toward the absolutist emperor system of old must be linked to the *recognition* that a new emperor system of the masses has matured. After all, what Murakami has called an "unusual response" to the crown princess is a normal reaction in the sort of mass society that is developing in Japan today. It is therefore an urgent task to delineate the contours of the emperor system of the masses, that is, the emperor system under the new constitution, or the "democratized" emperor system. The emperor system that is being revived today is, of course, not absolutist, nor is it a limited monarchy along the lines that developed in Europe in the nineteenth century and was sought in Japan during the period of Taishō democracy [1920s]. While it is changing into a monarchy of the masses, the imperial house is absorbing new energy from the cheers of the "masses." Today we must transcend the *feelings* of the wartime faction and must clearly *understand* this transformation.

The political romanticism that sees "the entire Japanese people offering their congratulations together" may be rather silly, but we ought to reject the vulgar political cynicism that maintains a clever stance of "indifference to the private

affairs of the imperial house." The princess boom cannot be simply dismissed as a state of rapture over saccharine phrases. Nor is it simply a private affair of the imperial house. Hidden in this boom is the core problem of Japan's postwar political transformation.

From Living God to Star

"Love! That's so cool!" A female university student is transported with joy. "The two of them in a love marriage, at their age! This will really influence the rest of us [not to give up]." People sigh with relief, and cliques of girls burst into giggles: "If only we'd gone to Sacred Heart [as did Princess Michiko]!" Others console their peers: "You know, there's still hope for us. The crown prince's younger brother is still around!" . . .

Not all Japanese have gone crazy, to be sure. Yet the trend in the media's treatment of this event has been set, and the younger generation has no remembrance of the idea that the emperor is a god in human shape or a living god. This does not mean that the emperor or the imperial house emerged from among the masses. Rather, it is the reverse [he has come down to the masses]. Since the imperial house is no longer the object of awe or fear, it has come to be viewed with affection.

When a personality plays a political role, it can do so in two fundamentally different ways. One would be the style of rule through intimidation. Here private matters are shrouded in secrecy. A ruler looks out over the masses as a superhuman being. A second is the style of rule through intimacy, in which private matters are laid out in the open and authority rests on a personalized affection. Under the old absolutist emperor system thus far, the emperor, while occasionally acting with benevolence, remained "above the ninefold clouds" as a living god always to be feared. Imagine the emperor's portrait of prewar days, in its enclosed sacred altar. This conveys a sense of the former situation. But since the surrender the emperor has worn a suit and tie. His picture is even taken with his family. And the crown prince even falls in love. This change in the atmosphere surrounding the imperial house is more important than the change in the emperor's constitutional position. . . .

Looking at the matter in this fashion, existing theories of the emperor system such as Inoue Kiyoshi's cannot account for the emperor system of the masses. The so-called progressive critique was paralyzed in the face of that boom of last November because it had prepared no theoretical perspective on this emperor system of the masses. From now on into the future, stories such as "The [New] Couple's First Voyage Together" or "A Baby Is Born" will surely be broadcast one after another. The degree of interest in these may vary, but this princess boom is by no means going to be a one-time abnormal reaction.

[Matsushita, "Taishū tennōsei ron," pp. 30–32, 46; AG]

TWO VIEWS OF THE SECURITY TREATY CRISIS OF 1960

In 1960, while a year-long coal miners' strike dragged on in southern Japan, unprecedented demonstrations and protest greeted the government's effort to renew the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty. For several weeks, tens of thousands of demonstrators filled the streets of Tokyo in the vicinity of the Diet building. The government literally rammed the renewal through the Diet on May 19, 1960 (as security guards shoved the Speaker of the House sideways like a ramrod through a crowd of opposition-party Diet representatives to call a snap vote). Although the ruling Liberal Democratic Party prevailed, the protests were sufficiently volatile to cause the United States to cancel a planned visit by President Dwight Eisenhower to mark the renewal.

In the wake of these events, some of the nation's leading intellectuals debated the meaning of the popular uprising against the treaty. In these excerpts from two famous essays, Maruyama Masao first offered his critical view of this popular consciousness and action. He lamented the self-interested stance of a new breed of postwar individualists and the lack of connection between the activists on the streets and the everyday lives of working people. In reply, the poet and philosopher Yoshimoto Takaaki presented a different reading. Using the idiosyncratic label of "a fictitious system," he criticized the consciousness and behavior of the mainstream left-wing forces as rooted in a concept of the "public," with overtones of the wartime ethos of self-sacrifice for the "public" state. He then found cause to celebrate the phenomenon of private political and social consciousness that Maruyama deplored, as a possible harbinger of a "true" system.

MARUYAMA MASAO

"8/15 AND 5/19"

Maruyama Masao's essay "8/15 and 5/19" is presented in interview format. Although most of the questions have been deleted, in one case the "Q" refers to the questioner.

In prewar Japan, there was the curious notion of the *kokutai* [national polity]. In one aspect, the *kokutai* was a state system that placed the emperor as its apex. On the other hand, it was sustained by emotional factors that cannot be dissolved into the political structure or the legal system. Rather, the system of the state built on this kind of irrational emotion by its subjects. But while the *kokutai* as a total structure has vanished like mist, the governing elite has made no efforts to replace it with a democratic ethos from below, which has a comparable emotional effect. In essence I think it has instead set up a legalistic

democratic system in the expectation that an acquiescent consciousness of the imperial subject still endures. Therefore, it is still likely that ideas of democracy will lean toward a formal legalism. When the new constitution was adopted, the governing elite expected that *kokutai* emotions were still deeply rooted among the people. This also led to the famous "theory of longing" [for the monarch] in [postwar] popular sovereignty. But if the consciousness of the imperial subject retreats into the background and a democratic consciousness of some sort takes hold, the ruling class will be in a bind. Even now, it cannot rely on anything like the emotionalism expressed in the concept of the *kokutai* in the past.

The definition of democracy that Minister of Labor Matsuno [Raizō] advanced at the roundtable discussion on the June 4 strike . . . is a classic case in point. He said: "There are rules in democracy. No one can deny that the demonstrators' collective action broke the rules. What I am referring to here as rules is law, and for someone who has broken the law to shout for democracy is quite presumptuous." He further stated the following: "It is the rule of democracy to engage in consultation within the limits of the law." Here, first of all, a formalistic legalism has replaced the rule of law. The *spirit* of law has dissolved into existing legal rules. This is how the great majority of government officials think. Second, democracy has been replaced by "consultation," the peace-and-harmony myth of the village community. Under Japan's wartime system this consultation-ism was practiced in countless deliberative bodies. This was, so to speak, a totalitarianism built on consultation. There was no consciousness of definitive decisions, so that responsibility for decisions vanished like morning mist. The ruling class's image of democracy has been formed through a combination of such legalism and consultation-ism. For this reason, it is not aware that one side is in a position to resort to lawful force and turn its decisions immediately into law. In other words, it lacks an awareness of power and a consciousness of responsibility. In its place, there is always the illusion or self-deception that an unimpeded consultative relationship exists between the government and the people. . . .

Shinmin, the Japanese word for "imperial subject," is a synthetic combination of "ruling official" and "common people." Under the extreme circumstances of total war during the Pacific War, the *min*, or "people," were completely transformed into *shin*, or "vassals." "One hundred million assisting imperial rule" and "sacrificing the private, serving the public" were ideological expressions of this. The postwar began as an enormous reverse flow from *shin* to *min*. Democracy started out in such a form. Roughly speaking, in my opinion, the revived *min*, or "people," have then branched out into two directions. One is the direction of "privatizing" the "people." The slogan of "sacrificing the private, serving the public" was reversed. In the rural villages we see this mainly in individual farmers' increased interest in economic gain and the collapse of the prestige of local notables. In the big cities we see this in the overwhelming drive to enjoy private life in the sphere of consumption. This is well

known. The second direction the "people" are taking is toward active reform movements. Here, a measure of "sacrificing the private, serving the public" remains as an underlying ethos. From the perspective of the privatized citizen, the activist's movements and behavioral style seem aggressive and noisy, and his enthusiasm is rather boring.

But in my view, in the absence of the people's former subject consciousness, these divergent tendencies among the people have favored the governing elite to no small degree. The political indifference of the privatized group, although it differs in form from the imperial subject consciousness, is very convenient for the governing elites who wish to "contain" the activist group. In addition, in positive terms, the rulers can tap the farming households' interest in profits by offering so-called subsidies. It seems to me that these policies toward the "people" of "divide and rule," however painstaking they may be for the ruling elites who must now control society without the charisma of the emperor, have continued to this day. To put the matter in more positive terms, if these two groups among "the people" were to happen to come together in human relations and patterns of action, this would mark an important turning point in the history of postwar Japan. The struggle to oppose the Police Duties Law [of 1958] was a good start, and I believe that the surge of mass demonstrations this May and June signifies another huge step in this direction. To be sure, the farming villages and small regional towns certainly remain a problem for the future. In the big cities, the frequent comparison of the demonstrators to sports spectators, made by Prime Minister Kishi [Nobusuke] and his supporters, exaggerates the situation. But there is a kernel of truth in what they say. In the face of this, I thought Yoneyama Mamako's remark quoted in the June 8 issue of *Josei jishin* was marvelous:

> I had always thought that politics was something that specialists handle for us, but when I saw the vote forced through parliament on May 19, I had the feeling that this was really odd. So far I have never had an interest in politics, but I thought this was something one could not simply leave to others. This is something one has to keep an eye on. . . .

This expresses wonderfully an attitude of keeping watch on authorities even as one maintains one's own "place."

Q: Since public intellectuals or celebrities can act independently, it is easy enough for them to recognize that "There's something wrong here!" and it is easy enough for them to take action to resist. But won't the ordinary organization man, such as the downtown business district "salaryman," find it impossible to act in this way?

That's right. I think the article entitled "Seen from the Inside of the Building," which appeared in the July feature edition of *Shisō no kagaku* (*The Science of Ideas*), depicts this aspect of the situation extraordinarily well. It states that the clamor is only in the streets, only among a small segment of the people.

Within the office buildings an orderly discipline is maintained, as always, and regular work [is] performed. As soon as one steps inside, the heaviness of modern architecture, in which one is isolated by walls, merges with the naturalism of the Japanese building. In addition, the feeling of being torn away from the "street" is enhanced by the minute division of labor necessary for modern production. The reality of daily work presents task after task. Therefore, even for a person who conscientiously completes his daily job and goes to present a political petition only after [his] work is done, the fact remains that work is work. On the other hand, people who skip work to join protests will be ostracized from their place within the system and lose all respect. In this sense, unless one finds a way in one's own consciousness to connect one's work to the world beyond the wall, this thick wall will not be broken down easily.

[Maruyama, "8/15 and 5/19," pp. 51–54; AG]

YOSHIMOTO TAKAAKI

"THE END OF A FICTITIOUS SYSTEM"

Maruyama Masao has assigned the movement for citizen democracy its place in postwar history, from his position on the sidelines. In his "8/15 and 5/19," Maruyama Masao argues that the rise of the movement for citizen democracy since [the demonstrations of] May 19 [1960] constitutes the principled foundation for spontaneous and voluntary action. He believes that such a social consciousness among the citizens has been generated by the same process that imposed democratization policies *from outside*, which then produced Japan's constitution *from above*, a constitution that in the fifteen postwar years the ruling elite has come to view as a nuisance.

According to Maruyama Masao, the masses who were uniformly organized in the form of "imperial subjects" under the emperor system of the war years have, in the postwar era, reverted back to the status of masses in the form of "the people." In this process they have branched out in two directions. One has been a turn toward the private self, a move toward an assertion of individual rights and private interest as the highest priority. The other has been a flow into an activist reform movement. This current, he believes, preserves in its ethos the consciousness expressed in such [wartime] slogans as "sacrifice the private, serve the public" or "give priority to the public good." According to Maruyama Masao, the "people" exhibiting the first tendency have drifted toward political indifference and indirectly assisted the efforts of the rulers to "contain" the second sort of activism. In this view, the security treaty struggle is assessed in positive terms as a first step—in terms of both personal relations and patterns of action—toward a broadening of desirable interaction between these two streams of the "people."

Stated in this way, Maruyama's view expresses the typical logic of progressive

enlightenment thought or false democracy. It well represents the general views of the present leadership of the Japanese Communist Party.

To be sure, the fifteen postwar years have witnessed a process by which bourgeois democracy has matured among the masses. From the confusion of defeat—the world of the black market and rubble in which a state of nature obtained—a consciousness inevitably took root that valued sectoral interests over the interests of society as a whole and that further valued private self-interest over the interests of social sectors. In tandem with the maturation of postwar capitalism, this sort of democratic consciousness was able to develop, particularly in the postwar generation that was spared the intellectual experience of the prewar and war eras. Maruyama takes a negative view of this consciousness that gives priority to private interests. He criticizes it as the consciousness of the politically indifferent. Yet the truth is precisely the reverse. This private sense of interest forms the basis of postwar "democracy" (bourgeois democracy). If we do not recognize something positive at the root of this development, we can recognize no progressive developments whatsoever in Japanese society since World War II. Such a privatized consciousness neither idolizes the organization nor exalts state authority. . . .

When this autonomous consciousness that grants "private" interests priority over the interests of society emerged in combination with revolutionary political theory, it relativized the myth of the established vanguard [political party]. It gave rise to the independent actions of Zengakuren, which simply ignored organizational bureaucratism. It demonstrated a dynamism unimaginable in the case of the prewar faction that was terror stricken by a self-imposed illusion of suppression. When the prewar faction called the Zengakuren faction reckless youth, it felt the pain of the wounds inflicted on it by the authority of the prewar emperor system. The Zengakuren faction was as free as it could be, at least from an imagined fear of suppression. Here the cleavage between the understanding held by the prewar faction and the postwar generation of the level of development of postwar society, the transformation in the structure of power, and the transformation in the consciousness of the masses, has become apparent.

I regard as true "democracy" (bourgeois democracy) the spread of a situation in which "private" interests are the highest priority. In contrast, I cannot but think that what Maruyama refers to as "democracy" is a fictional "democracy." It is nothing but a mutation of the fictional progressivism that came into being as it flowed down from the pyramid of fictional vanguard thought. . . .

These thinkers [Maruyama and Takeuchi Yoshimi] have probably misunderstood the meaning of "democracy," just as they completely misunderstood the meaning of "dictatorship." The report "Seen from the Inside of the Building"[2] by the association for "Ideas in the World of Practical Business" made this clear. One "salaryman" is noted to have written as follows:

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2. *Shisō no kagaku*, July 19, 1960.

> On the morning of May 20, I took a look at the newspaper and was thunderstruck. In a state of undiminished agitation, I swayed in the jammed commuter train, then rushed to my company longing for someone to speak with. Yet, certainly not on the morning of the twentieth and not to this day, was even a single word spoken at work on the topic of the government violence on this occasion. For my part, I started no conversations but immersed myself in my daily business as always. It would appear that the most natural thing to do, from the moment one faces one's desk at the company, is indeed to keep silent on such matters as this violence and slowly drop one's pen. In short, one is overwhelmed by the peculiar atmosphere of the corporate body.

The author of this report touches on this note and confesses that since the inside and outside of the building are divided into two different orders and atmospheres, we inevitably feel confused as to our own proper position as we run back and forth from the inside to the outside. This report goes beyond the fictions of the citizen-democrat intellectuals and the like, as it points out the error of praising those who participated in the Anpo [U.S.–Japan security alliance] activities as progressive and condemning the inactive elements on the inside as backward and as mere bystanders. . . .

The activism of the citizens and common people during the Anpo period is not only different from the enlightenment thought of the citizen-democracy intellectuals. Rather, it is completely unconnected to it. These people bear the continually increasing burden of a sensibility gripped with an amorphous boredom, enjoying a bloated material life and a relatively improved standard of living but an overall feeling of impoverishment. In this situation, having lived through the growth and stabilization of society since 1955, these people grasped in the Anpo protests for the first time an opportunity to freely vent their own feelings of alienation. At least, this was the first opportunity for citizens as well as common folks to grasp the opportunities of large-scale mass action that those in the labor movement experienced several times soon after the war. As they rallied under the banners of the principles of citizenship and the People's Joint Struggle Committees, they may have brought to mind memories of the war or perhaps memories of the anarchic state at the time of defeat when they were cast adrift, bombed out of their homes. At the very least, only ideological blindness could fail to see that these citizens and common people possessed a different sort of destructive force from that of the ideologues of the people's joint struggle committees and of citizenship.

The security treaty struggle was a strange battle. In the fifteenth year of the postwar era, the fictitious system has ended. Despite this, a true system is still being forged, in an immature form, within the vanguard movement, among the citizens' thought, and within the worker's movement. We are now entering a period of stormy transition, a period of severe confusion, a period of intense confrontation. Thus the situation appears strange. The fictitious system that has

come to an end has nonetheless grown large as if it were completely unscathed, and it talks about the future in rosy terms. That is, it is able to talk about it only in rosy terms. By passing through the security treaty period unscathed, it has in truth perished already. And because it has perished, it cannot but talk in rosy terms. Whether we will be able to respond to this quiet but certain reversal of the situation will depend solely on the maturity reached by the elements among the intelligentsia and the workers' and citizen movements, who may constitute the vanguard of a true system.

[Yoshimoto, "Gisei no shūen," pp. 70–76; AG]

THE CONSUMER REVOLUTION IN POSTWAR JAPAN, 1960

In addition to its annual White Paper on the Economy, the government's Economic Planning Agency published an annual White Paper on the People's Livelihood. The 1960 edition is noteworthy for its upbeat description of a revolution in lifestyles that had been under way for several years. This White Paper describes the changing habits of daily life that accompanied postwar economic growth and presents an image of the salaryman household of the new middle class that would soon become a social cliché. In the final section, it also alludes to the worried spirit that moved state bureaucrats to try to guide and regulate social change.

THE ECONOMIC PLANNING AGENCY'S WHITE PAPER ON THE PEOPLE'S LIVELIHOOD

The Lifestyle Revolution and Its Background

Looking at the transformed consumption patterns among the people of the past few years, one sees numerous radical changes. No one at the recovery stage of the postwar years, not to mention the prewar era, could have imagined this. Lifestyles have changed with special speed. In a word, this can be called Westernization. One can see this in eating habits . . . clothing habits . . . and housing habits. Let us now try to analyze this lifestyle revolution from various angles.

First, in daily household life, purchases of labor-saving goods are on the rise. At mealtime we see an increase in the use of canned and processed foods like ham or sausage and, most recently, the appearance of instant curry rice, soups, noodles, and other instant foods and also more eating out or buying prepared food from caterers. In dress, we note more purchases of ready-to-wear clothes for women and children and a shift toward Western-style clothing at home [as

well as in public]. All this reduces the amount of sewing done at home. A reduction in household labor due to the introduction of washing machines and vacuum cleaners, electric rice cookers, and refrigerators is marked as well.

A second noteworthy trend is the rapid proliferation of consumer durable goods. In the prewar era, even a wealthy household might at best own a radio, a sewing machine, and an electric fan. Yet now households in large cities own TV sets, cameras, washing machines, and the like at a rate of one per two households, and electric refrigerators and vacuum cleaners are also spreading gradually.

A third trend is the increase in leisure consumption. The proliferation of TV sets is one example, but recently everything, from the sale of indoor leisure goods to recreational travel and sports outside the home, has been flourishing. . . .

What has brought about these transformations in our consumption habits, which one might fairly call a lifestyle revolution? If we sort through the various reasons involved, we come up with roughly five factors.

The first is more income. . . . Consumer outlays in 1960 exceeded prewar levels by 35 percent. Needless to say, this is enabled only by larger incomes owing to the expansion of the national economy.

The second is the influence of the technological revolution in the postwar period. The appearance of TV sets, washing machines, refrigerators, and plastics as well as synthetic fibers is due to the postwar technological revolution. . . .

Third is the advent of a new mass of consumers brought into being by the changes in social structure from the prewar era . . . when the spread in incomes was extremely large. This has shrunk significantly in the postwar era.

In addition, the social base for mass consumption is nurtured by postwar changes in the family system, such as the fragmentation of extended families into nuclear ones, the move of women into the workplace, and the rise in the number of two-income couples.

A fourth factor is value change. From the Tokugawa era to World War II, our people's basic attitude toward life focused on diligent saving and restrained consumption. Frugality was among the great virtues of everyday life. After the war, opportunities to encounter the living patterns of Europeans and Americans increased, and our people's attitudes changed significantly. Values of frugality gave way to the idea of enjoying life. . . .

Fifth is the influence of aggressive marketing by producers and retailers of consumer goods. Some even argue that all demand for goods beyond the basic necessities of clothing, food, and housing is in a sense created by the producers through advertising. . . .

The social stratum in which the lifestyle revolution has made the greatest inroads is that of employee households in the big cities. Above all, we can call the households of big-company employees the emblem of this stratum. Their

incomes are higher than average; their livelihoods are secure; their working hours are shorter; and they have more spare time. In addition, they have access to company-run support facilities and all kinds of amenities for leisure activities. . . .

Future Problems in National Life and Tasks for Its Administration

[Finally there] is the problem of consumer protection, which has assumed greater importance as the lifestyle revolution progresses. The government has supported consumer protection all along and has imposed regulations and control based on the Foods Hygiene Law, the Law for Quality Standards for Agricultural Products, the Textile Goods Quality Labeling Law, the Regulations for Control of Electrical Appliances, and the Industrial Standards Law. However, in the present situation, when new consumer goods appear one after another as the technological revolution continues, consumer protection through such controls is insufficient. Our task from now on in protecting consumers will be to help them obtain the necessary information and knowledge that will allow them to make autonomous choices and integrate these new goods rationally into their lives, without being at the mercy of the advertising jingles of producers and retailers. In America, nongovernmental consumer organizations have a long history. They provide consumer-oriented information about the purchase and choice of goods and conduct information campaigns. Consumers in our country must develop a greater consumer consciousness; consumers must become more active in a healthy fashion; and we must develop the new field of consumer education.

[Economic Planning Agency, *Kokumin seikatsu hakusho*, pp. 11–22]

THE ECONOMIC PLANNING AGENCY'S NEW LONG-RANGE ECONOMIC PLAN OF JAPAN, 1961–1970

The "income-doubling plan" of 1961 was among the most important government statements in the postwar era. It was noteworthy, first, as a sign that the Liberal Democratic Party's political leadership, under Prime Minister Ikeda Hayato, had shifted its strategy for achieving political control and stability from revising the constitution and suppressing the political left to promoting economic development and popular welfare. In addition, the plan was an important example of the ambitious reach of Japan's economic bureaucrats in bodies such as the Economic Planning Agency and the Ministry of International Trade and Industry. Here, the government not only set targets for growth rates, but also indicated which industries should be the focus of investment and growth,

determined specific amounts for investment, recommended mergers, called for interfirm cooperation, and specified an active government role to guide the private sector toward these goals.

THE INCOME-DOUBLING PLAN

Purpose of the Plan

[The] Doubling National Income Plan[3] should have an objective of achieving full employment and radically raising people's living standard by rapidly doubling the gross national product. Special effort must be made to rectify the existing disparity of living standards and income between farming and nonfarming population, between major enterprises and smaller business, between urban and rural residents, and between high- and low-income strata, to promote balanced development of national economy and people's living.

Targets of the Plan

The plan is aimed at raising the gross national product to ¥26,000,000 million (in fiscal 1958 prices) within 10 years to come . . . from the ¥13,600,000 million (¥13,000,000 million in fiscal 1958 prices) in 1960. . . .

Advancement of Manufacturing Industries and Strengthening of International Competitive Power

It is necessary to seek expansion of scale and diversification of production, based on the healthy growth of industries, as well as to further the reorganization of the industrial structure with emphasis on the heavy and chemical industries, which has been in progress since the end of World War II.

In this case, emphasis must be placed upon advanced processing industries, which look toward solidification of export structure suitable to the international market. The entire process of development, moreover, must be so arranged as to pivot on the machine and chemical industries. In particular, the machinery industry is most counted upon not only as an export industry but also for its ability to absorb surplus labor. In other words, the industry will occupy an important "strategic" position for a rapid growth of economy and advancement of the industrial structure. . . .

Many obstacles are foreseen in working toward the increase in industrial output and diversification of industries as outlined above, and efforts to over-

3. This document was published in English by the government, in addition to the Japanese version.

come these obstacles will be required. The following policies will have to be carried out not only to expand industrial output quantitatively but also to meet demands for the advancement of the industrial structure with trade liberalization as the stimulus.

First of all, it is necessary to modernize equipment, establish and specialize the mass production system, standardize products, and strengthen competitive power in the international market through combination of industries. Secondly, as for the mining and manufacturing industries, it is essential to secure an estimated ¥16,000,000 million required for equipment investments and accumulate owned capital for that purpose in the next 10 years. The sum includes ¥5,500,000 million for the machine industry, ¥3,000,000 million for the iron and steel industry and ¥2,500,000 million for the chemical industry. Third, there is a need for a stable import of low-priced fuels and raw materials, such as energy sources, mineral products, and timber. Fourth, the environment of the industrial areas must be improved, and industries properly distributed to eliminate regional differences, while it is necessary to build new industrial areas. Fifth, national research institutes must be reinforced and assistance extended to private research work. At the same time, measures should be taken to train scientists and technicians; promote science and technology, especially for industrialization; and foster new industries. Sixth, small- and medium-size enterprises must be modernized, and the social division of work be established between large industries and smaller industries and also among smaller industries themselves. Lastly, in order to carry out the above-mentioned policies, the government must take adequate measures to supplement and guide private enterprises. . . .

[T]he following problems should be considered in studying a new industrial order in a long-range perspective.

The first is the expansion of enterprises to put up with international competition. For this purpose, consideration must be given to concentration, merger, and grouping of enterprises and establishment of the system of specialized production. Secondly, strong measures must be taken against economic recession. Efforts must be made to narrow gaps in business cycles through flexible customs policy and promotion of cooperation among enterprises. Third, close cooperative relations must be established between large and small- and medium-size enterprises. Fourth, an orderly import of raw materials from abroad must be secured through expansion of joint purchase and joint development of overseas resources. In this connection it is necessary to give due consideration to the prevention of excessive competition in overseas markets.

Measures for the maintenance of proper order have special significance in the transitional period of trade liberalization. They must be designed mainly for (1) prevention of confusion in the transitional period, (2) protection and encouragement of new industries and "growth" industries, and (3) smooth transformation of waning industries.

Only through these measures can trade liberalization and high growth rate be smoothly and securely realized.

[Economic Planning Agency, *New Long-Range Economic Plan of Japan*, pp. 8–10, 85–89]

ENVIRONMENTAL ACTIVISM IN POSTWAR JAPAN: MINAMATA DISEASE

In the 1950s, the devastating symptoms of what later was identified as mercury poisoning began to destroy the health, lives, and livelihoods of fishermen, their families, and the residents of Minamata City in Kyushu. The mercury was discharged into the bay by the Chisso Corporation as a waste by-product in the production of chemical fertilizer. Local residents and then a network of supporters nationwide organized a movement to provide compensation and redress and to prevent future pollution. A settlement reached in the 1950s offered meager payments to a small number of recognized victims and half-measures of prevention. The company denied responsibility and covered up evidence of the link between its production process and mercury poisoning. Then, from the late 1960s into the 1970s, a far more effective protest movement developed in a changed context. Economic growth had made compensation easier to afford, and it also made it easier for activists to communicate to a broader audience. The settlement was a landmark in the history of political activism by pollution victims and ordinary citizens, a case of effective mobilization outside the framework of both parliamentary politics and the mainstream political parties. The following statement conveys something of the emotional appeal to a broader constituency and the sense of betrayal and anger felt by citizens toward the corporation and the state. (The title of the book of Minamata-related documents that contains this statement is a grim pun. The word *shimin* in the title normally means "citizens" but here is written with the characters that mean "dead people." "We citizens" thus becomes "We dead people.")

WE CITIZENS: SIT-IN STRIKE DECLARATION (WAGA SHIMIN)

As we who suffer from Minamata disease and our families continue our sit-in strike in front of the company president's office at Chisso headquarters [in Tokyo], how can we possibly thank the many people throughout the nation who have provided us with their warm support?

Although we began our negotiations with Chisso this past December 6, we have met nothing but a scheme to avoid us, in the form of a note mentioning the company president's (feigned ?) sickness. From Minamata to Tokyo, even

if we families and victims did not expect to reach a final solution thereby, we did hope that our path would lead us to some tangible hint of a solution. These hopes were brutally shattered. What became clear, what was proved to us in Tokyo, was the immorality, the inhumanity, uncivility, the utter depravity of Chisso's leadership. These robotlike men raised a storm and tried to intimidate those of us who suffer from Minamata disease, our families, and all those who fervently love humankind. The cacophony of their pleas to "Let us do our job," uttered in unison by these robotlike men, has ignited the wrath of the many who suffer or who have died from Minamata disease. Our five or six encounters with Chisso's executive board have only strengthened our resolve and made us even more adamant in our determination. A string that is stretched to the limit is about to break. Even though we are in such an overextended state, we strive to retain our flexible and rich humanity and the abundant fighting spirit that lies hidden deep within us.

Our conversation with Mr. Satō continued far into the night as we talked about soothing our pain, gaining foresight, and repaying all the people throughout the nation for their cherished support. . . . As we enter the fifteenth day [of our sit-in], we continue to shout our "gratitude and appreciation for the privilege of life, health, and livelihood." Even if our voices may sound faint, from the site of our sit-in in front of the company president's office, we rejoice day by day in our fortitude. In Tokyo, the center of a Japan fast becoming an archipelago of pollution, an archipelago of wrath, we are able to meet our daily needs in the "Chisso Central Headquarters" building due to your kind support. . . .

A new year is about to arrive. We hereby solemnly declare that we will continue our sit-in strike into the new year, just as we continue it this day today with the support of people throughout the whole nation. We rely on the mighty tree of material and spiritual help of the people from the "Committee to Publicize the Minamata Disease."

(December 24, 1971. Issued by Kawamoto Teruo and other sufferers from Minamata disease taking part in the sit-in demonstrations)

[Ishimure, ed., *Waga shimin*, pp. 333–34; AG]

BULLDOZING THE ARCHIPELAGO: THE POLITICS OF ECONOMIC GROWTH

A little more than a decade after the income-doubling plan was announced, the newly installed prime minister, Tanaka Kakuei, issued his plan to "remodel" the Japanese islands. His *Building a New Japan* quickly became a best-selling book. Tanaka was adroitly responding to the growing popular unease at the price of affluence, in the form of environmental destruction in the industrial centers of Japan and the decline of rural areas. With this project to invest huge

sums in roads and high-speed railways to reverse the flow from country to city that he lamented, Tanaka was also aiming to serve the construction industry, which had so richly supported his political machine. Scandal tarnished Tanaka's own career a few years after this declaration, but over the following decades the government indeed poured billions of dollars into public-works projects throughout the archipelago. These investments did not in fact stop the exodus of people into urban and industrial centers, but they did lead rural communities to undertake numerous projects to bring tourists "home" to the countryside.

EPILOGUE OF *BUILDING A NEW JAPAN*

Those born in the Meiji (1868–1912) and the Taishō (1912–1926) eras have a deep sense of love and pride in their native locales. While life in these rural villages may not have been rich, it was home. Home was the place where your stern father and gentle mother lived, where you could always find your childhood friends, and whose green fields, rolling hills, and fresh streams remained with you forever. Seeking their fortunes, village youths left their ancestral homes for faraway cities where they studied, worked, married, and followed the course of their lives. Saisei Muroo, a poet of those days, sang in praise of his homeplace, "It is where my mind travels from afar." Whatever their fate, whether in success or failure, they always remembered the people and scenes of their unchanging homeplace.

I believe that the endless fountain of energy which has built today's Japan derives from the cherished and respected rural homes from which all of us have originally come.

In this great enterprise of remodeling the Japanese archipelago, I am motivated by a strong desire to rebuild the home of the Japanese people, which has been lost and destroyed and is declining today but which, once restored, will again give to our society a sense of tranquillity and spiritual enrichment.

It is true that the urban concentration of both people and production has been the driving force in building today's prosperity. The process of this massive flow has given rise to many whose only home is a two-room apartment in a big city, sapped the villages of their youth, and left behind only the aged and housewives to sweat and toil in back-breaking labor. How can such a society generate the energy necessary to build a new Japan in the next hundred years?

It is such considerations as these that have impelled me to work on the policy of "dispersion" to reverse the tide of people, money, and goods and to create a flow from urban concentrations back to outlying areas, using industrial relocation and the nationwide communication and transportation networks as the main tools.

This plan for building a new Japan is a set of policy programs to solve simultaneously both overcrowding and underpopulation through the relocation

of people and industry into less populated areas. It is, more importantly, an action program to implement these prescribed solutions.

I wish to activate the dynamo of our nation's powers to revitalize the declining rural areas of Japan. By moving pollution-free industries from large cities to outlying areas, local cities can be made strategic cores of development with improved income opportunities. Educational, medical, cultural, and leisure facilities will be adequately provided to enrich the local life environment. Those leaving the farm will find new jobs in local factories and stores while still being able to cultivate enough land to produce some rice and vegetables for their own consumption. Land they do not need can be leased for salaried cultivation. No longer will they have to leave their villages to seek seasonal employment in the large cities.

Japanese farms of fifty to seventy-five acres will be mechanically cultivated by a small number of highly efficient farmers raising stock in spacious pastures, growing fruit and rice in well-tended fields and paddies. Life in the large cities will also be improved. By relocating those industries and universities no longer needed in big cities, urban areas will be freed of pollution and high costs and made comfortable places to live in. City dwellers will work five days a week at worthwhile jobs. While they will live in apartments near their work in their twenties and thirties when they are in the prime of life, in their forties they will have homes in suburbia where they can take care of their aged parents. On weekends, they may enjoy family outings by car to nearby mountains, rivers, or beaches, or they may choose to engage in do-it-yourself carpentry or agriculture in their spare time.

Only when life in both metropolitan and rural Japan is reshaped into one humane, livable environment will the people take pride in their own communities and develop a strong sense of solidarity and mutual cooperation. So long as the people can enjoy the same conveniences and opportunities for self-development wherever they may live, their love for their homeplaces will be firmly restored and will develop into an abiding love of their homeland Japan.

The road before us is steep and rocky. Yet both the necessary funds and ingenuity for this great enterprise can be found if we remain a peace-loving nation and if, on the strength of our high growth potential, we manage our economy to make growth and welfare compatible.

If we join together to consolidate the energy, wisdom, and technology that enabled us to construct today's Japan from the ashes of World War II, I am confident that it is possible to bring about a new era, a renaissance in which man and sunshine and verdant surroundings will replace big cities and industries as the rightful master of society. Japan will indeed be in the vanguard of civilization when the more than one hundred million intelligent and hard-working Japanese people put all of their strength together to solve the problems of inflation, pollution, overcrowding, depopulation, agricultural stagnation, and generation gaps common to all developed countries and do this without follow-

ing the path to militarism. As a free nation which knows no social prejudice, which gives its citizens every opportunity for success if they are creative and work hard, Japan will be a trusted and respected member of the international community and will enjoy fraternal relations with all nations regardless of ideological differences.

For the past twenty-five years, I have done my best as a statesman to make Japan a well-balanced, comfortable place to live in. And I shall dedicate the remainder of my life to the consummation of this task. A society where every home is filled with laughter, where senior citizens live peaceful, restful lives, where the eyes of youth shine bright with the light of hope—such is my dream for remodeling the Japanese archipelago.

[Tanaka, *Building a New Japan*, pp. 217–20]

THE PHILOSOPHY OF JAPANESE LABOR MANAGEMENT IN THE HIGH-GROWTH ERA

In this excerpt from his memoir, *Twenty Years of Labor Management* (*Rōmu kanri 20 nen*), recounting more than two decades as a labor manager at the Nippon Kōkan steelworks in Kawasaki, Orii Hyūga neatly summarizes the reigning ideology of Japanese corporate management toward the end of the high-growth era. By this time, corporate management had made its peace with labor unions, which for their part had generally adopted a stance of cooperation (critics would call it co-optation) toward the enterprise. Managers like Orii, as much as their counterparts in the union movement, denied that the interests of employees and employers necessarily conflicted. Instead, they presented an idealistic vision of the corporation as a cooperative body, the emblem of both productivity and human values in modern society. At the same time, Orii makes clear that harmonious industrial relations did not emerge naturally. He graphically describes the confrontations of workers with managers during the early postwar years. He also notes that such struggle seemed "unimaginable" in the early 1970s, when he wrote his book. In his view, the harmonious industrial relations of later years were nurtured by managers through scientific social analysis and careful policies to produce appropriate attitudes and behavior among employees.

TWENTY YEARS OF LABOR MANAGEMENT (*RŌMU KANRI 20 NEN*)

I believe that a corporation is a cooperative body whose purpose is to produce social value and that the highest aim of personnel management is to produce a cooperative orientation among employees. To this end, my strong desire has

been to promote policies that allow all employees to expand their abilities and improve their own lives while simultaneously developing the enterprise. I also came to believe that labor unions were indispensable as a check to ensure that management maintains this correct posture. . . .

Steps Toward a "Scientific Approach" to Personnel Management . . . Inaugurating "Job Surveys" in Search of a Basis for Labor–Management Dialogue

In May 1949 I was appointed head of the [NKK Kawasaki mill's] labor section [which oversaw negotiations with the union]. Labor–management relations consisted of one continuous string of confrontations. To be honest, I was more than a little worried about taking on this position. . . . Negotiations back then were menacing to an extent impossible to imagine today. Large crowds of union members were present, in addition to the union and management committee representatives who sat at the bargaining table. It was a sort of mass bargaining, probably a strategy to intimidate management with the force of the crowd. . . .

When I was appointed head of the labor section, I thought that this kind of [confrontational] labor–management relations could not bear any real fruits. I felt, above all, the need to somehow provide for the possibility of a more productive dialogue. I was interested in objective data that could provide a foothold for labor–management dialogue and become a basis for objective and calm judgments on both sides. For this purpose I thought that a point of departure might be careful analysis of the actual situation in the workplace. This was the strongest motive for us to conduct "job surveys" on a grand scale.

An additional trend in our company as a whole led us to push forward with these "job surveys." In the confusion after the war's end, all of us were groping in the dark to figure out what labor management was supposed to be. Before and during the war, labor management was authoritarian in character. It relied on coercive power from above to force obedience regardless of circumstances. In reaction to this, workers after the war tended to go too far in their refusal to accept any kind of authority. Thus, we were groping in the dark to come up with a basis for restoring order to the workplace. In this circumstance we began to talk of "approaching labor management as a science." In other words, we collected "scientific data" to provide a third-person perspective independent from the interests of either labor or management. The idea took root that if we took such data as a standard of judgment for settling problems in labor management relations, we could resolve impasses and reach agreements.

If one thinks about it, Frederick W. Taylor, the man who turned labor management into a systematic science, was a technician just like us who had accumulated on-the-job experience in the steel industry. His conclusions, also reached after racking his brain for some way to restore health to the extremely turbulent labor–management relations of his time, was nothing other than the

realization that labor management had to be approached in a scientific way, its administration improved by collecting objective data concerning the actual situation in the workplace. In this sense, one might say that the "job surveys" we undertook aimed at a "scientific labor management" as envisioned by Taylor.

[Orii, *Rōmu kanri 20 nen*, pp. ii, 3–7; AG]

THE JAPANESE MIDDLE CLASS AT THE END OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

As the Japanese economy surged in the 1960s, proved resilient through the oil crises of the 1970s, and took off once more in the booming 1980s, a tone of celebration began to dominate journalistic and even academic views of society. Commentators praised the egalitarianism of Japan's new "mass middle-class" society. But by the end of the 1990s, after nearly a decade of economic stagnation, social commentary had turned decidedly gloomy. The stability of the middle-class mainstream seemed to be crumbling. The jobs of male breadwinners, even in large corporations, appeared insecure. The prospects for working women seemed especially poor. Access to higher education and home ownership, for decades the symbols of middle-class success, seemed endangered. This feature story, by Yada Giichi, in one of Japan's two most widely read national newspapers wrote of the demise of "mainstream" (*chūryū*) consciousness and typified the new pessimism.

"FAREWELL, MAINSTREAM CONSCIOUSNESS!"

For all of us who have been firmly confident about our mainstream life, the ground beneath our feet is shaking. With the economic future uncertain, enterprises have intensified their efforts at "restructuring." The stability of the work environment is crumbling. Real-estate prices, counted on as a source of collateral and capital, are plunging. Stock values, already hard hit, seem headed for a further decline. Interest rates are extraordinarily low, eroding the value of savings. Yet medical and other basic costs are steadily rising. In addition, the only growth sector in the working world takes the form of part-time or "temp" jobs. It is impossible for a regular full-time employee to continue at a job with any sense of security. There are no grounds for optimism. How does one live in an era when the once buoyant consciousness of the middle-class mainstream is surrounded by fog?

The Temp Business Is Thriving, but Employee Protection Is Lagging

Until now, temp work has been women's work, but lately businesses that dispatch men on a contract basis to work at construction sites or in warehouse

jobs have rapidly expanded. According to placement companies such as Recruit, in recent years many businesses have reassessed those jobs they assign to regular employees and have tended more and more to reassign these tasks to temporary contract employees. The only sectors showing a strong continued demand for regular employees are fields such as computer networking, which need specialized technicians. In January of this year [1997] Nikkeiren [Japan Federation of Management Organizations] published "The New Japanese Model—In Search of a Third Way." In a survey conducted for this report, 64 percent of businesses replied that the category of employees engaged in "activities requiring long-term accumulated skills" had shrunk. Conversely, more than 70 percent responded that the employee categories described as "highly specialized skills" and "flexible hires"—in other words, both the categories of contract and temp employees—had expanded.

"What Japan needs to do to change its industrial structure is nothing less than making its employees more flexible. As things now stand, opportunities for employment will decline steadily," worries Arakawa Hajime, Nikkeiren's section chief for labor law.

Needless to say, businesses will have some need in the future for long-term or lifetime employees who form an enterprise's nucleus. Yet it appears that their percentage will fall in the next few years, from 80 percent at present to about 70 percent [of the workforce]. This means that [the number of] secure jobs will decrease. Even as the deregulation of labor markets gains force and the opportunities for temp agencies and similar businesses expand, a system of rules to protect working people is lagging behind. No one can feel secure.

[Yada, "Sayonara chūryū ishiki," p. 13; AG]

PART VII

Aspects of the Modern Experience

The chronological order followed in this book makes it possible to show the relationship between thought and its historical context. No reader would miss the connection between the early Tokugawa efforts to secure the realm and the efflorescence of Neo-Confucianism or, similarly, the link between early Meiji discourse and the establishment of the modern nation-state. In each case, the language, concerns, and arguments are characteristic of the times, immersing us in the life-worlds of the past. These historical episodes are connected to one another across time, not only by temporal accumulation or influence, but also by conscious retrievals of earlier traditions by later figures. Thus the reader can trace the changes in Neo-Confucianism during the Tokugawa period and afterward and the changes in the debates engendered by modernization from the Meiji era until the end of the twentieth century.

In this concluding part of the book, the chapters are organized by themes rather than chronology, precisely in order to trace such changes and continuities over time. The reader will notice many obvious links with earlier chapters, which treat similar themes chronologically. Here the thematic approach is intended to highlight what one might call the "sources of Japanese modernity." The four aspects of modern experience—new religions, cultural debates about Japan in the world, gender politics and feminism, and history writing and historical consciousness—are meant to be neither representative nor exhaustive but merely exemplary of the kinds of connections across time that existed in

countless other domains of modern life. Following the lineages of the "old" new religions that emerged in the early nineteenth century through the new religions of the mid-twentieth century to the "new" new religions of the late twentieth century provides a sense of their commonalities and differences, in effect, a definition of what was "new" about the new religions in modern Japan. Similarly, it helps to see the development and vicissitudes experienced by one sect in different contexts. The history of Ōmoto, for example, reveals much about late Meiji modernity, ideological suppression in the 1930s, and postwar pacifism. Comparing one new religion with another provides a different angle of vision, not least the social insight afforded by the mettle of the two rural women whose revelations became the founding bases of Tenrikyō and Ōmotokyō. Indeed, their spiritual charisma and organizational effect suggest that their stories would not be out of place in the chapter on gender politics.

Chapter 50, "Gender Politics and Feminism," focuses on the relationship between gender and modernization, making clear the effects of industrialization, the nation-state, mass communications, and multiple shifts in power relations on the real women (and men) who lived through them. The image of the "traditional" Japanese woman, expressed in the phrase "good wife, wise mother," was a modern invention produced by a combination of late Meiji government ideology, the new civil code, and collective social opinion. Modern women were allotted this "traditional" role because, in the words of Harriet Taylor Mill, "men like it." That some women did not like it was the reason for the emergence of late Meiji feminism and the "new women," whose counterparts in Europe and North America held similar political and social attitudes. Just as in other societies, even though Japanese women did not agree among themselves about motherhood, suffrage, family, or work, their active engagement in these issues produced waves of feminism from the late Meiji "Bluestockings" to Ueno Chizuko's "reflexive feminism" of the 1990s. And just as there was no single "traditional" woman or man, there was no singular "modern" feminine or masculine either but, rather, a complex landscape of gender and sexuality that has continued to change over time.

The same might be said of the ceaseless debates about the relation of Japanese culture and tradition to Asia, the West, and the world. Although the filings of ideas tended to arrange themselves, as if by magnetic force, around the polar imaginaries of East and West, in fact the cultural debates treated in chapter 50 usually revolved around the nature of the modern. The question was always what kind of modernity Japanese ought to have or what was wrong with the one they had and how it might be fixed. Some Meiji figures spoke optimistically about being both Japanese and modern at the same time, defining modern in Western terms, whereas others, like Natsume Sōseki, focused on the darker sides of modernization, both foreign and homegrown. In the 1920s and 1930s, intellectuals turned to culture in general and Japanese traditions in particular as a critique of the mass society and culture they associated with European and

American-style modernity. In the 1930s, what began as an antimodern nostalgia for the folk past and traditional ways turned into a strident anti-Western nationalism, culminating in the famous debates of 1942 about "overcoming the modern." In the postwar period, when Mishima Yukio celebrated the Japanese martial spirit and the cultural emperor, and Ōe Kenzaburō criticized Japanese ways and its emperor-system politics, they both were arguing less about the past than the present, less about tradition than modernity.

It was no different in the realm of modern history writing. From the beginning of the new "national history" in the Meiji period to the calls for transcending the nation at the turn of the twenty-first century, historians addressed the past according to their notions of what the future should look like. Their changing interpretations were grounded in changing and competing ideas and ideals of modernity. Chapter 51, "Thinking with the Past," follows history writing and popular historical consciousness across a century or more to show how historians' politics and methods changed and how differently epochal events like the Meiji Restoration and World War II were viewed by different people at different times. As has often been remarked, the modern mentality is everywhere obsessed with newness, which has only made it more attentive to the past from which it wanted to distance itself. History, it turns out, was a way of positing the condition of being modern.

Chapter 48

THE NEW RELIGIONS

Japanese religions of the modern period are commonly divided into the "established religions" and the "new religions." The term "established religions" refers to temple Buddhism, shrine Shinto, and older varieties of Christianity, while "new religions" refers to lay movements founded from around the beginning of the nineteenth century to the present. Because "new religions" can refer to religions that are two hundred years old, it is widely acknowledged that the term is problematic, but it has become firmly established in both scholarly usage and popular discourse. The doctrines of the new religions may derive from Buddhism, Shinto, or Christianity, or they may be independent creeds originating in revelations experienced by their founder. With an estimated one-quarter of the Japanese population as their members, the new religions represent an important part of modern Japanese life. Whereas temple Buddhism and shrine Shinto have declined since 1945, the new religions have experienced phenomenal growth in the postwar decades, making them the most vital sector of the postwar religious world. An authoritative work published in 1990 lists more than six hundred significant new religions in Japan today, and these are only the ones with sizable national or regional followings.[1] More are founded each year, although not all survive.

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1. Inoue et al., eds., *Shinshūkyō jiten*.

New religions have appeared since the end of the Tokugawa period. The first cluster emerged near the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the system of social control was weakening and the legal prohibitions against the formation of novel religious societies under the shogunate were loosening. Continuing roughly until the Meiji Restoration of 1868, this first stage saw the founding of Nyoraikyō (f. 1802), Kurozumikyō (f. 1814), Tenrikyō (f. 1838), Butsuryūkyō (f. 1845), and Konkōkyō (f. 1855). The founder of Kurozumikyō, Kurozumi Munetada (1780–1850), was originally a Shinto priest; the founder of Butsuryūkō, Nagamatsu Nissen (1817–1890), was originally a Buddhist priest of the Nichiren sect. These two groups illustrate the importance of established religions as a source of doctrine and ritual adapted by founders for use in lay organizations. In Kurozumikyō and Butsuryūkyō, such practices as the recitation of Shinto prayers and the reading and study of Buddhist scripture, usually monopolized by clergy up to that time, were extended to the laity under the influence of distinctive founders who broke down the distinction between clergy and laity. But the founders of Tenrikyō and Konkōkyō were lay people before their revelations, and their prior religious affiliations played comparatively minor roles in the formation of their doctrines. Like many founders of new religions, Tenrikyō's founder, Nakayama Miki (1798–1887), was a woman.

Ōmoto was one of the most significant new religions. It was founded in 1892 by Deguchi Nao (1837–1918), whose son-in-law Deguchi Onisaburō (1871–1948) also had a part in its beginnings. Ōmoto doctrine had a prominent millenarian component, and Nao believed that a "renovation of the world" was imminent. Ōmoto was among the first of the new religions to utilize modern media, including a national newspaper. The newspaper was an invaluable aid in spreading Ōmoto beyond its original base in rural Kyoto Prefecture, and its novel doctrines attracted a broad spectrum of people. Its rapid expansion, however, led in 1921 to its suppression and, in 1935, to the most severe instances of state suppression of religion in modern Japanese history.

In the early twentieth century there appeared many new religions, including the Buddhist movements Reiyūkai kyōdan and Sōka gakkai, both founded in 1930 and both deriving from Nichiren Buddhism. In addition to them, religions formed by schism from earlier new religions, such as Honmichi (f. 1913, originating with Tenrikyō), Sekai kyūseikyō (f. 1926, originally an offshoot of Ōmoto), and numerous groups emerged from Reiyūkai, such as Risshō kōseikai (f. 1938). Gedatsukai (f. 1929) and Shinnyo'en (f. 1936) were the first new religions derived from Shingon Buddhism. Many new religions, as well as Christianity, were suppressed by the state before 1945, often on charges of lèse-majesté if their doctrines appeared to conflict with state Shinto.

After 1945, the state restrictions on religious life were lifted, and it was as if the floodgates had been opened. Religions suppressed before 1945, such as Tenrikyō and Sōka gakkai, regrouped their members and grew rapidly to become mass organizations. Many novel groups, large and small, were founded

in the aftermath of war, not all of which have survived until the present. Tenshō kōtai jingūkyō (f. 1944), Perfect Liberty kyōdan (f. 1946), Myōchikai (f. 1950), and many others flourished. The Ark of Jesus (f. 1960) was one of the most distinctive Christian new religions.

The new religions have flourished in the cities, where they offer small-group counseling in various forms with a powerful appeal, especially to women. In urban society, the new religions provide a surrogate family or community compensating for the cities' emotional aridness. When members face a problem of any kind, they can count on the sympathetic assistance of their fellow members. New religions provide accessible structures of rank in which women, the young, retired persons, and others can rise in authority through doctrinal study, proselytization, and volunteer work. New religions have contributed to society by constructing schools and hospitals, by engaging in volunteer activities of all kinds, and, in some cases, by creating nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) actively involved in the work of the United Nations. Political activity is an extension of this work. The most notable example is the 1964 formation by Sōka gakkai of the Clean Government Party (Kōmeitō).

How are the new and old in religion related? We first should note that between established Buddhism and Shinto, there is a "division of labor" in the performance of ritual, so that the shrines generally perform the rites of birth and marriage, and Buddhism maintains graveyards and performs funerals and ancestral memorials. Established Buddhism (temple Buddhism) is organized by complex ecclesiastical institutions and ordains its priests after a period of training and study, according to textually prescribed ritual. The priesthoods of both Buddhism and Shinto are mostly "hereditary" occupations in modern Japan, and both temples and shrines are frequently passed from father to son. Lay persons' affiliations also are passed from one generation to the next, more as a matter of family tradition than personal conviction. A definite distinction between priest and laity is maintained, and lay people are unable to perform the central rites of funerals and merit transfer to ancestors. In shrine Shinto as well, there are clear distinctions between priest and lay person, so that a priest's observance of purifications and abstinence entitles him (nearly all priests of both established Buddhism and shrine Shinto are men) to draw nearer to the gods than lay people can. Both traditions have ideas about the pollution of women and have historically barred women from priestly roles and leadership positions.

Since new religions frequently originate with a founder's revelations, their doctrines vary widely. Founders, both male and female, tend to be highly charismatic individuals who attract their first followers through healing and other "this-worldly benefits." Founders are sometimes seen as living gods, and their writings or sayings are regarded as sacred or as authoritative guides for members. At least in the first generation, followers are recruited through distinctive religious experiences, followed by conversions. The ethics resemble those of the established religions, being generally conservative and stressing sincerity, fru-

gality, harmony, family solidarity, diligence, and filial piety. Whether they are Buddhist, Shinto, or independent, they usually place a premium on worship of the ancestors, although these practices occupy an ambiguous position in Christian groups. Shamanistic or spiritualistic practices to contact the ancestors are common. For the most part, anyone, including women, may acquire leadership qualifications, and leaders and ordinary members are separated by only a thin line. While some new religions provide for "ordination" and a monastic life for some members, this is rare.

Despite the variety of doctrine in the new religions, they tend to have a broadly shared perspective or worldview. The universe is seen as a vital, living thing sustained by divinities who usually are benevolent. Humanity shares the life of the universe and its divine beings through the heart-mind (*kokoro*). A major task of the religious life is maintaining harmony with the universe by nurturing one's own heart-mind, family relations, and ties with other people generally. Beyond that, harmonious relations with one's ancestors and the divinities are preserved through correct ritual and correct conduct. These lay societies frequently regard marriage as the most important occasion for religious training, requiring individual aspiration to be sacrificed for the larger interests of parents, children, and the family as a whole. Buddhist new religions deriving from the Nichiren line typically speak of their believers as bodhisattvas whose work in society improves the conditions of religious practice for all.

In the mid-1970s, around the time of the oil shocks, a cluster of new religions appeared that seem to be oriented differently from earlier religions. Whereas those that had been founded up to that time have a pervasively optimistic outlook on the possibility of salvation, stressing that all people can perfect themselves by their own efforts, the new religions that were established or experienced significant growth after that time tend to have a more pessimistic or fatalistic outlook. Groups such as Sekai mahikari bunmei kyōdan (f. 1962), Glad Light Association (f. 1969), and the offshoots of these two—Kōfuku no kagaku (Science of Happiness, f. 1896) and Agon-shū (f. 1954, but growing significantly after the oil shocks)—tend to stress the influence over human life of essentially unknowable, and not necessarily benevolent, forces. Another tendency of recently founded groups is the attenuation of the intensive small-group interaction characteristic of earlier new religions. In rare cases it has been reported that new religions' founders have such absolute influence over their followers that believers give over their own will in blind obedience. Aum shinrikyō (f. 1986), the religion linked to the 1995 poison gas attack on the Tokyo subway, fits this description. The group's writings record extreme predictions of apocalypse. At this early stage in the histories of these so-called new-new religions, it is impossible to know whether the current tendencies will endure or whether (as seems more likely), they will "mellow" as they gain age and stability and come to resemble their predecessors more closely.

The new religions also have developed distinctive religious thought. Kurozumikyō, one of the religions whose sacred texts are presented here, has nearly two centuries of history, and it regards the writings of its founder, Kurozumi Munetada, as sacred texts, along with Shinto prayers. Many of these are in the form of *waka* poetry. Tenrikyō's scriptures also are largely poetic writings, and some of them are accompanied by music, dance, and ritual. Some of the sacred writings of Tenrikyō and Ōmoto are delivered as the words of the deity, incarnated as the founder, as his commandments to humanity and predictions of millennium. Other groups' writings set out divinity's requirements of humanity both as general principles and in the context of specific cases. Buddhist groups identify special Buddhist scriptures, notably the Lotus Sutra, and they study them according to their distinctive interpretations and sometimes create abridged versions for daily recitation. The texts excerpted here illustrate the variety of sacred texts in the new religions. They were selected in consultation with adherents of each of the religions concerned, in order to present the most representative sample possible of each organization's central doctrines.

Nonetheless, any small sampling of the new religions is somewhat arbitrary, and it is inevitable that highly significant religions would be omitted. Five new religions were selected for this book on the basis of their historical and social significance: Kurozumikyō, Tenrikyō, Ōmoto, Reiyūkai kyōdan, and Sōka gakkai. Collectively, they represent a cross section of the whole. Kurozumikyō is one of the earliest new religions and a sectarian form of Shinto, founded by a Shinto priest. Tenrikyō was founded by a woman on the basis of novel revelations not directly derived from either Buddhism or Shinto. Its headquarters has expanded into the religious city of Tenri. Ōmoto, founded by a male–female pair, emphasized a millenarian doctrine and spiritualistic practices; it gave rise to highly influential offshoots. Reiyūkai kyōdan was founded in the aftermath of the Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923 as a new type of Buddhism entirely for lay people. Its founders, a male–female pair, created an abridged version of the Lotus Sutra for use in ancestor veneration and attracted a large urban following, giving rise to many schisms that perpetuate its main beliefs and practices. Like Reiyūkai, Sōka gakkai was founded in 1930, but it was suppressed and its founders were imprisoned, so that it did not achieve significant growth until after 1945. Now it is the largest of the new religions and has sponsored the creation of a political party.

KUROZUMIKYŌ

Kurozumikyō is one of the earliest new religions founded in the nineteenth century that still had a significant following at the end of the twentieth century. Founded in 1814 by the Shinto priest Kurozumi Munetada (1780–1850), Kuro-

zumikyō is based in Okayama City. Although it is largely a rural group, it also commands a significant urban membership, amounting to about 20 percent of its total number of members, 220,000. It combines aspects of both new and established religions. The history of its founding illuminates the process by which sectarian forms of Shinto came into being as new religions.

Kurozumi Munetada was born the son of a Shinto priest serving the Imamura Shrine of the Okayama domain (*han*); the family held samurai rank. Kurozumi grew up deeply attached to his parents, believing filial piety to be the highest good. He was educated in the Japanese and Chinese classics and also studied Chinese medicine. At the age of nineteen, he vowed to honor his parents by becoming a *kami* in this life. He was so devastated by his parents' deaths in 1812, from an outbreak of dysentery, that he fell into a decline and contracted tuberculosis. Believing that he was about to die, he had his bedding carried to the verandah so that he could worship the rising sun one more time. But worshiping the sun seemed instead to restore him, and his condition began to improve. By November 1814, he had recovered. Kurozumi worshiped the sun again, in thanksgiving, whereupon the sun seemed to come down from the sky, enter his body, and pervade his entire being as if he had swallowed it. This was an experience of union with the Sun Goddess, which he called the "direct receipt of the heavenly mission" (*tenmei jikiju*).

This "direct receipt of the heavenly mission" awakened Kurozumi to humanity's essential oneness with the sun, which symbolized the source of all life in the universe, its creator, and the parent of all living beings. He spoke of this single divinity variously as Amaterasu Ōmikami, Tenshō Daijin, and Tenshō Kōtaijin. Every human being has received a portion of the universe's life soul, which he called the "small soul" (*bunshin*, *wake-mitama*). The small soul is essentially the same as the "heart-mind" (*kokoro*), and humanity should unite its heart-mind with that of Amaterasu. Kurozumi came to believe that nurturing the small soul through worship of the rising sun could sustain and strengthen its unity and harmony with Amaterasu, thereby promoting well-being. By contrast, illness results from a lack of harmony with divinity, and thus illness can be cured by strengthening the *bunshin* and returning to the joyous unity with Amaterasu, which is humanity's original state. Kurozumi attributed his own illness to excessive grief for his parents, which injured his small soul and deprived it of the joy (*yōki*) on which it thrived. Deprived of joy, the small soul was sapped of its vital essence by his gloom and despair. Yang gave way to yin, and the original state of purity was polluted.

Kurozumi recognized the existence of myriad *kami* (*yaoyorozu no kami*) and declared that human beings are *kami* or become *kami* after death. Kurozumi saw all existence pervaded with vitality, which he called *yōki* (literally, "yang essence"). This term can also mean "joy" or "joyous." All existence is pulsating with this divine life and joy, and as long as humanity maintains a union and harmony with it, life will be joyous and free of illness.

Despite this highly optimistic view of human life, Kurozumi recognized that suffering and difficulties inevitably visited everyone. The task of the religious life was to take a positive view nonetheless: "To have difficulties is inevitable in physical life. Our religious training is to refrain from viewing difficulties as difficulties. The Way is nothing other than this. Thus, when we live in this way, we know a great peace. Truly, when the heart is one, our delight is unlimited."

Worship of the rising sun became the central practice of Kurozumikyō. Called *nippai* literally, "sun worship"), this practice consists of inhaling, with a swallowing motion, the rays of the sun as it rises. In this way, *yōki* is drawn into the person, to strengthen and nourish the *bunshin*. *Nippai* is accompanied by the recitation of prayers and the singing of songs praising Amaterasu, which have been drawn from Kurozumi's poetry.

Kurozumi developed a distinctive and original idea of immortality, believing that if humanity always were united with divinity, it would be immortal: "Those who dwell within the precincts of the shrine of Amaterasu [i.e., those who have faith in Amaterasu] shall have eternal life," and "the heart of Amaterasu is our heart; when they are undivided, there is no death."[2] It is only because self and ego cloud the small soul and diminish it that we live finite lives.

Yang and yin were important elements of Kurozumi's conceptualization of illness and pollution: "The Way will be fulfilled. May your small soul be fulfilled. Humanity's *yōki* wanes while its yin waxes. When yin prevails, we became polluted. Pollution is a withered spirit, the waning of the sun's spirit. From this flow many, various problems."[3]

Ego, sin, and evil are forms of pollution, but they all can be dispelled by means of self-cultivation through *nippai* and the recitation of the Great Purification Prayer. In other words, self-cultivation is regarded as a process of self-purification. Sincerity (*makoto*) is a primary characteristic of those devoting themselves to self-cultivation. These exercises lead to a state of awareness entirely devoid of egotism, and Kurozumi sometimes used the Daoist/Buddhist term *mu* to describe it:

> Concentrating the heart, purifying both good and evil, all will be purified. This is ceaseless purification. If you ceaselessly maintain such a heart, you will attain *mu*. After attaining *mu*, if you persist further, you will attain an inexpressible, wondrous experience of thankfulness, gladness, and joy. This is the "heart of heaven," which is the heart of heaven and earth—the life of the universe.

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2. Kurozumikyō, *Kyōtensho*, p. 5.

3. Kurozumikyō, *Kurozumikyō kyōsho*, pp. 194–95.

Sincerity is manifested by gratitude and thankfulness. Cultivating such sincerity is a way to nurture oneness with Amaterasu. Entrusting everything to divinity will inevitably lead to happiness: "The heart of Amaterasu is the essence of sincerity. Think only of thankfulness, entrusting everything to her, be anxious about nothing, slough off doubt, and blessings will immediately appear before your eyes."[4]

Because all humanity is united in possessing the small soul of Amaterasu, the blessings of divinity are bestowed equally on all, and all are equal in her sight. Tokugawa Japan was divided into four classes: samurai, farmers, artisans, and merchants. Thus Kurozumi's emphasis on human equality was a distinct departure from the prevailing class structure. Also, whereas Shinto conceived of Amaterasu as the principal deity of the Inner Shrine at the Ise Grand Shrines and identified her as the apical ancestress of the imperial house, Kurozumi regarded her as the creator of all humanity and did not single out the emperor as having a unique or preeminent connection to divinity. In addition, Kurozumi taught his followers to recite prayers that were customarily restricted to the Shinto priesthood, such as the Great Purification Prayer (Ōharai norito),[5] and these recitations became a part of the daily *nippai* in the home as well as in congregational worship. In a fourth departure from prevailing ways, Kurozumi received all who came to him for healing, and he charged no fees. In doing so, he undermined the livelihood of local Buddhist and *yamabushi* healers, some of whom violently retaliated against him.

Kurozumi's early followers were drawn to his reputation as a healer. When a maidservant in his household was seized by fierce abdominal pain in 1815, Kurozumi cured her by holding his hand on her abdomen and blowing lightly on it while reciting the Great Purification Prayer. This method came to be called *majinai* or *toritsugi*. It was believed to work by infusing the sick person with *yōki* acquired through daily worship of the rising sun.

From 1814 until 1843, Kurozumi continued to serve at the domain shrine, originally assembling followers while acting as a shrine priest. He traveled frequently to house meetings of his followers to preach and heal. A samurai himself, Kurozumi had numerous samurai followers, some of whom became his closest disciples. The shrine's head priest, however, directed him in 1816 to stop distributing shrine talismans to his followers, lest the public conclude that the shrine endorsed Kurozumi's preaching and healing. But Kurozumi's affiliation with the shrine protected him and his followers from suppression until he retired from the shrine priesthood. Samurai stopped joining soon after 1843, because by that time they would have been joining an unauthorized group.

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4. Kurozumikyō, *Kurozumikyō kyōsho*, p. 197.

5. See de Bary et al., eds., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, p. 345.

The final years of the Tokugawa period were a time of significant social unrest, and village headmen sometimes tried to neutralize the discontent by sponsoring lecturers who would instruct the peasantry in morality. Accordingly, even though Kurozumi's religious practice represented a significant departure from contemporary norms, he saw ultimate value in accommodating oneself to—and perfecting oneself through—one's social role, whatever it might be. He did not seek to overturn the social order, nor did he preach a millenarian vision. Local headmen apparently regarded him as a worthy person who could find a religious meaning in self-cultivation without inflaming the peasantry to unrest. Thus Kurozumi was frequently invited to their villages, to lodge with them for a period of some days to preach, hold communal meetings and prayers, and heal. Such connections enabled Kurozumikyō to spread and increase without major interference.

Kurozumi was succeeded by his son and their sons, and during the Meiji period, Kurozumikyō grew rapidly, expanding throughout the country. In 1876 Kurozumikyō became the first religion recognized as a sect of Shinto and the first to be allowed to operate independently of state supervision.

SACRED TEXTS

The Great Purification Prayer and the Amatsu norito, also used in shrine Shinto, are the main sacred texts in Kurozumikyō. In addition, a code of behavior composed by Kurozumi, called the Seven Household Principles, is ceremonially read at important congregational meetings. The founder's letters and poetry also are regarded as containing core doctrinal ideas and values. These materials are collected in *The Teachings of Kurozumikyō* (*Kurozumikyō kyōsho*). The life of the founder provides a template for followers to emulate, and many of the stories are illustrations of his character and personality. *The Teachings of Kurozumikyō* is published in two volumes: *The Life of the Founder* (*Kurozumikyō kyōsoden*) and *Tales of the Founder* (*Kyōsosama no jitsuwa*).

The Seven Household Principles

One: Born in the Land of the Gods, you shall not fail to cultivate faith.
Two: You shall not become angry or do harm.
Three: You shall not give way to conceit or look down on others.
Four: You shall not fix on another's evil while increasing the evil in your own heart.
Five: You shall not malinger in the work of your house except in illness.
Six: While pledged to the Way of sincerity, you shall not lack sincerity in your own heart.
Seven: You must never stray from the spirit of gratitude.

These rules must never be forgotten. The hearts of all whom you encounter shall be as mirrors to you, reflecting the face you have presented to them.[6]

Selections from the Poetry and Prose of Kurozumi Munetada

ON AMATERASU

- The blessings of Amaterasu pervade and bless all heaven and earth, without exception.
- Because Amaterasu is the Great God who sustains all creation, she gives life to all heaven and earth, and she accomplishes all things.
- The great, divine blessing of Amaterasu is to vitalize completely.

ON THE SMALL SOUL

- Because our hearts are originally the "small hearts" received from Amaterasu, if we serve the *kami* of our hearts devotedly, we will surely achieve a heart of sincerity.
- However much our outward forms may differ, we are one in heart.
- Never doubt that good fortune will follow when your heart is clear, for that precisely is when your heart is one with Amaterasu.
- A human heart is precious, bestowed by Amaterasu as a portion of her spirit. Purifying sins, purifying pollution, [and] purifying egotism, we reach a pure, selfless state in which we become *kami*.

PURIFICATION AND *YŌKI*

- Shinto is summed up in the word "purification." Purification is the central teaching of Shinto.
- Blow away all things that are. The void of the great sky is your abode.
- The essence of purification is to drop all attachments.
- Put off ego!
- Pollution is "withering the spirit." Sin is piling up.
- Delighted and thankful, morning, noon, and night, waking and sleeping—always be delighted, live in delight!
- If you always expect a blessing from whatever may come your way, then waking or sleeping, you will always be thankful.
- Be thankful for difficulties.

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6. Kurozumi, *Kurozumikyō kyōsoden*, p. 101.

- When the heart is opened, we have no suffering. No matter what, only thankfulness. We all can either open or close our hearts.
- If the heart lives, so will the body. Cheerful and delighted, with no dejection—then the heart will live, and the person will live.

ON SINCERITY

- All things come from heaven. Receiving that teaching, living by it in delight each day—that precisely is the heart of faith.
- The heart of faith is a believing heart, a trusting heart, a sincere heart.
- Human sincerity calls forth the sincerity of Heaven-and-earth to sustain life.
- Sincerity is round.[7] This is the principle of the heart of Amaterasu.
- In all the world there is nothing so precious as sincerity. Through sincerity alone, all the world are brothers and sisters.
- Not swords, arrows, fire, or flood can prevail against sincerity.
- Just to offer up saké[8] with thankfulness, joy, and delight is sincerity.
- *Kami* in body and mind—to become *kami* is Shinto's ultimate goal.

ON IMMORTALITY

- The heart of Amaterasu is the heart of humanity; when they are united, life is eternal.
- Facing the morning sun each day [is] the delight of our unlimited life.
- Lead on to the way of unlimited life everlasting.
- The heart and the body need not grow old or suffer death. Everlasting , never-fading life. As long as heaven and earth shall be, all life is eternal.

[Murakami and Yasumaru, eds., *Minshū shūkyō no shisō*, in *NST*, vol. 67, pp. 44–178; HH]

TENRIKYŌ

Founded in 1838 by Nakayama Miki (1798–1887), Tenrikyō was based on religious revelations that she received from the God of Origin, God in Truth (Tenri

7. The idea of roundness implies a circulation of benefit, blessings, and virtue, so that the believer's sincerity is answered by deity's favors in a reciprocal relationship.

8. Saké is offered to the *kami* in Kurozumikyō, as in shrine Shinto.

Ō no Mikoto). Born in Yamato Province (present-day Nara Prefecture), Miki grew up as a devout Jōdo-sect Buddhist in a prosperous landholding family, with a love of visiting temples and chanting *jōdo wasan* hymns. She received a level of doctrinal training exceptional for women and hoped to become a nun. When Miki was thirteen, however, her parents arranged her marriage into a village headman's family named Nakayama. Miki was entrusted with many duties, which included caring for her husband's parents, managing the agricultural workers on the family's land, as well as working in the rice and cotton fields herself. Above all, she was expected to produce heirs to the family name and its position in the village as headman. She bore six children in all, always continuing her Buddhist devotions.

Miki lost two of her daughters to illness, and she feared the worst when in 1837 her only son, Shūji, came limping home from the fields complaining of excruciating pain in his foot. Miki was forty years old and in the latter stages of pregnancy when this happened. Desperately she sought out a doctor, but when he brought no relief, she went to a *yamabushi* (mountain monk) known as a skilled exorcist. Several times over a period of years, she brought the exorcist to her home to conduct healing rites. The *yamabushi*'s healing method was to summon the spirit responsible for the son's foot ailment into his female assistant, who would go into a trance. Then the *yamabushi* would interrogate the spirit incarnated in his assistant, exhorting it to leave Shūji so that his foot would heal. On the last of these exorcisms, however, the female assistant was not available, and Miki was suddenly called on to serve in her place. Quite unexpectedly, when Miki went into a trance under the *yamabushi*'s direction, the oracle she delivered bore no relation to the problem at hand: "I wish to take Miki as a shrine within which to dwell!" This demand was directed to Miki's husband. The *yamabushi* was unable to rid Miki of this spirit, and she remained in a state of trance for three days, sometimes sitting quietly, and at other times delivering oracles in an awesome voice, with her hands and body shaking violently. The possession was so violent that at times she seemed to be dragged about the floor, leaving her skin raw and bleeding, by the god who announced himself as the Heavenly Shogun, and then as Tenri Ō no Mikoto, the God of Origin, God in Truth.

Miki remained in this state until her husband relented. This was no small concession, as the prospect of Miki's becoming the "shrine" for this unknown deity implied that she would be released from her primary roles in the headman's family as wife, mother, and manager. When her husband yielded, Miki's trance came to an end, and Tenrikyō dates its founding from this time in 1838. She continued to receive oracles from the deity, who ordered her to "sink to the lowest depths of poverty." Eventually, Miki not only tore down the dwelling but also gave away the Nakayama family's wealth to the poor. Villagers regarded her as insane. Her husband died in 1853.

The scriptures of Tenrikyō refer to deity as God of Origin, God in Truth

(Tenri Ō no Mikoto), as God the parent (Tsukihi, literally Moon-Sun), and as Parent (Oya). These different names refer to distinct aspects of deity. "God of Origin" refers to deity's creation of the universe and all humanity, and "God in Truth" refers to deity's constant sustenance of the universe and humanity. The name Tsukihi refers to deity's free and unlimited workings, day and night. In these ways, Tenrikyō developed a complex theology of a benevolent, universal creator who sustains humanity. This theology was neither Shinto nor Buddhist but the independent thought of Nakayama Miki.

Little is known about Miki's life during the sixteen years between the time of her first revelations in 1838 and 1854, the year she became known as a living god of safe childbirth. Miki gained fame as a midwife who rejected the local food taboos for pregnant women, instead telling them to have faith in god. As she later wrote, "The conception of a baby is by Tsukihi; giving birth to it, also, is by the work of Tsukihi."[9] Women flocked to receive her grant of safe childbirth, which consisted of blowing lightly on the abdomen and stroking it. She said that pregnant women did not need to wear a special sash (*obi*) or observe food taboos, and she rejected contemporary ideas that childbirth was ritually polluting.

When Miki extended her works to faith healing, she encountered opposition from Buddhist priests and *yamabushi*, but she also gained many stalwart followers. She received followers without regard to wealth, social status, or their other religious affiliations: "The souls of all people are equal, whether they live on the high mountains or at the bottom of the valleys."[10] Originally she had only a simple altar in her residence before which she received believers, but when she was joined by the carpenter Iburi Izō in 1864, he took the lead in constructing Tenrikyō's first sanctuary. Miki wanted a place where she could proclaim her doctrine and receive followers for counseling and where followers could gather and worship together. At that time, temples and shrines were mainly places for the clergy's performance of ritual, and Tenrikyō's emerging custom of assembling large numbers of people was viewed with suspicion. Shinto priests, Buddhist priests, and *yamabushi* invaded the sanctuary on numerous occasions, sometimes causing serious damage and bodily harm. Miki was detained, interrogated, and imprisoned by the police nearly twenty times.

The creation of a sanctuary in 1865 established Miki's birthplace as the *jiba*, the place where humanity was created, and to mark this sacred center, a pillar called the "stand for heavenly dew" (*kanrodai*) was erected there in 1875. The *jiba* is also the religion's headquarters. The stand consists of thirteen hexagonal blocks, its size and shape having been specified in all details by Miki, to symbolize human creation and spiritual maturity. Returning to the *jiba* on pilgrim-

9. Miki, *Ofudesaki*, vol. 6, p. 131.

10. Miki, *Ofudesaki*, vol. 13, p. 45.

age is a central practice in Tenrikyō, understood as a return to the original place of creation.

Miki saw creation as expressed in mythic form and directly linked to her understanding of salvation. "In the beginning, the world was a muddy ocean," begins the story. God drew forth myriad "seed" of human beings, whom he thereafter nurtured through many rebirths over an immense period of time. The formation of the earth, the heavens, and the whole universe progressed in parallel with human development. Humanity's salvation comes through enacting the truths taught in the story of creation, which explains why God the parent took Miki as his shrine; why the *jiba* is the spiritual home of all humanity; why all humanity are the children of God and hence are siblings of one another; why humanity receives life only through God's providence; why humanity is to lead the "joyous life" (*yōkigurashi*) and manifest it to God; and, finally, why humanity should not conquer nature but coexist peacefully with it.

From 1866 to 1882, Miki developed a worship service consisting of two sacred dances, both accompanied by musical instruments and singing. The songs sung during both dances are compiled in the sacred text *Songs for the Service* (*Mikagura-uta*). The first sacred dance is called Kagura[11] and is a reenactment of Tenrikyō's myth of creation. It is performed only at the *jiba*, around the sacred pillar *kanrodai*, by five men and five women taking the parts of ten deities. The dancers wear carved wooden masks that symbolize ten aspects of divinity. The second sacred dance is called Teodori, or "Dance with Hand Movements," and it represents the "joyous life." Teodori is performed at both the *jiba* and local churches' monthly services, by three men and three women standing in a line. The hand movements express the meaning of the *Mikagura-uta* songs that accompany the dance.

Because the interference and persecution from other religionists continued, Miki's son, Shūji—who had, indeed, recovered from his ailment—sought and obtained affiliation with the Yoshida house of Shinto in 1867. Miki opposed this alliance with Shinto, saying, "True, the Yoshida clan is apparently great. But in fact it is no more than one of the branches of a tree. The time will come when it will wither."[12] Similarly, she was unimpressed by rumors that talismans of the Ise Shrines were falling from the sky, saying, "To compare it to the human body, it is like vomit and diarrhea. When vomit and diarrhea are excessive, the flesh itself will be drained. God is concerned."[13]

Tenrikyō grew through the Meiji period, continuing its expansion and suffering suppression under the influence of state Shinto until 1945. Tenrikyō's

11. The Kagura service is also known as the "Service of the Kanrodai," "Joyous Service," "Main Service," and "Salvation Dance," since its ultimate purpose is to bring about universal salvation.

12. Tenrikyō Church Headquarters, *The Life of Oyasama*, p. 76.

13. Tenrikyō Church Headquarters, *The Life of Oyasama*, p. 76.

formal affiliation with Shinto ended, and its headquarters grew into a major religious city. At the end of the twentieth century, Tenrikyō remained an important presence in the Japanese religious world, with roughly 2 million members throughout Japan and in thirty foreign countries.

Tenrikyō has three sacred scriptures. The most important is called *The Tip of the Writing Brush* (*Ofudesaki*) and contains the religion's central doctrines. It was composed by Nakayama Miki between 1869 and 1882 and is written in 1,711 *waka* verses. The remaining two scriptures are considered interpretive aids to the *Ofudesaki*. *Songs for the Service* (*Mikagura-uta*), also composed by Miki, was compiled between 1866 and 1882. It consists of five parts and twelve counting songs to be sung while performing Kagura and Teodori dances. The third text, *The Divine Directions* (*Osashizu*), is a collection in spoken vernacular form of transcriptions of God's directions and instructions from 1887 to 1907, given by Miki, and, after her death, continued by Iburi Izō (who held the title *honseki* [mediator of revelations]). Some of these directions were given in response to followers' requests for counsel, and others were delivered as "timely directions" not directly responding to an inquiry.

THE TIP OF THE WRITING BRUSH (*OFUDESAKI*)

Part 8 of *The Tip of the Writing Brush* is the most complete portrayal of the founder and her mediation of the god Tsukihi. It explains that the founder is Tsukihi on earth and defines the meaning of the *jiba* and the *kanrodai*. It was composed by Nakayama Miki in May 1875, when the *jiba* had been determined and in the midst of her persecution. It consists of eighty-eight verses.

> The mountainous regret of Tsukihi piled up day by day:
> To clear it away is My desire.
>
> This talk, given step by step, is about the intention of Tsukihi:
> to bring forth universal salvation.
>
> If the mind is sincere,
> the performance of any kind of Service will all bring salvation.
>
> To Tsukihi, all of you throughout the world are My children.
> My only desire is to save you.
>
> Despite this, to My regret,
> they attempted to stop Me and, after that, even to forbid.

Because of this, the Salvation Service cannot be performed.
Oh, the regret in the mind of Tsukihi!

As for the Service, it is Tsukihi who teaches you the
hand movements step by step. It is not a human mind (*kokoro*).

Whatever I may do,
never think that it is from the human mind.

At this place, every talk is by Tsukihi
and every preparation is by Tsukihi.

Whatever disorder may come to you,
never think that it is from the human mind.

Since it is Tsukihi who began this world,
there is nothing unknown to Me.

The innermost heart of everyone in the world
is all reflected to Tsukihi.

Unaware of this, in the human mind,
everyone has only self-centered thoughts.

Hereafter, I shall teach you everything
about the true path step by step.

The beginning of this world was by Tsukihi.
I began to teach everything fully in detail.

Until then, there was no one who knew.
There were only the thoughts of Tsukihi.

Even until today, I have been telling you that everything
is by Tsukihi, but still you do not understand. . . .

I shall teach you only of things that have not existed before
and bring true salvation.

What do you think this salvation is about?
I am preparing the amulet to protect you from smallpox.

Another salvation: My free and unlimited workings
for the time of childbirth, either to delay or to quicken.

About these free and unlimited workings of which I speak:
do not think of them as being trivial. . . .

If only your mind is truly accepted by Tsukihi,
you will be assured of any salvation whatever.

Tsukihi assures you any and every salvation
because your true Parent lives.

Because the Jiba or Origin and the causality of origin exist,
Tsukihi works freely and unlimitedly.

You may wonder why I repeat this teaching so persistently.
It is the basis of My assurance of single-hearted salvation.

Wherever you may seek to find the origin,
there will be no one who knows.

So should it be, for this is the first time
that Tsukihi has entered a body and speaks.

To Tsukihi, who can see everything in this world,
nothing is unknown.

Watching each and every one of you,
Tsukihi will discern the good and evil.

If you wonder why Tsukihi is so persistent,
it is because I pity you when evil appears.

If you let your debts pile up,
a path of oxen and horses will finally appear.

But Tsukihi will save all of you, whoever you may be,
if only your sincerity is accepted. . . .

Even until now, all things have already appeared,
but you have not known their true origin.

Thunder, earthquakes, great winds, and floods:
these are from the regret and anger of Tsukihi.

Because no one has ever understood this matter,
this time Tsukihi will tell you about them beforehand.

To Tsukihi, each of you, one and all, is a child of Mine.
I am filled with love for you.

But the innermost heart of every one of you
is covered with piles of dust.

Unless this dust is cleanly swept away,
the deep concern of Tsukihi will come to naught. . . .

Hereafter, when I begin My work of single-hearted salvation,
every one of you will only be spirited.

Whatever Tsukihi has once said
will never become false through all time. . . .

You have heard of the Gift of Heaven to be given
to the Parent of this world's human beginnings.

You may not know what this talk is about. . . .
Tsukihi wishes to bestow the Food of Heaven.

Further about this talk:
place a flat vessel on the Kanrodai.

Hereafter, bodily disorders will appear here and there.
Know that it is the care being given by Tsukihi.

When you come, compare your disorder with this place.
If the condition is the same, quickly begin the sweeping.

Walk over where you have swept,
and you will come to a standstill. There, the Kanrodai . . .

When it is done, assemble the performers
and quickly begin the Service. Your minds will be spirited.

Indeed, wherever else you may seek it, it will never be found.
It is the central pillar of Nihon.

If only this comes surely into being,
there will be no one whomever to fear.

In any case, unless you are able to see the proof of the truth,
I cannot set out on My next preparations.

On however high a place you may be,
I shall talk to you freely.

[Nakayama, *Ofudesaki*, part 8, pp. 18–24]

SONGS FOR THE SERVICE (*MIKAGURA-UTA*)

SONGS FOR THE KAGURA

Sweeping away evils, please save us,
Tenri Ō no Mikoto.[14]

Just a word: Listen to what God says.
I will never tell you anything wrong.
Representing heaven and earth
I have created husband and wife.
This is the beginning of the world.

Sweeping away evils, hasten to save us
All mankind equally purified.
The Kanrodai. [p. 3]

TEODORI, SONG 5

First, As this world is so wide,
There may be various places to save people.
Second, Miraculous salvation at this place
I grant you safe childbirth and freedom from smallpox.
Third, God, the same as water
Washes away the dirt from your minds.

14. This verse is repeated twenty-one times during the service.

Fourth, Though there is no one who is free from greed,
Before God there is no greed.
Fifth, However long you may continue to believe,
Your life shall ever be filled with joy.
Sixth, Forgetting away a cruel heart,
Come to me with a gentle heart!
Seventh, Assuredly I shall never leave you in suffering.
Because this is the place of single-hearted salvation.
Eighth, Not only in Yamato,
I will go also to other countries to save you all.
Ninth, This is the *jiba*, the origin of this world.
Indeed, a remarkable place has been revealed.
Since firmly we are determined to believe,
Let us form a brotherhood.[15] [pp. 13–15]

[Nakayama, *Mikagura-uta*, pp. 3, 13–15; HH]

THE DIVINE DIRECTIONS (*OSASHIZU*)

The Home Ministry notified local authorities to suppress Tenrikyō, and believers requested instructions. Iburi Izō, speaking as the *honseki* (mediator of revelations), gave these directions in the name of the founder. During the 1880s, Tenrikyō leaders repeatedly sought the government's permission to establish the religion independently of Buddhism and Shinto, but without success. The organization's continued expansion after the Sino-Japanese War (1894/1895) without such approval made it vulnerable to suppression, especially in the wake of a press campaign against it in 1895.

April 21, 1896

Sah, sah, they will come to tell you, come to tell you all kinds of things. I have already told you about this in full. They will not achieve whatever plans they may have. The matter about which you ask contains many problems, many problems. On this occasion, I shall have them investigate you thoroughly. You may think it strange that I allow this investigation. You applied and reapplied for a church permit from the district authority; rejected, rejected. All was in vain. Of the many problems you have had time after time, you think that this one is insurmountable. I intend to unify sincere minds once and for all, once and for all. You must ask me about this. This problem may frighten you at first

15. *Kō*, a religious confraternity of lay people.

glance, but there is good in frightening events. The waters will rise; mountains will crumble; it will rain heavily and rain heavily; there will be no escape. But pure will be the aftermath. You are wondering what will happen. If you just set your minds, I shall do my work. Those who oppose me also are children dear to my heart. Yet dearer are those who pray to me. But even with those who pray to me, if they do not follow my will, they are the same as those who oppose me. I have already directed you by my words, my words. Even some leading members say that these divine directions are not divine. That the world should oppose me is natural. Opposition from within the path. Opposition from within the path washes away the fertilizer I have spread. You will clearly see, you will clearly see the wrongs that have been done. Never, never be regretful. Unite instead. Unite your minds in accord with my will. From now on I shall gather, I shall gather all of you by all means. Mountains will crumble; the waters will rise; great wind and rain. There will be no escape. I shall wash away the muddy water thoroughly. While the water remains muddy, your thoughts will be of no avail. Unite your minds in accord with my will, unite. If they tell you, "Don't," then answer, "Very well." If they tell you, "No," then answer, "Very well." I shall be watching, I shall be watching.

[Tenrikyō Overseas Mission Department, *Selections from the Osashizu*, pp. 56–57]

ŌMOTO

Ōmoto was founded in 1892 by Deguchi Nao (1837–1918), after she received revelations from the god Ushitora Konjin. She attracted a small group of followers in the rural town of Ayabe, north of Kyoto, but it was not until she was joined by the man who became her son-in-law, Deguchi Onisaburō (1871–1948), that their proselytization was extended to the cities. Thereafter, the religion attracted an educated, urban stratum in addition to rural people and quickly grew to become one of the fastest-expanding religions of the early twentieth century. Nao and Onisaburō are regarded as its cofounders.

Nao lived at a time of rapid social change, when rural Japan was becoming industrialized through the establishment of textile mills in the countryside. Nao's husband was a carpenter who was unable to provide for his large family, forcing Nao to take on menial work of all kinds. He died when she was fifty. Of their eight children, two daughters went mad. Nao then began to experience revelations and was imprisoned by the police, who feared that she also might be insane. Although she had no formal education, she began to write down her revelations in her cell, and these formed the basis of her work *Divine Revelations* (*Ōmoto shin'yu*).

Nao had been drawn to religion since childhood, and she had had contact with both Tenrikyō and Konkōkyō. She identified the god of her revelations as

Ushitora Konjin, also revered in Konkōkyō, as a universal parent god mistakenly believed to be a mere directional deity guarding the northeast in a popular religion of the region. But unlike any other popular understandings of this deity, Nao's Ushitora Konjin revealed that he intended to "reform and renovate" (*tatekae-tatenaoshi*) the entire world in a millenarian upheaval that would overthrow the current materialist society and establish an agrarian utopia based on a reverence for God. In *The Tip of the Writing Brush* (*Ofudesaki*), later included in the work translated here, *Divine Revelations*, Nao explains that a divine kingdom would be established on earth and urges people to prepare themselves.

In 1899 Nao was joined by Ueda Kisaburō, who took the name Deguchi Onisaburō when he married Nao's fifth daughter, Sumi (1883–1952). Onisaburō had wide experience in the religious world of his day. He had undergone mountain austerities, belonged to a confraternity dedicated to Inari, and served as a Shinto priest. He helped systematize Nao's ongoing revelations and convey her message of world renovation to a wider segment of the population, especially during and after World War I. Following the loss of life in the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars, the interest in spiritualism grew, which dovetailed with Onisaburō's expansion of Nao's teachings to a wider understanding of the spiritual world. After Nao's death in 1918, he spoke of her revelations as a second opening of the heavenly rock cave, thus connecting her thought to the ancient mythic collection, the *Record of Ancient Matters* (*Kojiki*). Onisaburō identified Ushitora Konjin as the Shinto deity Kunitokotachi and prophesied that this deity would displace the evil deities ruling the material and spiritual worlds and restore them to divine rule. The Ōmoto religion bought a national newspaper to promulgate these prophecies, which provoked the state to suppress it in 1921 on charges of lèse-majesté and violation of the Newspaper Law. Onisaburō and other group leaders were imprisoned.

After this first suppression, Onisaburō began to record his experiences in the spiritual world in *Stories from the Spiritual World* (*Reikai monogatari*), a massive work of more than eighty volumes. This doctrinal compendium laid out Ōmoto's conceptual foundation, which was expressed in artful language and parables.

Ōmoto was suppressed again in 1935, but this time more than three thousand members were arrested; sixty-one leaders were prosecuted; its facilities were confiscated and destroyed; and Onisaburō was imprisoned until the end of World War II. In the background of charges of lèse-majesté and violation of the Peace Preservation Law was the state's fear of Ōmoto's rapid expansion and its millenarian prophecies. Its buildings were reduced to rubble; all signs bearing the religion's name were obliterated; and Ōmoto was forced to pay for the demolition. This second suppression of Ōmoto was the most extreme case of state persecution of religion in modern Japanese history.

After 1945, Ōmoto pursued the theme of world peace, from 1945 to 1952 under the name Garden of Brotherly Love (Aizen-en) and after 1952, under its

original name, Ōmoto. During its history, Ōmoto underwent many schisms, giving rise to new religious movements that preserved aspects of Ōmoto's thought, in turn attesting to Ōmoto's enduring influence in modern Japanese religious life.

Ōmoto has two main sacred texts: Deguchi Nao's *Divine Revelations* and Deguchi Onisaburō's *Stories from the Spiritual World*. Onisaburo's *Divine Signposts (Michi no shiori)* and *The Path of Ōmoto* (*Ōmoto no michi*) are also considered to be sacred texts.

DEGUCHI NAO

DIVINE REVELATIONS (*ŌMOTO SHIN'YU*)

[Section from 1892]

When the reign of Ushitora Konjin begins, the plum blossoms of all the three thousand worlds will bloom in unison. The world as it is now is a bestial place full of demons, a world where the strong prey on the weak. Japan, too, has become bestial. If the world continues on its present course, it will soon come to an end. For this reason I have come forth to bring about the demolition and reconstruction of the Greater World. Make ready! I will establish an everlasting divine kingdom, pacifying the entire world in perfect peace through a great cleansing and purging. Know ye that the word of Kami will be fulfilled unerringly, without even a hair's width of difference. If not, Kami does not exist in this world.

Like the hosta plant, from which leaves appear on the root [as well as from the stems above], if flowers fail to bloom both above and below, this world will know no peace. I will bring about a Heavenly Kingdom on Earth that will endure through all the ages to come. In various lands and places in the world, many messengers of Kami will come forth to announce the demolition and reconstruction of the world. All this is arranged by me, Kami Ushitora, otherwise known as Kami Kunitokotachi, to inform the world about Kami's plan. As the mountain streams eventually flow together to form huge rivers, in the end all of them will become one. That is Kami's plan. I will bring the world together and rule it under one king. Although it is a monumental undertaking, this plan has been set in motion by Kami from ancient times and hence is infallible.

When I, Kami, come forth into the world, I will hold a contest of strength against human science. The time of science is over. No one can defeat Kami. I will sort out souls so that only crystalline souls are left, and [all others will face] absolute death.

People of the world, change your hearts! The world will change, and you will be astounded. You may be able to change [your] outward appearance today, but the soul cannot change so easily. Cultivate your soul and reform yourself!

Do not imagine that leaves will survive when the trunk is cut down. Leaves will survive only if the branches and the trunk remain. The leaves of a felled trunk will wither away.

[1893]

I, Kami Ushitora, use Deguchi Nao's hand to inform [humanity] about the happenings in the world. I, Kami Ushitora, will come forth to watch over this world and will no longer allow the egotistical manner that has dominated the world until now. The thinking of many people will be in error. Because, through ignorance, the *kami*—guardian spirits and people who ruled the world for millennia—wreaked havoc, this world has degenerated into a bestial wilderness. With no means of repairing the damage, this world cannot long endure.

The world will never be at peace as long as so much value is placed on gold and silver. In the epoch when I, Kami Ushitora, am completely guarding the world, all people will be able to live on natural products produced in their own land. As I fulfill this plan, I will show it to Heaven-and-earth. I will make people change even their clothes, food, houses, and storehouses. I will not allow them to live in luxury.

I will bring happiness equally to all people in the world. If not, it would not merit the name of the kingdom of Heaven. In ancient times I fell into adversity, went through infinite suffering and tribulations, and explored every corner of the world. In that way I arranged my plan so that it will be fulfilled without even the tiniest error. Thus, everyone must return to his or her original pure soul and take part in the sacred work of building the heavenly kingdom on earth. Thus is the great undertaking to demolish and reconstruct the spiritual and material worlds, once and for always.

There is only one sun for this world. With seven or eight kings, the world will always be in turmoil. Therefore, I have set in motion my plan to rule the world with one divine king. Mark my words, people of the world, and change your hearts! I will restore the world to its original heavenly state. . . .

. . . When I am completely manifested on Earth, I will make the world totally pure and give favor first to those who change their heart.

When the crystalline Kingdom of Heaven on Earth has come into being, everything will happen according to one's wishes. I will search out crystal clear souls and use them for the sacred work. Starting now, I will make the whole earth a heavenly kingdom, and I will make *kami* and people live happily and heartily. I will purify Shintoism and other religions and peoples in the world and will restore the world to the sacred epoch. When the sacred epoch has come, I, Kami Ushitora, will do everything.

Extraordinary things will come to pass!

[Deguchi Nao, *Ōmoto shin'yu*, in *Ōmoto shiryō shūsei*, ed. Ikeda, vol. 1, pp. 13–17; HH]

DEGUCHI ONISABURŌ

STORIES FROM THE SPIRITUAL WORLD (*REIKAI MONOGATARI*)

Chapter 12: Unity of the Spiritual and Material Worlds

In all the universe there is no absolute good or evil. The material and spiritual worlds, good and evil, are one. Accordingly, if there is no absolute happiness, neither is there absolute misery. In pleasure there is suffering, and in suffering can be found pleasure. After death, if a person falls into the infernal realm in the spiritual world and receives unlimited suffering, that is only the recompense that he himself has produced with his own body and spirit while he lived in the material world. The souls living in the material world are always communicating with those parts of the spiritual world that are appropriate to them, and spirits in the spiritual world are constantly communicating with human souls in the material world that are in accord with them. This will never change. . . .

If ordinary humans didn't exist, there could be no *kami*. In other words, good and bad are not separate elements, and justice and injustice are identical. This [understanding] is supported by a sutra: earthly passion and enlightenment, delusion and nirvana, this world and paradise, Buddha and an ordinary human, all these are essentially the same. Fundamentally, there is little difference among the great compassion of Buddha, the blessing of the Divine Way, and the desires of an ordinary person. It can be said that human nature is in fact God. Every quality of God, without exception, can be found in the ordinary human.

In essence, there is no difference between paradise and this world. So why are such essentially identical natures separated into two different qualities: sacred and vulgar, pure and filthy, right and wrong, good and evil? Those qualities are nothing more than a provisional code given to the levels of activity, that is, whether or not one acted properly and fully in accordance with one's innate character. Good and bad are not unchangeable: depending on the time, place, and situation, good may become bad, and bad may become good. . . . No matter how good something is, it cannot be qualified as good if one acts to make it his private possession. Even if it contains some bad, a deed must be qualified as good if it is done for the public good. When King Wen [of the Chinese Zhou dynasty] became angry, peace and order began to be restored in the world. It must be said that even anger is good. . . .

. . . This society, this world (the real world) is an environment of small pleasure and small suffering; the spiritual world is a place of great pleasure and great suffering. In the sutra Rishu-kyō can be found the following teaching: "Great avarice and cynicism are ecstasy and pure enlightenment; sexual desire is the way to nirvana." This in fact means that an honest candid form is the road to enlightenment.

It is a common mortal who believes that asceticism is of no use and that romantic love is sacred and tries to put it into practice naturalistically and instinctively, that is, at his own level. It is a *kami* who expands love and implements it on a universal scale. God makes all people in the Greater World his beloved children and has a great desire to save all living beings. An ordinary person loves only his own family and relatives and those who serve him, and [he] remains indifferent to others. Furthermore, he indulges in such petty selfishness that he knows no joy other than self-contentment. The human soul is itself essentially God. Therefore it has the innate ability to act on a universal scale. And it is a life duty of every human to develop the true nature of his naturally given spirit, which is wisdom, love, courage, and harmony. If we look at this from a standard of good and bad, we could tentatively call it self-fulfillment. Our two-sided conduct, good and bad, directly spreads to display great activity for society and for the salvation of the human race through the administration of justice, rewarding and punishing. This great power and activity is in fact God, the expansion of oneself on a universal scale.

After all, our great purpose, and our way of realizing a Heavenly Kingdom on Earth, is not by separating ourselves from this suffering, defiled, unclean, evil, and unfair society but instead to beautify and make it pleasant. This is our concept of evolving into *kami* and the main point of our teaching.

[Deguchi Onisaburō, *Reikai monogatari*, vol. 1, chap. 12; HH]

DIVINE SIGNPOSTS (*MICHI NO SHIORI*)

February 8, tenth year of Taishō (1921)

There is only one god (or *kami*) that created the universe. We adore him using the name Ame-no-minaka-nushi. Ame-no-minaka-nushi is called, for short, "God," or, the True God. There is only one True God, so sacred that he has no beginning and no end. God split his spirit, force, and body and created all beings such that he created first the body and then gave to it force and spirit. In order to rule the heavens and the earth, including all beings, God created many *kami* and gave to each its own task; this is how God guards and evolves the vast world. God has various functions, which together make up the activity of the one and only God. Those many functions are called *amatsu-kami yaoyorozu* (eight million heavenly *kami*) and *kunitsu-kami yaoyorozu* (eight million local *kami*).

Some teachings obstinately insist that there are no spiritual entities (*kami*) other than God himself. But that is the opinion of those who look at only one side of God. The sun, the moon, all beings in the world, everything lies in the bosom of God. God (Ame-no-minaka-nushi) is omnipotent. His activity is un-

limited, with immense variety and never-ending changes. So there cannot exist any place in the universe where God is not present.

Among the Shintoists are some unapologetic bigots who say that Japan is a divine land where the *kami* dwell, while foreign countries are bestial places without *kami*. There are *kami* wherever the light of the sun shines. While the Japanese differ from foreigners in the color of their hair and the color of their skin, we all are the divided spirits of the ruler of heaven. We all are children of *kami* and are ruled by Heaven. But the Shintoists who say that despite this the Japanese are the direct descendants of *kami* and that foreigners have souls no better than beasts are barbarians in darkness about the truth. Inasmuch as the ruler of heaven, as an expression of his love, created the races of the world—yellow, white, black, and brown—we are not fundamentally different. . . .

The earthly world will be ruled in peace, not by strong armies, but because the people will believe in God and will follow the real path. Because there are armies in the world, people become greedy and make war. War in the world spites the heart of God, who is displeased when someone is fortunate while others are unfortunate. There is a calm after a storm: the war is an inevitable stage until the world finally becomes peaceful. But nothing in the world is more cruel than war.

A nation's strength or weakness depends on whether its citizens' conduct is good or bad. If the people's conduct is just, their mores are beautiful; if the mores are beautiful, the nation will be in accord. The strongest nation in this world is the one whose people are united. . . .

. . . Good governance is possible only through the heart of a people who believe in God and whose conduct is beautiful. Not believing in the divine path, the nation will come to ruin. The house that does not believe in God will fall apart of its own accord.

To know that God is respectable and to do good from a true heart, if such are each person, family, nation, and the world, a gentle breeze will blow, a favorable rain will fall, everywhere in the universe will have pleasurable clouds and refreshing air, and only fortunate things will happen. When all this comes about, battalions, warships, cannons, and soldiers will become completely useless; the world will be at peace. To govern the earth well, there must be only one governor, just as in the sky there are not two suns. Indeed, a world with many kings will suffer never-ending conflicts.

In God's country is a road that is forever unchanging. This road, in a word, is the truth. . . . When you accept the truth, your enemies, too, accept it. Even if you are irreconcilable enemies, go forth hand in hand, in harmony. . . .

Military buildup and war cause unlimited suffering to the poor. People should not be burdened with heavy taxes and conscription for military buildup and war. . . . Tens of millions of youths in the world are forced to serve as soldiers and be trained only in the art of killing. People are suffering much

hardship from being trained in the art of killing, which is heinous. For any nation, there is nothing more useless than military buildup.

There are five kinds of love. One of them is the love between parents and their children. The love of parents for their children, and of children for their parents, is not unique to humans; even birds and beasts have it. It is the natural love of all animals. There is no one in the world who does not have this kind of love. But because the world now is coming near its end, few children respect and love their parents, although almost all parents love their children. Even a dove knows how to love its parents, and a crow will certainly repay its debt of gratitude to its parents. That was said already from ancient times. So it can be said that he who, as a son, does not esteem his parents and love his parents is inferior to a bird or beast. . . .

The second is the love of preference. Because one fancies horses, one loves a horse; because of an inclination toward women, one loves a woman; because of a fondness for miniature plants (*bonsai*), one loves a miniature plant. Preferential love is the love of oneself to please one's fancy. One does not love the horse itself. The same also with a woman or a miniature plant. Therefore, any love not bestowed on the object itself is nothing but the love of one's own fancy.

The third is love for honor's sake. Love for honor's sake does not come from the depths of the heart. It is possible that a stepmother loves her stepchild with a pure love from the heart, but in most cases, a stepmother loves her stepchild for her husband, for the family, or for public opinion. All this is love for honor's sake.

The fourth is false love. This is the love of one who does not have it in his heart, although he says it with his mouth. Love proclaimed by a hypocrite is false. . . . The love of narrow-minded Shintoists and obstinate missionaries often turns out to be false.

The fifth is divine love. It is love that is genuine and beautiful. He who has this kind of love loves even his enemy. To love a perverse person, and lead him to the path of virtue, is divine love. It is love directed toward everyone, even foreigners. To love an evildoer the same as a good person is divine love; God grants sunshine not only to good people's rice paddies but also to those of evildoers. Divine love is love that especially favors scoundrels.

God is supreme love itself. Therefore no matter how heavy and deep a human soul's sin is, God is not offended, nor does he create hell specially to punish it. The human soul or spirit itself builds hell and, of its own accord, falls into its unceasing fire because of its own selfishness, which it had in its life on earth. God has absolutely no idea of hate, blame, punishment. . . . God is always eager to form the Kingdom of Heaven on Earth: He gives part of his divine qualities to prophets in order that all peoples may be convinced of his love and benevolence. If God had even a tiny bit of hate, it would mean that he himself had come to ruin. Therefore, in the sacred teachings can be found the words "God is universal love."

[Deguchi Onisaburō, *Michi no shiori*, p. 174; HH]

THE PATH OF ŌMOTO (ŌMOTO NO MICHI)

The following are *tanka* (short poems).

The teachings of the original God,
they are to initiate the world of selfless love.

Even if there are limits between nations,
there are no limits to the true Divine teachings, the highest form of love.

We live under the sun that shines on us all,
but our worldly hearts keep us apart.

Even though countries in the world fight one another,
without any exception, all people are brothers and sisters.

Skies of foreign lands are far away,
but in the eye of God, the earth is one.

When the heart of selfless love dominates our world,
the Kingdom of Heaven will reign on Earth.

If love were not functioning in heaven and on earth,
everything in the universe would be in ruin. . . .

My parents in the material world gave birth only to my body.
God is the parent of the soul.

Mankind, endowed with the pure spirit of the original God,
is God's beloved child and sacred vessel. . . .

The real purpose of life for human beings
is to manifest on Earth the Kingdom of Heaven.

A person who works on behalf of God
for the progress of the universe has God's blessing.

To serve the world, keeping in order one's heart and conduct,
is the duty of every child of God. . . .

All human beings are destined to go to heaven
after the spirit separates from the flesh.

The heavenly realm is the place where pure human spirits
live and work eternally.

The Kingdom of God, where there is neither death nor becoming old,
is the home for eternal life. . . .

A heart that cherishes all things in this world
is the real source of love.

A true human being who is thoroughly compassionate
does not even step recklessly on a roadside wildflower.

The teachings are the words of the God of Heaven and Earth
and are not attainable by human comprehension.

Ōmoto is not a religion, it is a way to make clear
the providential truth.

True teachings must be such that they guide education, politics, art,
all facets of life.

In this world we say "God" or "Buddha";
however, these are simply other names for selfless love.

There are many religions in the world,
but they would all be utterly worthless without loving kindness.

Religions vary according to time and place;
I preach a religion for the current times.

There are many lands on Earth,
but the God in whom people place their faith is only one.

Now is the sacred time when the universe opens up;
the voice of God rings throughout the universe.

O holy spirit, come down into my body
and give me miraculous power.

[Deguchi Onisaburō, *Ōmoto no michi*, in *Ōmoto shiryō shūsei*, ed. Ikeda, vol. 1, pp. 599–604; HH]

REIYŪKAI KYŌDAN

Reiyūkai kyōdan was founded in 1930 by Kubo Kakutarō (1892–1944) and Kotani Kimi (1900–1971) as a lay person's Buddhism based on the Lotus Sutra and the example of Nichiren (1222–1282), but it had no connection to existing Buddhist clerical institutions. Kubo was strongly drawn to Nichiren Buddhism partly because he was born in Nichiren's birthplace, the town of Kominato in Chiba Prefecture. He worked as a carpenter and draftsman for the Imperial Household Agency and married into the Kubo household, an aristocratic family. Under the influence of his mother-in-law, he studied Nichiren Buddhism and was briefly involved in patriotic, Nichiren-based Buddhist associations. But while he did not entirely reject patriotic interpretations of Nichiren, he was much more attracted to the saint and to the Lotus Sutra as the basis for religious asceticism addressing the problems of contemporary Japanese society.

Kubo believed that the present age was the Latter Days of the Dharma, and he spoke of it as the "evil world of the five impurities" (*gojoku akuse*). He practiced severe asceticism at Nakayama Hokekyōji, a Nichiren temple in Chiba Prefecture famed for these disciplines, as a means to "settle karma" through repentance, there meeting other ascetics who shared his religious concerns. The huge death toll of the Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923 awakened Kubo to the need to enshrine those spirits, to comfort them, and to ensure that they would not become a threat to the living. This he saw as a duty of lay people that could not be entrusted to the priesthood.

Kubo had a low opinion of the Buddhist priesthood, in line with the anticlerical mood prevailing in the Taishō era. He believed that lay people were fully capable of performing all necessary services, and he saw no legitimate role for the priesthood to mediate between ancestors and their descendants: "The clergy cannot save humanity. The clergy are for looking after the dead. The time has come for lay people to awaken the aspiration for Buddhahood, with a great cry, to save humanity."[16]

Kubo succeeded in attracting a following for his ideas through his collaboration with his sister-in-law Kotani Kimi. Kotani was a skilled organizer who proselytized among the poor in Tokyo. Born in Miura City, Kanagawa Prefecture, she had grown up in poverty, with little formal education, and moved to Tokyo at seventeen to work as a maid. It was there that she married Kubo's brother, Kotani Yasukichi (1885–1929), and came under Kubo's religious influence. Kubo instructed Kotani Kimi in religious austerities, repentance, recitation of the *daimoku*, and chanting of the Lotus Sutra. He had come to believe that humanity could be saved only through the salvation of ancestral spirits and

16. Remarks by Kubo Kakutarō, related by Kotani Kimi, sermon, February 25, 1970, in Reiyūkai shi shiryō hensan iinkai, *Reiyūkai shi shiryō*, p. 489.

spirits of the dead. As an ascetic discipline, Kubo sent Kotani to proselytize in the poorest sections of Tokyo.

Reiyūkai kyōdan's central practice is veneration of the ancestors based on the Lotus Sutra. Even though the worship of ancestors is traditionally a domestic ritual of a family or extended family, in Reiyūkai it is the basis for the salvation of humanity. Whereas a family enshrines only its own ancestors, based on a patrilineal way of tracing descent, in Reiyūkai the ancestors of both husband and wife are enshrined in a distinctive bilateral form based on the nuclear family, their names written together on a single plaque called a *sōkaimyō*. Furthermore, Reiyūkai gives posthumous names (*hōmyō*) to dead people who have no relations, to provide ritual veneration for them, and enshrines them along with family ancestors. The composition of posthumous names is usually a priestly function, but in Reiyūkai this and all other religious rituals are performed entirely by lay persons.

It was this conception of ancestor veneration that Kotani Kimi took to the urban poor, along with an austere morality of self-help and hard work. She made common cause with her converts, sharing their poverty, helping them find food, and nursing the sick. She taught her followers to chant the *daimoku* and to recite an abridged version of the Lotus Sutra, called the Blue Sutra, before a simple home altar containing a single tablet recording the surname of the husband and the wife's unmarried name. The names of individual ancestors were recorded in a "book of the past" (*kakochō*). All this could be done without relying on Buddhist priests, who were little inclined to associate themselves with the poor and whose services, in any case, the poor could not afford. Kotani also gained a reputation as a healer whose severe ascetic practice—notably, taking cold baths in the dead of winter—could cure disease.

Reiyūkai kyōdan was established in 1930 with Kotani as its first president. Kubo, who was still working for the Imperial Household Ministry, chaired the board of directors and was active as theorist-theologian. He left no writings of his own, but parts of his sermons were written down by others. He is remembered as a strict disciplinarian, as the following passage makes clear:

> Because the present age is the Latter Days of the Dharma, humanity is controlled by the evil spirits of the five impurities, and the will to seek the truth, to seek the way of humanity, has grown thin. The nation will be ruined if we are fickle and frivolous, merely imitating the Westerners. To dispel this wicked mood, we cannot depend only on the priesthood. Now is the time for us to stand up as lay people and to perform ancestor veneration.[17]

17. Kubo Kakutarō, sermon, n.d., in Reiyūkai shi shiryō hensan iinkai, *Reiyūkai shi shiryō*, p. 467.

Kubo recommended an austere way of life to his followers: "We can never save the world by thinking of ourselves. Eating your fill, extravagantly filling your stomach with delicious things, you can never save the people of the world."[18] Kubo also had a strong sense of mission:

> Mr. Kubo said that we are not born into this world just for the sake of our own happiness but, rather, in order that many can be saved. As the world is made better, the teaching of the Lotus Sutra comes to life. Thus Mr. Kubo prayed that the world would have peace, no matter what spiritual training he had to carry out. He had a mission to serve the nation, so he was ready to lay down his life, saying he needed nothing but a sutra, a rosary, and a sash.[19]

Kubo linked the transmission of Buddhism to Japan with his own destiny: "Truly, Buddhism has been transmitted to Japan from India and China. Mr. Kubo read and studied, resolving that if it would be for the sake of others, he wanted to devote his life to the service of the nation."[20]

Kubo made a vow before the Ise Shrines in 1931 to establish an ordination platform (*kaidan*), where all could express their commitment to Buddhism. While this vow would seem to contradict the religion's anticlericalism, what he meant was a place in lay life for "bodhisattvas" to study and train. Using the Lotus Sutra chapter "Springing up out of the Earth," he and Kotani envisioned a training site particularly featuring Miroku (Skt. Maitreya), the Future Buddha. This vow was eventually realized after Kubo's death, with the construction in 1964 of Mirokusan, a training facility understood as a *kaidan*. A special sutra called the Maitreya Sutra (Mirokukyō) also was compiled.

Reiyūkai kyōdan developed largely as an urban group, concentrating on families who were self-employed or engaged in small businesses, frequently family based. Because of its traditionalist orientation, it was not persecuted by the prewar regime. After 1945, it joined other religions in calling for world peace and expanded rapidly. Its austere ethos and ethic of self-help had a practical appeal in the postwar period, and many testimonies bear witness to believers' conviction that following the principles of the religion leads to economic stability, sound families, and general well-being. It offers a type of small-group counseling that has a powerful appeal as a source of ethical guidance otherwise

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18. Reminiscence by Kotani Kimi, sermon, October 18, 1961, in Reiyūkai shi shiryō hensan iinkai, *Reiyūkai shi shiryō*, p. 474.

19. Reminiscence by Kotani Kimi, sermon, November 18, 1961, in Reiyūkai shi shiryō hensan iinkai, *Reiyūkai shi shiryō*, p. 474. During services, Reiyūkai kyōdan members wear a sash inscribed with the *daimoku* and the name of the branch to which they belong.

20. Reminiscence by Kotani Kimi, sermon, May 10, 1970, in Reiyūkai shi shiryō hensan iinkai, *Reiyūkai shi shiryō*, p. 499.

hard to find in urban society. Women make up a majority of the membership and are prominent as branch leaders and local organizers. The religion's original form of ancestor veneration matches well the modern form of the nuclear family, although Reiyūkai's ideals concerning the roles of men and women and the importance of filial piety by children to their parents are very traditional.

The organization is built on ties of proselytization expressed in terms of "parent" and "child," so that all those proselytized by the same lineage of people belong to the same branch. The primacy of these ties of proselytization is attenuated, however, when a family must move away from the site of its branch affiliation, and the local leaders have considerable autonomy. This organizational structure creates the possibility for schism, and during its history Reiyūkai kyōdan experienced more than twenty large-scale defections by branch leaders and their followers. Nevertheless, the fact that most of the religions originating by schism from Reiyūkai maintained intact the parent organization's principal beliefs and practices is proof of Reiyūkai's widespread appeal and strong connection with foundational elements of Japanese religious tradition. At the end of the twentieth century, Reiyūkai had roughly 2.5 million members worldwide.

The Lotus Sutra is the primary sacred text in Reiyūkai kyōdan, and the Blue Sutra also is a central work, since it is supposed to be recited twice daily in the home. In addition, sermons are collected and serve as important guides to believers.

KUBO KAKUTARŌ: SERMON

This sermon was delivered on January 26, 1938, at the time of a significant schism, which later resulted in the founding of Risshō kōseikai. In the sermon, Kubo Kakutarō calls on the faithful to adhere to only his teaching and reflects also on the hardships of his own life.

Raising the standard of "Protection of All the Buddhas"[21] and reverencing it in this place, it must be that precisely in this age the spirit of Shakyamuni has shifted to the laity. If this is not the time when the laity will give life to that spirit of Shakyamuni, then it is not the time to raise the standard of "Protection of All the Buddhas." The question is when this spirit will be manifested. Nevertheless, the fact that we are gathered here in prayer in the name of "Protection of all the Buddhas" is a great Buddhist manifestation. Those who may follow later in raising the standard of "Protection of All the Buddhas" are imitators, children who fail to match their parents.

21. *Busshogonen* is a phrase from the Lotus Sutra referring to the promise that the Buddhas will always protect believers in the Lotus Sutra.

But if I, Kubo, am your teacher, your parent, and if you ask merely how much benefit you will receive from your spiritual training, then you will have failed to grasp the mission of the Mahayana in the Lotus Sutra. I am continually asking the oldest comrades whether, having achieved only about fifteen of the thirty-two marks,[22] they are able to act as teachers in Reiyūkai. They seem to have turned into *tengu*,[23] acting as if they had achieved all thirty-two, spreading their hands and giving misguided sermons here, there, and everywhere. They don't understand my ideas well. The world will call a person a living god only if he has a tiny fraction of even a single one of the marks.

If only I could meet these people who are spreading their hands and preaching in all quarters, and discuss these matters on equal terms, I think I could improve their state of mind. Some of these old comrades even say that it isn't necessary to listen to [my] sermons, instead listening only to their own. But this is wrong. Starting this year, you should believe with certainty that the sermons you hear in this hall are the most correct and thus receive the merit that comes from practicing the way practiced by your teacher.

Now I must tell you about my practice. I have been performing *kuyō*[24] for my own ancestors for roughly twenty years. Furthermore, I include ancestors of other people. I also go out and serve others, but I receive nothing from them. I served my mother[25] for seventeen or eighteen years. There are many of you who are caring for your parents, but even if circumstances are difficult, I ask you not to leave them, but to live with them as their children. Serve them devotedly. The purpose of Reiyūkai is to serve living parents with ever more filial piety through ancestor veneration. In my job I ate ten-*sen* lunches[26] and spent all my salary and bonuses for my faith, never giving Mother a single five-yen bill, but she [didn't complain], saying that my work would contribute in some small amount to the nation and to others. If even a woman could have this attitude, is it not truly much more regrettable when men hesitate about whether to do something for the nation and for others? Thus, old members, I ask you to resolve yourselves single-heartedly to practice the way practiced by your teacher.

The connection drawn between Kubo and Nichiren is addressed by this short excerpt from one of Kotani Kimi's sermons.

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22. The "thirty-two marks" are physical signs that appear in all the Buddhas; here, it is a measure of the relative depth of understanding and practice.

23. *Tengu* are mythical long-nosed mountain spirits; here, the word refers to conceited and arrogant men.

24. *Kuyō* (Skt. *pujana*) is a religious ritual of homage and veneration; here, the word refers to the veneration of ancestral spirits.

25. Reference to his mother-in-law, Kubo Shin.

26. That is, only the cheapest food.

There is no one in this *shaba* world[27] who does not have desires and passions. It is fine to satisfy desires and passions, but there must be some teaching of the Buddhas that we can use for the sake of society. Mr. Kubo was born in the town of Kominato, in Chiba Prefecture, the same place where Saint Nichiren was born. He always said that this was a good karmic connection enabling him to undertake spiritual training, to "see and hear the Lotus Sutra in the present," praying that he might understand the Tathagata's primary teaching.[28]

[Reiyūkai shi shiryō hensan iinkai, *Reiyūkai shi shiryō*, pp. 449–51; HH]

THE BLUE SUTRA

This excerpt from the Blue Sutra is one of the work's opening passages. It transfers the merit of the recitation to one's ancestors and related spirits, asking for the forgiveness of all wrongdoing and expressing hope for the salvation of all. Merit transfer by lay people in Reiyūkai kyōdan represents a bypassing of the Buddhist priesthood.

May Merits Be Transferred!

Forgive all the spirits of my ancestors, all the spirits whose memorial day is today, and all the spirits with any sort of relationship with those for whom I pray. Forgive them and all my family for their erring hearts and misleading thoughts and for the sins and mistakes that they have unintentionally committed.

Not through my power do I reverently read this holy sutra but through the merits of Buddhas and devas. Now I pray that you hear me read this sutra and cause all for whom I pray to aspire to enlightened wisdom.

Namu-myōhō renge kyō!

[Reiyūkai, *Blue Sutra*, pp. 30–33; HH]

KOTANI KIMI: THE MISSION OF REIYŪKAI

This excerpt serves as line-by-line explication of the closing section of the Blue Sutra. It is entitled "My Prayer" and is a statement of some of the religion's core beliefs. In it, Kotani Kimi provides an interpretation of the times in which she lived.

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27. *Shaba* (Skt. *saha*), or "this disgraceful world," refers to the phenomenal world, the world of ignorance, greed, and passion.

28. Reminiscence by Kotani Kimi, sermon, April 29, 1970, in Reiyūkai shi shiryō hensan iinkai, *Reiyūkai shi shiryō*, p. 497.

In Reiyūkai, at the end of our main service, we offer a prayer that is Reiyūkai's own creation. "The Sutra of the Mahayana, from which I recite, is the Law-Treasury of great compassion and pity; its written principle is true, and its worth is unsurpassed." The Law-Treasury of great compassion and pity refers to the teachings of the entire Lotus Sutra and all the Mahayana scriptures, with which all the Buddhas and Heavenly Kings will save those suffering in the world. Truly, the Buddhas will extend their hands with a heart of great compassion and mercy to save even those born into the world knowing nothing, if only we believe in the spirit world and conduct ourselves correctly. To receive the benefit of great compassion and mercy is not something that can be purchased with money, nor is it subject to any individual's control. It means that anyone born into this world who believes in the spirit world and correctly practices the true Dharma will certainly and freely receive immeasurable, limitless benefit.

"Namu tōhō zentoku Buddha, and all the Buddhas of the past, present and future. This sutra is safeguarded by all of them." If we inquire about the time referred to in this passage, it is the Meiji, Taishō, and Shōwa eras. Because this is an age of the evil world of the five impurities, we must be especially diligent in correct religious training, believing in the spirit world [and] conducting ourselves correctly in order to open the gate of enlightenment. Otherwise, we cannot receive the true protection of the Buddhas of the three worlds. . . . If we do not have a firm conviction, for the sake of the nation and world peace, then the Buddhas of the three worlds will not protect us correctly. . . . Saint Nichiren appeared in the country of Japan seven hundred years ago, rather than appearing in India as the bodhisattva Never-Despising.[29] Then he appeared in this *shaba* world in the Meiji period to study the Lotus Sutra, but the time had not yet been fulfilled. . . . You must make the most of "time" and live by the Lotus Sutra.

"Even if I must suffer endless pains in hell after my own death, I will never defame the deepest True Law of the Buddhas. The Buddha-Tathagatas are our affectionate fathers." The expression "endless pains" refers to the fact that even as we pursue our religious training together in this life, there may be innumerable pains, but no matter how innumerable or immeasurable the pains we may meet, because this is the *shaba* world, which has various sufferings; they all can certainly be solved through the Lotus Sutra. There is certainly virtue in this teaching of the Mahayana, and it is that power that sustains the world of nature. This universe, the world of nature, is controlled from an invisible place and, through it, are numerous comings and goings and temporal changes. . . . Uncomplaining, not injecting misguided wisdom, because we have come into this

29. Jōfukyō (Sadadbaridhuta) is a bodhisattva of the Lotus Sutra prophesied to appear in the latter days of the Dharma.

world through a promise of the spirit world, with a mission from the spirit world, we must correctly practice repentance without limit. . . . If we can make this resolution, all the Buddhas and the Heavenly Kings will surely become our merciful parents or descendants and will protect us.

The Reiyūkai prayer ends, "With these merits and virtues, may the dew reach far and wide. May we and all living beings attain the Enlightenment of the Buddhas." It is for this reason that our dear comrades have joined this religion since the time of the founder of Reiyūkai, Mr. Kubo. It has been promised in a previous existence that we would mutually shoulder our mission in this life. Also, our youth group members are the disciples of the Bodhisattva Wondrous Sound, mentioned in chapter 24 [of the Lotus Sutra], and tens, hundreds of thousands, of bodhisattvas are appearing.[30] There may be others in other places also, but all hold a teaching from an invisible place, and they must practice the teaching of the Mahayana. Know that the present age is the time when we must repent and solve our karma!

The late Mr. Kubo of Reiyūkai, came into the world carrying a great destiny, and he taught us in detail the great, straight path to settle our karma. He endured great ascetic training, received unbearable suffering and returned to the spirit world. But he continues to protect us in the spirit world. Therefore, no matter from what quarter evil may arise, our members are unshakable and magnificently continue to live by the teachings. Hereafter we will take up the great vow made by Saint Nichiren to build an ordination platform where all under Heaven and from all over the world may return to the Wonderful Law. Mr. Kubo vowed on the fifteenth of January 1931 before the Ise Shrines to build an ordination platform for all. And also, many times each year when he underwent ascetic training at Shichimenzan and Minobusan,[31] he prayed that our country would have peace and prosperity and that there would be world peace. Now we are resolved to realize his great vow, as the great mission of Reiyūkai.

[Kotani, *Watakushi no shugyō*, pp. 212–15; HH]

SŌKA GAKKAI

Sōka gakkai was originally founded in 1930 by Makiguchi Tsunesaburō (1871–1944) for the purpose of implementing his distinctive Buddhist theory of value in the educational system of the day, hence the original name Sōka kyōiku gakkai (Society for Value-Creating Education). Makiguchi affiliated his orga-

30. Reference to the youth group members as the "bodhisattvas springing up out of the earth," based on chapter 15 of the Lotus Sutra.

31. Shichimenzan and Minobusan are two mountains in present-day Yamanashi Prefecture associated with Nichiren, who spent the last years of his life at Minobusan.

nization with Nichiren shōshū, a branch of Nichiren Buddhism, and this connection was continued by Makiguchi's successor, Toda Jōsei (1900–1958). In 1943 Makiguchi was imprisoned along with Toda and other leaders for refusing to enshrine a talisman of the Ise Shrines. Makiguchi died in prison in 1944, leaving Toda to revive the movement after 1945.

Sōka gakkai regards the Lotus Sutra as the most profound scriptural expression of Buddhist teaching, and doctrinal study is a central activity. Nichiren's writings also are studied as sacred, and the saint's life is regarded as the paradigm of the bodhisattva in the latter days of the Dharma. The *daimoku* (Hail to the Lotus Sutra) is chanted before Nichiren's calligraphic mandala (called the *gohonzon*) as an expression of the entire truth of the Lotus Sutra, as a form of self-cultivation, and as a means to obtain practical benefits. The largest of Japan's new religious movements, Sōka gakkai has developed a lay person's Buddhism in which followers regarded as bodhisattvas active in the present world pursue value in the life of the individual, linked to the improvement of society, as the core of bodhisattva practice.

The religion originated when Makiguchi spread his beliefs among schoolteachers in the Tokyo and Yokohama area. This group then widened to include small-scale businessmen, housewives, and students. From a membership of about sixty in 1937, it expanded to fifteen hundred by 1942. The imprisonment of Makiguchi and Toda from 1943 to 1945 temporarily halted the group's expansion, and it was not until the 1950s that it began to grow conspicuously. At that time, the religion produced a manual on proselytization, and the membership responded vigorously, proclaiming that the *gohonzon* could bring so many practical benefits to the faithful that it could be regarded as a "happiness-making machine." By the mid-1960s, Sōka gakkai claimed about 2 million members, and by the end of the twentieth century it had 16 million adherents.

Sōka gakkai was headed by three generations of distinctive leaders. Makiguchi established the pursuit of value as a central idea, in conjunction with Nichiren shōshū, although his leadership was cut short by imprisonment and death before the end of World War II. Toda Jōsei revived the religion after the war and presided over its explosive expansion in the 1950s, boldly setting the goal of converting the entire nation by forceful proselytization (*shakubuku*). Under him, significant rifts with Nichiren shōshū appeared as Sōka gakkai began to overshadow the older sect and to assert its autonomy. Sōka gakkai's rapid expansion was inevitably controversial and brought criticism of the religion. Ikeda Daisaku, the third leader, persuaded the religion to soften its forceful proselytization, to widen its appeal beyond the blue-collar class, and to initiate significant international activities for world peace. In 1964 Sōka gakkai launched the Clean Government Party (Kōmeitō), which emphasized the expansion of social welfare, becoming Japan's third largest political party and wielding the decisive vote in issues dividing the conservative and opposition

parties. While some aspects of Ikeda's leadership remained controversial, he gave the religion greater influence in society and led it to become the most powerful religion in Japan at the turn of the twenty-first century.

The texts translated here represent central elements of Sōka gakkai thought as developed by its three leaders: Makiguchi's theory of value, Toda's theory of "life force," and Ikeda's theory of "health and welfare."

MAKIGUCHI TSUNESABURŌ

As an educator, Makiguchi Tsunesaburō tried to reform Japan's educational system by infusing it with humanistic values, so that benefits to the individual, such as achievement and happiness, would be understood as rightful goals of education. He stressed the cultivation of religious values and harmony between religion and science. His system of values emphasized benefits to the individual and society as essential to the happiness of the individual and to social good. His views were grounded in the doctrines of the Lotus Sutra and substituted "benefit" for the traditional element "truth" in the triad "truth, goodness, and beauty." The educational system of his day, however, was less humanistic than authoritarian, oriented much more toward making the people obedient subjects, in line with such government proclamations as the Imperial Rescript on Education (see chap. 40). Makiguchi foresaw a reconciliation of religion and science and frequently referred to the power of the Lotus Sutra and the power of the *daimoku*. He believed also that Christianity and Buddhism could be reconciled.

WHAT IS RELIGIOUS VALUE?

On what basis should we establish religious value? Konishi Shigenao[32] holds that saving a life from extreme suffering and establishing the "settled mind"[33] is a sacred value. If that is correct, would this match the value of virtue, in terms of society? And again, if we consider the matter from the standpoint of the individual, can we call the "settled mind" a beneficial value? Is it not a beneficial value to save people? Is it not a virtuous value to save the world?

The sixteenth chapter of the Lotus Sutra, "The Life Span of the Tathagata," is the highest-ranking sermon of Shakyamuni's fifty years. Its central tenet is the promise that all suffering humanity, without exception, will attain Buddhahood and that they will abide in eternal, undying life. When we hail the Lotus Sutra

32. Konishi Shigenao (1875–1948) was an early-twentieth-century educator.

33. Also called "settled heart," this is a Buddhist concept meaning faith, firm belief, assurance of salvation.

as the absolute object of worship by saying *namu*,[34] we attain the only absolute joy of true life, liberated from suffering. Is this absolute not a benefit to us, and should we not attribute value to this condition? Is this not the good?

It may be objected that we are attributing sacrality to individual benefit or to social good. But I think that simply praising the good, purely rejoicing in benefit, also is sacred. . . . I will say it again: Value can be found only in benefit, good, and beauty.

["Shūkyō to kagaku," in *Makiguchi Tsunesaburō zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 340–43; HH]

THE RELATIONS AMONG RELIGION AND SCIENCE, MORALITY, AND EDUCATION

Society seeks a standard by which to judge good and evil, but there is a difference between the relative good and an absolute, highest good. The science of morals, which takes the laws of human life in this world as its object, lacks the power to transcend the relative level. One can go no higher by the power of science, but human aspiration does not end with this. This is the point at which the sphere of religion develops. The reason that religion arises is the desire running through the depths of all human hearts to discover a law of cause and effect governing the life of the eternal soul, valid for all time: past, present, and future. Such a law establishes the absolute, highest standard to discriminate truth from falsity, good from evil, and enables us to judge how to achieve—for the first time—a life of the greatest happiness. . . .

The objects of faith of those stagnant Buddhist sects that adhere to the teachings promulgated in the forty-odd years (of Shakyamuni's preaching) before the Lotus Sutra are anthropomorphic incarnations called *kami*, or Buddhas. Because these objects structure the interior consciousness of those individuals who worship them, these sects are utterly different from science's ideals of truth and law. This means that science and religion are irreconcilable in such cases, and thus their ideas of morality also are at odds. However, the vital point of the Lotus Sutra, as expressed in its title is "Law" (Dharma), and the sutra is praised as "Wonderful Law." The Law is likened to a lotus, which appears out of the mud, incarnated as a Buddha who lived in accord with an utterly pure law. This [truth] was expounded as a sutra. When admiration is expressed by the word *namu* and by "Namu myōhō renge kyō," there is an exact correspondence with the ideals of the scientists of the entire world. . . .

If we take Shakyamuni's teaching of the identity of the Buddha Dharma and worldly law to its final conclusion, not only do we find an agreement of religion

34. *Namu* (hail or praises to) appears in the phrase (called the *daimoku*) chanted to hail or praise the Lotus Sutra, "Namu myōhō renge kyō."

and science. We also actually find that science is entirely enfolded in the Buddha-Dharma. If there is a point of difference [between religion and science], it is in the treatment of the social laws of cause and effect of ethical morality, which in science is limited to the present world, limited by the laws of cause and effect in the phenomena addressed by the separate branches of science. Even the comprehensive science of philosophy is limited by a concept of human life and a worldview unable to transcend the present. By contrast, Buddhism teaches that the Five Eyes of Wisdom not only comprehend the present world but also illuminate the laws of cause and effect of the three worlds of past, present, and future. . . .

When humanity develops the intellect, rids itself of the sensual life from which it is so hard to separate because we are so caught up in egotistical advantage and loss, becomes empty, and enters the broad way of Heaven-and-earth, then we will certainly achieve the condition set out in Shakyamuni's last admonition: Adhering to Dharma, Not Adhering to Persons. Without this, there can be no unification of religions, it is needless to say, nor can there be any reconciliation of religion and science, or religion and virtue. Accordingly, there can be no reconciliation of religion and education, nor will true education be possible. But we must not fall into despair like the pessimists of the world. Through education that aims to develop the intellect, by following the path of science that seeks to rely on laws rather than persons, I believe that [such a reconciliation] will be possible. In Christianity also, through the development of human wisdom, just as the Buddha taught, the sensual element gradually declines, and the intellectual element of adhering to law deepens. Gradually, we come closer to science's goal of truth, and the history of change shows the possibility that science and religion will ultimately become one. I believe that soon it will be possible to speak of Christianity in the same terms as Buddhism. If we give up our historical attachment to the notion that Buddhism and Christianity have nothing whatever to do with each other because of the separation of East and West, and if we humbly conform to the teaching of Adhering to the Dharma, Not Adhering to Persons, and if a candid comparison is undertaken for the sake of achieving a broad way of humanity, we will be able to return to the period of ninety-five philosophical schools, as in India three thousand years ago. I think we would, in a flash, be able to realize an awakened unification, worthy of both the so-called Hinayana and all subsequent sutras.

If religionists forsook their prejudices, abandoned their egos, open their hearts, and recognized the truth, and if scholars stopped vacillating and admitted the limits of their knowledge, then if meekly, humbly, we [could] admit the narrow extent of our experiential wisdom, then we could slough off the limited wisdom of the phenomenal world and cultivate the magnanimity with which to abide in the great, eternal truth of the past, present, and future worlds. If we all obeyed the teaching of Adhering to the Dharma, Not Adhering to Persons,

then we could look forward to the time when science and religion, and religion and education would surely be reconciled.

["Shūkyō to kagaku," in *Makiguchi Tsunesaburō zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 343–44; HH]

TODA JŌSEI

"ON THE NATURE OF LIFE" (SEIMEIRON)

Shinto was exploited by ultranationalism and absolutism and when this abuse escalated into the misguided Pacific War, my revered mentor Makiguchi Tsunesaburō, my beloved comrades, and I spoke out vehemently against this. We explained that forcing the Japanese people to worship at shrines went against reason and morality. For this reason we were persecuted in the summer of 1943 and thereafter spent two years in jail. While I was spending miserable days in that dank cell, innocent but imprisoned, I pondered that most difficult problem: the essence of life. What is life? Is this world the only one? Or does life continue eternally? These problems were eternal mysteries to which the ancient saints and sages each gave their own answers.

Lice flourished in that filthy jail, coming out to take pleasure in the light of the springtime. I put two of them on a plank. They waved their limbs about. I crushed one of them, but the other one kept moving about unconcernedly. Where had the life of the crushed one gone? Had it disappeared from the world forever?

Long before [this], a daughter of mine died just after her birth, and I remembered how bitterly I grieved for her. I thought to myself at the time, "If I grieve so at the death of my daughter, how could I endure it if my wife should die?" My wife did die, and I grieved for her, thinking, "What if my parents should die?" They died also, and I cried as if my heart would break. Then, quivering with fear, I thought, "Now what would I do if I had to face my own death?" After that, I tirelessly searched for the way, trying Christianity, then drawn to the Amida Sutra. But nothing convinced me to the bottom of my heart about the problem of life.

I looked back on this suffering in my cell. For me, having grown up with an interest in science and mathematics, I could not believe in something that did not convince me logically. Then I began to study fervently the Lotus Sutra and the writings of Saint Nichiren. When I encountered the mysterious verses of the Lotus Sutra, I prayed to be able to read with full understanding, and I began to recite the *daimoku* with all my might, following Saint Nichiren's teachings. About the time I reached two million recitations, I came up against something extremely mysterious, and an unfathomable state of mind unfolded before my

eyes. Trembling with joy, I stood in my cell and shouted to all the Buddhas, bodhisattvas, and all beings of the three worlds and the ten directions. After five years of searching, I finally realized my sacred mission. Based on that experience and on the Lotus Sutra's understanding of life force, I will speak of the essence of life force. . . .

[The Lotus Sutra teaches that] the life of Shakyamuni extends to the three worlds of past, present, and future. Buddhist philosophy without this concept of life force extending for all time would have no basis. Nevertheless, in each sutra we can see degrees of profundity of life force, revealing to us the scripture's relative standing. In addition, it goes without saying that Saint Nichiren also based himself on a limitless concept of life force. Of the two (Shakyamuni and Nichiren), Nichiren's thinking on the existence of life force was more profound. . . . The Buddha-Dharma is unthinkable without a limitless life force. This was precisely the first step, the real face of Nichiren's enlightenment. However, many intellectuals call this a superstition, laughingly rejecting it. But from our standpoint, those who deny the life force are not thinking of their own lives scientifically, and their stupidity is risible. Could science be sustained if it ignored causation? For every phenomenon of the universe, there is certainly a cause and result. . . . If we suppose that life simply arose by accident and that when we die life disappeared like so much froth on water, then we are being unpardonably indifferent to our own lives.

No matter how much natural science may develop, proclaiming equality and the destruction of social class, it cannot explain or understand the actual facts of the life force. All around us we see people, animals, the natural world—are their lives all the same? How are they related to one another? People have different degrees of intelligence, beauty, and health. Some are poor no matter how hard they work, while others suffer from desire and jealousy, and science can do nothing about it. There must be causes for such differences, and they cannot be understood without thoroughly searching for the causes. But in speaking of a limitless life force, I am not saying that we have a soul existing apart from the body and mind or that we are controlled by such a thing, nor am I recognizing that such a thing is eternal.

In saying that the life force of human beings extends from past, to present, to future, just how long is it? Again I turned to the Lotus Sutra as the root and branch of the Buddha-Dharma. . . . This is the most important of Shakyamuni's many sutras, and it is the basis of enlightenment. . . . [Shakyamuni says to his disciples,] "You all believe that I became a Buddha in this life, but it was actually an immeasurable eternity ago that I attained Buddhahood. I have always been working in the world." In other words, his life is not limited to the present world, nor is his enlightenment but has existed from an eternity in the past.

Life force coexists with the universe, neither preceding it nor produced either accidentally or by human design. The universe is itself life force, and it is mistaken to see it as uniquely belonging to the earth. We are bathed in the

broad unbounded, limitless compassion of the great saint [Nichiren]. By clinging to the Gohonzon, . . . we are able to grasp the wondrous actual existence of life force.

[Toda, "Seimeiron," pp. 1–68; HH]

IKEDA DAISAKU

HEALTH AND WELFARE

Capitalism has sacrificed the happiness and welfare of individual human beings to the pursuit of profit. Socialism has suppressed human liberty for the sake of standardized equality. Failure to take into consideration the dignity of human life is behind the faults of both systems. . . . The current trend is to regard production and economy as the total of human society and not merely as a subsystem, which is in fact all that they are. This great modern illusion has wrongly put all other aspects of human activity—culture, religion, technology, and politics—in a position where they are subject to and must serve the needs of the economy. . . . The time has come for us to revise our way of thinking about the precedence currently being given to economic matters. We must put the economy in a place subordinate to culture and education, and we must devote all our energy to the creation of a richly humane society in which the economy will promote human spiritual development and will serve as a means of enabling human beings to manifest their creative abilities. . . . Let us turn . . . to contemporary efforts to establish welfare states. . . . As the distribution of wealth becomes more equal and as the lives of the people become more stable, economic growth tends to slow down or even to stagnate. In other words, the very achievement of the ideal of the welfare state inevitably acts as a brake on the economic growth of the country. A second problem has to do with the attitudes of the people themselves. As social security becomes a reality, the citizens lose independence and grow to rely more and more on services provided by the state. . . . The third, and in my opinion the most important, problem in the welfare state is a weakened understanding of the meaning of life, a loss of the competitive spirit, and the growing difficulty people find in manifesting their creative talents. . . . I am by no means categorically rejecting the welfare system. On the contrary, I am one of the people who earnestly hope for the establishment of such a system in Japan. . . . I see a possibility for solving these problems only on the spiritual plane. . . . It is necessary now to effect a fundamental turnabout in the popular way of thinking about the relations between the spiritual and the material. Elevation of the level of spiritual welfare must become our first concern, and raising of the physical level of welfare must be given second priority. . . . Emphatically a spiritual revolution is indispensable to human welfare.

[Toynbee and Ikeda, *Choose Life*, pp. 100–105]

Chapter 49

JAPAN AND THE WORLD IN CULTURAL DEBATE

The relationship between Japan and the rest of the world expressed as a cultural divide between East and West is a subject as old as modern Japan itself, dating back at least to late Tokugawa times. Sakuma Shōzan's famous formulation of "Eastern ethics, Western science" sought to combine the best of both worlds in an ultimately futile attempt to benefit from the material and technological superiority of Western ways without affecting the thought and values of Asian civilization. As it turned out—not only in Japan but around the world—such a separation was impossible. Foreign ideas and alien traditions arrived together with the railroads and the cannons, by the force of Western power as well as by the power of new ideas to realize visions that the Japanese already had.

The ubiquity of the East–West imaginary can be found in nearly every chapter in this book that deals with modern Japan, whether about institutions like constitutions and political parties, foreign relations of empire and war, or ideologies like nationalism and socialism. This chapter addresses the same question in cultural and personal terms. Although it includes only a few such considerations, they are texts of some controversy, sometimes even notoriety, that are often quoted or evoked as representing the cultural dilemma of relating Japan and Asia to the West and the world. Frequently, the dilemma was also a personal one, a tension between the individual's faith or art and the nation.

For Uchimura Kanzō and Endō Shūsaku, Christianity posed the problem of reconciling a foreign religion and its singular God with their own national

identity and tradition. For Natsume Sōseki, the problem was less that of Western ideas than of the Meiji incarnation of modernity that dissolved earlier links of self and society while denying the individual any meaningful independence from the nation-state. Nishida Kitarō, modern Japan's premier philosopher, was as deeply anchored in Zen Buddhism as in the thought of Kant, Hegel, and William James, and his philosophy reflected and transformed the influences of both Asian and Western traditions. In the 1930s, as nationalism surged and Japanese intellectuals redrew the cultural line between Japan and the West—now rejecting Western modernity in favor of Japanese tradition—Nishida attempted to link Japanese and world culture. This led him, on the one hand, to argue the possibility of a universal culture, with each culture, including Japan's, retaining its distinctiveness, and, on the other hand, to assert the superiority of Japan's *kokutai* and emperor system as a justification for Japan's imperial dominance in Asia.

Two preeminent novelists of postwar Japan, Mishima Yukio and Ōe Kenzaburō, represented nearly opposite views in their literary and political stance on questions of Japanese tradition and an appropriate modernity for contemporary Japan. Their very different critiques of postwar society and their different literary styles and subjects were not divided along an East–West binary, but along the lines of the equally old debate about the nature of modernity. This was a debate already familiar to Natsume Sōseki and Uchimura Kanzō in the Meiji period. Indeed, at the end of the twentieth century, as at the time of Sakuma Shōzan, it seemed that the East–West divide was as irresistible in rhetoric as it was misleading in reality.

UCHIMURA KANZŌ

Uchimura Kanzō (1861–1930) exemplified the challenge experienced by Meiji Japanese who sought to integrate their strong sense of national identity into their new Christian faith. Like other young samurai Christians of the time, Uchimura was first drawn to Christianity when he was a student of the American William Clark at the government agricultural school in Hokkaido in the late 1870s. His faith was later confirmed at Amherst, a college with close ties to Japanese Christians. Niijima Jō, the founder of Dōshisha University, had graduated from Amherst in 1870, just two years after the Meiji Restoration. For both Niijima and Uchimura, their encounter with the moral rigor of New England Protestantism both resonated with and strengthened their samurai values and patriotic spirit. After Uchimura returned to Japan, he became notorious for refusing to bow before the Imperial Rescript on Education when it was presented to the First Higher School in Tokyo, where he was a teacher. As a result of this "disrespect incident," Uchimura was forced to resign, and the loyalty of Japanese Christians became a political and ideological issue. For Uchimura,

however, it was a matter of faith and loyalty to God. He took a similarly independent position when he opposed war with Russia in the early twentieth century, and his pacifism forced him to resign his position at a national newspaper.

After withdrawing into a life of writing and study, Uchimura founded what he called the "Nonchurch" movement. Without a professional clergy or an ecclesiastical organization, the movement was as independent as Uchimura himself, eschewing ties to Western mission groups in favor of a wholly Japanese Christianity. He was revered by later generations for both his integrity and his willingness, as a patriot, to resist the state.

HOW I BECAME A CHRISTIAN

Uchimura Kanzō's most famous work is *How I Became a Christian*, his spiritual autobiography written in 1895. Like Okakura Tenshin's *The Book of Tea*, another well-known Meiji essay that addressed the question of Japan and the world in cultural terms, Uchimura's autobiography was written in English and later published in Japanese.

One Sunday morning a schoolmate of mine asked me whether I would not go with him to "a certain place in foreigners [*sic*] quarter, where we can hear pretty women sing, and a tall man with a long beard shout and howl upon an elevated place, flinging his arms and twisting his body in all fantastic manners, to all which admittance is entirely free." Such was his description of a Christian house of worship conducted in the language which was new to me then. I followed my friend and was not displeased with the place. Sunday after Sunday I resorted to this place, not knowing the awful consequence that was to follow such a practice. An old English lady from whom I learned my first lessons in English took a great delight in my church-going, unaware of the fact the sight-seeing, and not truth-seeking, was the only view I had. . . .

Christianity was an enjoyable thing to me so long as I was not asked to accept it. Its music, its stories, the kindness shown to me by its followers, pleased me immensely. But five years after, when it was formally presented to me to accept it, with certain stringent laws to keep and much sacrifice to make, my whole nature revolted against submitting myself to such a course. That I must set aside one day out of seven specially for religious purposes, wherein I must keep myself from all my other studies and enjoyments, was a sacrifice which I thought next to impossible to make. And it was not flesh alone which revolted against accepting the new faith. I early learned to honor my nation above all others, and to worship my nation's gods and no others. I thought I could not be forced even if by death itself to vow my allegiance to any other gods than my own country's. I should be a traitor to my country, and an apostate from my national faith by accepting a faith which is exotic in its origin. All my noble

ambitions which had been built upon my former conceptions of duty and patriotism were to be demolished by such an overture. I was then a Freshman in a new Government College, where by an effort of a New England Christian scientist, the whole of the upper class (there were but two classes then in the whole college) had already been converted to Christianity. The imperious attitude of the Sophomores toward the "baby Freshmen" is the same the world over, and when to it was added a new religious enthusiasm and spirit of propagandism, their impressions upon the poor "Freshies" can easily be imagined. They tried to convert the Freshies by storm; but there was one among the latter who thought himself capable of not only withstanding the combined assault of the "Sophomoric rushes" (in this case the religious-rush, not cane-rush), but even of reconverting them to their old faith. But alas! mighty men around me were falling and surrendering to the enemy. I alone was left a "heathen," the much detested idolater, the incorrigible worshiper of wood and stones. I well remember the extremity and loneliness to which I was reduced then. One afternoon I resorted to a heathen temple in the vicinity, said to have been authorized by the Government to be the guardian-god of the district. At some distance from the sacred mirror which represented the invisible presence of the deity, I prostrated myself upon coarse dried grass, and there burst into a prayer as sincere and genuine as any I have ever offered to my Christian god since then. I beseeched that guardian-god to speedily extinguish the new enthusiasm in my college, to punish such as those who obstinately refused to disown the strange god, and to help me in my endeavor in the patriotic cause I was upholding then. After the devotion, I returned to my dormitory, again to be tormented with the most unwelcome persuasion to accept the new faith.

A few years later, Uchimura went to the United States and there deepened his faith and devotion to Christ.

With all of the ups and downs that followed the final grasping of the Crucified Son of God, I will not trouble my reader. Downs there were; but they were less than ups. The One Thing riveted my attention, and my whole soul was possessed by It. I thought of it day and night. Even while bringing up scuttles of coal from the basement floor to the topmost story where my lodging was, I meditated upon Christ, the Bible, the Trinity, the Resurrection, and other kindred subjects. . . . Whenever Satan left me free to myself, I pictured to myself the dear and blessed homeland away beyond the seas, and spotted it with churches and Christian colleges, which of course had their existence in my imagination only. No inspiring thought ever came to my mind but I reserved it as a message to my countrymen. Indeed, an empire and its people swallowed up all my leizure [*sic*] hours. [pp. 117–18]

Much impressed by the thought that God's providence must be in my nation. If all good gifts are from Him, then some of the laudable characters of my

countrymen must be also from on high. We must try to serve our God and the world with gifts and boons peculiar to ourselves. God does not want our national characters attained by the discipline of twenty centuries to be wholly supplanted by American and European ideas. The beauty of Christianity is that it can sanctify all the peculiar traits which God gave to each nation. A blessed and encouraging thought that *J– too is God's nation*. [p. 124]

[*Uchimura Kanzō zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 117–18, 124]

THE DISRESPECT INCIDENT (FUKEI JIKEN)

This letter, written by Uchimura to an American friend two months after he had refused to bow before the Imperial Rescript on Education in 1891, describes the personal consequences of his decision to become a Christian. The "disrespect incident" (*fukei jiken*) is sometimes translated as the "case of lèse-majesté."

March 6, 1891

Dear Mr. Bell,

Since I wrote you last, my life has been a very eventful one. On the 9th of Jan. there was in the High Middle School where I taught, a ceremony to acknowledge the Imperial Precept on Education. After the address of the President and reading of the said Precept, the professors and students were asked to go up to the platform one by one, and *bow* to the Imperial signature affixed to the Precept, *in the manner as we used to bow before our ancestral relics as prescribed in Buddhist and Shinto ceremonies*. I was not at all prepared to meet such a strange ceremony, for the thing was the new invention of the president of the school. As I was the third in turn to go up and bow, I scarcely had time to think upon the matter. So, hesitating in doubt, I took a safer course for my Christian conscience, in the August presence of sixty professors (all non-Christians, the two other Xtian prof.'s beside me having absented themselves) and over one thousand students, I took my stand and did not take a bow! It was an awful moment for me, for I instantly apprehended the result of my conduct. The anti-Christian sentiment which was and still is strong in the school, and which was a very delicate affair to soothe down by meekness and kindliness on our part, found a just cause (as they suppose) for bringing forth against me accusations of insult against the nation and its Head, and through me against the Christians in general. . . .

For a week after the ceremony, I received several students and prof.'s who came to me, and with all the meekness I can master I asked them if they found anything in me which was contrary to the Imperial Precept, in my daily conduct

in the school, in my conversations among the students, and in my past history as a loyal subject of Mikado [emperor]. I told them also that a good Emperor must have given the precepts to his subject *not* to be bowed unto, but to be obeyed in our daily walks in life. My logic and demonstrations were enough to silence them individually, but as a body, their anger and prejudice were unquenchable. . . . They called up the principal of the school out of his sickbed to have satisfaction for my case. He, the principal, had been my good friend ever since my first connection with the school; so he tried his best to retain me in the school without compelling me to go through the humiliation of *bowing* before the precept. But the cry of my enemies was that of the Jews to Pilate, "If thou let this man go, thou are not Caesar's friend." He wrote me a very kind letter, approving and applauding my conscientious act, and almost imploring me *to conform to the custom* of the nation, assuring me that the *bow* does *not* mean *worship*, but merely respect to the Emperor. Then he described the real state of the school, that to appease the students who could not understand me, the only course will be to bear the humiliation on my part. The latter touched me, especially as I was in great physical weakness. That the *bow* does *not* mean *worship*, I myself have granted for many years. Here in Japan, it often means no more than taking off of the hat in America. It was not *refusal* but *hesitation* and *conscientious scruples* which caused me to deny the bow at that moment; and now that the Principal *assured* me that it was *not worship*, my scruples were removed, and though I believed the ceremony to be a rather foolish one, for the sake of the school, the principal, and *my* students, I consented to bow.

[*Uchimura Kanzō zenshū*, vol. 20, pp. 206–9]

"TWO J'S"

"Two J's" was composed in parallel English and Japanese five years before Uchimura's death. He wrote his tombstone inscription (in English) while he was working in a home for mentally retarded children.

I love two J's and no third; one is Jesus, and the other Japan.

I do not know which I love more, Jesus or Japan.

I am hated by my countrymen for Jesus' sake as a *yaso* [Jesus, hence Christian] and I am disliked by foreign missionaries for Japan's sake as national and narrow. . . .

Jesus and Japan; my faith is not a circle with one center; it is an ellipse with two centers. My heart and mind revolve around the two dear names. And I know that one strengthens the other; Jesus strengthens and purifies my love for Japan; and Japan clarifies and objectivises [*sic*] my love for Jesus. Were it not for the two, I would become a mere dreamer, a fanatic, an amorphous universal man.

Jesus makes me a world-man, a friend of humanity; Japan makes me a lover of my country, and through it binds me firmly to the terrestrial globe. I am neither too narrow nor too broad by loving the two at the same time.

O Jesus, thou art the Sun of my soul, the saviour dear; I have given my all to thee!

To Be Inscribed Upon My Tomb
I for Japan;
Japan for the World;
The World for Christ;
And all for God.

[*Uchimura Kanzō zenshū*, vol. 15, pp. 599–600; vol. 20, frontispiece; Tsunoda et al., eds., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, 1st ed., vol. 2, pp. 349–50]

NATSUME SŌSEKI

Natsume Sōseki (1867–1916), together with Mori Ōgai (1862–1922), exemplified literary expression in the late Meiji period. Both men developed new fictional forms and engaged in the cultural debates of the day. Sōseki remained the most popular writer throughout the twentieth century. His early novels, especially *Botchan* and *I Am a Cat* (*Wagahai wa neko de aru*), were widely read for generations, while his later, and darker, novels, including *Kokoro* and *The Gate* (*Mon*), soon entered the modern literary canon. In the later works, Sōseki frequently evoked the spiritual costs of Meiji modernization: "Loneliness," he wrote in *Kokoro*, was "the price we have to pay for being born in this modern age."

Sōseki's life coincided with the Meiji era, a fact he noted more than once. After graduating from Tokyo Imperial University in 1893 and teaching in provincial secondary schools, the government sent him to study in England, where he was lonely and unhappy. He resigned from Tokyo University in 1907 and joined the *Tōkyō Asahi shinbun*, one of Japan's largest national newspapers, which published his fiction in serial form. Between 1905 and 1916, Sōseki wrote fourteen novels. At the same time, he took public positions critical of the government's ideological attempts to control literature, even refusing to accept a doctoral degree from the Ministry of Education in 1911.

"MY INDIVIDUALISM" (WATAKUSHI NO KOJINSHUGI)

"My Individualism" is an often-quoted speech delivered by Natsume Sōseki in 1914 to the students of the Gakushūin, an elite academy for the sons of peers and the upper classes. In the years following the Russo-Japanese War of 1904/1905, educated youth

were increasingly attracted to the notion of individualism, while the government and conservatives treated their attraction as subversive to the social order. Sōseki used his own experience to fashion an argument for an individualism grounded in the self that depended on neither Western referents nor the Japanese nation.

In my day, it was even worse. Attribute something—anything—to a Westerner and people would follow it blindly, acting meanwhile as though it made them very important. Everywhere, there were men who thought themselves extremely clever because they could fill their speech with foreign names. Practically everybody was doing it. I say this not in condemnation of others, however: I myself was one of those men. I might read one European's critique of another European's book, for example. Then, never considering the merits of the critique, without in fact understanding it, I would spout it as my own. This piece of mechanically acquired information, this alien thing that I had swallowed whole, that was neither possession nor blood nor flesh of mine, I would regurgitate in the guise of personal opinion. And, the times being what they were, everyone would applaud.

No amount of applause, however, could quiet my anxiety, for I myself knew that I was boasting of borrowed clothes, preening with glued-on peacock feathers. I began to see that I must abandon this empty display and move toward something more genuine, for until I did so, that anxiety in the pit of my stomach would never go away. . . .

My next step was to strengthen—perhaps I should say to build anew—the foundations on which I stood in my study of literature. For this, I began to read books that had nothing whatever to do with literature. If, before, I had been other-centered, it occurred to me now that I must become self-centered (*jiko hon'i*). I became absorbed in scientific studies, philosophical speculation, anything that would support this position. Now the times are different and the need for self-centeredness should be clear to anyone who has done some thinking, but I was immature then, and the world around me was still not very advanced. There was really no other way for me to proceed.

Once I had grasped this idea of self-centeredness, it became for me an enormous fund of strength, even defiance. Who did these Westerners think they were anyway? I had been feeling lost, in a daze, when the idea of egocenteredness (*jiga hon'i*) told me where to stand, showed me the road I must take.

Self-centeredness became for me a new beginning, I confess, and it helped me to find what I thought would be my life's work. I resolved to write books, to tell people that they need not imitate Westerners, that running blindly after others as they were doing would only cause them great anxiety. If I could spell this out for them with unshakable proof, it would give me pleasure and make them happy as well. This was what I hoped to accomplish.

My anxiety disappeared without a trace. I looked out on London's gloom

with a happy heart. I felt that after years of agony my pick had at last struck a vein of ore. A ray of light had broken through the fog and illuminated the way I must take. . . .

So let me explain individualism as simply as I can. Individual liberty is indispensable for the development of individuality that I spoke of earlier. And the development of your individuality will have a great bearing on your happiness. Thus it would seem to me that we must keep for ourselves and grant to others a degree of liberty such [that] I can turn left while you turn right, each of us equally unhindered so long as what we do has no effect on others. This is what I mean by individualism. . . .

Evils arise because people . . . are incapable of understanding ethical individualism. They try, instead to aggrandize themselves at the expense of the general public, to use their power—be it financial or otherwise—to further their own selfish ends. Thus it is that individualism—the individualism that I am describing here—in no way resembles the danger to the nation that ordinary people imagine it to be. As I see it, individualism advocates respecting the existence of others at the same time that one respects one's own existence. I find that a most worthy philosophy. . . .

Many people seem to think of individualism as something opposed to—even destructive of—nationalism. But individualism in no way justifies such a misguided, illogical interpretation. (Actually, I don't like these labels I've been using. People are not to be neatly defined by any single "ism." For clarity's sake, however, I am forced to discuss a variety of subjects under one heading.) Some people nowadays are spreading the idea—and they believe it—that Japan cannot survive unless it is entirely nationalistic. Many go so far as to assert that our nation will perish unless this terrible "individualism" is stamped out. What utter nonsense! All of us, in fact, are nationalists *and* internationalists *and* individualists as well. . . .

The nation may well be important, but we cannot possibly concern ourselves with the nation from morning to night as though possessed by it. There may be those who insist that we think of nothing but the nation twenty-four hours a day, but, in fact, no one can go on thinking only of one single thing so incessantly. The bean curd seller does not go around selling bean curd for the nation's sake. He does it to earn a living. Whatever his immediate motives may be, he does contribute something necessary to society and, in that sense, perhaps, the nation benefits indirectly. The same may be said of the fact that I had three bowls of rice today for lunch and four for supper. I took a larger serving, not for the nation's sake but, frankly, to suit my stomach. These things might be said to have some very indirect influence on the country, and, indeed, from certain points of view, they might bear some relation to the entire drift of world affairs. But what a horror if we had to take that into account and eat for the nation, wash our faces for the nation, go to the toilet for the nation! There is

nothing wrong with encouraging nationalism, but to pretend that you are doing all of these impossible things for the nation is simply a lie. . . .

We are all aware that Japan today is not entirely secure. Japan is a poor country, and small. Who knows what could happen—or when? In that sense all of us must maintain our concern for the nation. But this country of ours is in no danger of suddenly collapsing; we are not about to suffer annihilation; and as long as that is true, there should be no need for all the commotion on behalf of the country. It is like running through the streets dressed in firefighting clothes and full of self-sacrifice before any fire has broken out. . . .

There is just one other point that I would like to bring to your attention—namely, that a nationalistic morality comes out a very poor second when compared with an individualistic morality. Nations have always been most punctilious over the niceties of diplomatic language, but not so with the morality of their actions. They swindle and cheat and trick each other every chaotic step of the way. That is why you will have to content yourself with a pretty cheap grade of morality when you take the nation as your standard, when you conceive of the nation as an indivisible monolith. Approach things from a foundation of individualism, however, and you arrive at a far loftier morality; the difference between the two deserves a good deal of thought.

[Sōseki, "Watakushi no kojinshugi," trans. Rubin, "Sōseki on Individualism," pp. 21–48]

NISHIDA KITARŌ

Nishida Kitarō (1870–1945), the leading philosopher of the Kyoto school, was the founding figure of modern philosophy in Japan. As a devoted practitioner of Zen Buddhism and a lifelong student of Western philosophy—from the ancient Greeks through Hegel and Johann Fichte to Heinrich Rickert and Edmund Husserl—Nishida's philosophical universe had encompassed Japan and the world from his student days. His best-selling early work, *Studies of the Good* (*Zen no kenkyū*, 1911), established his reputation and, with it, the field of academic philosophy as the inquiry into human experience rather than the history of (Western) philosophy. His mature *Fundamental Problems of Philosophy* (*Tetsugaku no konpon mondai*, 1933/1934) further developed his core concept of the "place of absolute nothingness" (*mu no basho*), drawing on both Mahayana Buddhism and European metaphysics to define the dialectical relationship between the conscious self and the world of action.

The emphasis on culture and "culturalism" among intellectuals during the 1930s joined with the imperialism and rising nationalism of the time to revive the debate about the relation of Japanese culture to Asian and world culture in a new and increasingly aggressive register. Nishida first delivered his *Problem*

of Japanese Culture (*Nihon bunka no mondai*) as a series of lectures at Kyoto University in 1938, and then revised it for publication in 1940. This is a text that could be, and was, read in different ways. Some emphasized Nishida's consistent concern with world culture, quoting statements like that from *Fundamental Problems of Philosophy*: "A true world culture will be formed only by various cultures preserving their own respective viewpoints but simultaneously developing themselves through global mediation." These defenders also cited the fact that during the war, nationalists had denounced Nishida as a seditious "globalist." Others, and they were far more numerous, pointed out Nishida's insistence not only on the specialness of Japanese culture but also on its superiority and the proper historical role of its imperial and national polity to lead East Asia. The postwar critique of Nishida and the Kyoto school for their intellectual support of empire and war was both sharp and contested, a mark of the ways in which prewar philosophical debates had indeed been swept up in the political tide of the times.[1]

THE PROBLEM OF JAPANESE CULTURE (*NIHON BUNKA NO MONDAI*)

I believe that underlying the Oriental view of the world and of humanity there has been something equal, if not superior, to Occidental conceptions. Underlying both Chinese and Indian cultures there was something truly great, but they lacked a spirit of resolutely seeking out the facts and therefore became rigid and fossilized. That the Japanese alone in the Orient, though sharing in these cultural influences, have gone forward to absorb Occidental culture and have also been considered the creators of a new Oriental culture is due, is it not, mainly to that same Japanese spirit, free and unfettered, that "goes straight to things"? . . . [p. 1]

In order to explain what Japanese culture is like, we must look back on its history [and] study its institutions and civilization. I stated at the outset of this lecture that I appreciate such studies very highly. At the same time, I believe that we must examine in what sense Japanese culture may today be considered [to be becoming] a world culture and how it may develop as such. The question also arises: Now that the Orient and Occident form one world, in what sense can Oriental culture contribute as a world culture to future world history? They say those who are ignorant of foreign languages know nothing about their own language, and indeed, only through comparison with other things can we achieve a true understanding of a given thing. We can know ourselves by projecting ourselves into the mirror of objectivity, and by knowing ourselves ob-

1. Heisig and Maraldo, *Rude Awakenings*.

jectively we can act objectively; otherwise we cannot escape the charge of being boastful and conceited. It is not enough just to explain the distinctive features of Japanese culture. In the Japan of today, which is attempting to establish itself as Japan, a nation of the world, this point requires special attention. . . .

What in Japan has thus far passed for comparisons of Eastern and Western culture has tended to be done by lining up two cultures and comparing their external characteristics. For example, people say that in the West there is such-and-such a theory; in the East there is a similar one. Or alternatively, in the East there is such-and-such a thing, but in the West it is lacking. Needless to say, men as members of the same species, *Homo sapiens*, have thought the same things often enough. However, even doctrines of a purely theoretical character are not independent of their historical backgrounds; any discussion of them must therefore start with their historical bases and treat them as living things. To compare these ideas in such abstract terms as "isms" is bound to be superficial. For example, Fazang's "free interaction of event with event" and Hegel's dialectics seem much alike at first glance, but one is Buddhistic while the other is Christian, which means that they are essentially different in spirit. Again, although we may speak of possessing something in Oriental thought that is lacking in Occidental thought, the difference may be merely extrinsic, like the long-necked giraffe and the short-necked whale [both of which are nonetheless mammals]. Such characterizations may be acceptable if it is merely a matter of description, but in discussing the relative merits of both cultures, we must reexamine things in terms of the intrinsic character of our historical life. . . . [pp. 280–83]

Let us ask whether there is not any sort of logic underlying Oriental culture—the culture that has nurtured us for several thousand years. Doesn't our conception of human life and the world possess its own original way of looking at and thinking things or, in short, its own logic? Is it, as many people think, simply emotional? I do not deny that Japanese culture is a culture of emotion; I made a remark myself elsewhere to the effect that Japanese culture is *rhythmical*. Nevertheless, it is only through the attainment of reality that we can be creative, can live in truth. We must, therefore, obtain a logical grasp of our way of life at its very foundations. . . .

Leaving aside those who are studying the special character of Oriental culture from a historical point of view, don't the majority of those who treat Oriental culture from a philosophical point of view deal with it in Occidental terms? And on the other hand, don't the remainder take something particular [i.e., specifically Oriental] for the universal, in other words, regard subjective hope or desire as the basic principle? Is "logic" in general nothing more than the mode of thought and way of looking at things that underlies Western culture today? Must we assume Occidental logic to be the only logic, and must the Oriental way of thinking be considered simply a less-developed form [of the same thinking]? In order to decide these problems, we first have to go back and

reexamine the underlying sources from which logic emerged into the historical world and the part logic played in history.

In the last analysis, thinking is nothing but a historical event, which acts as the self-formative function of our historical life. Willing as I am to recognize Occidental logic as a magnificent systematic development and intent as I am on studying it first as one type of world logic, I wonder whether even Western logic is anything more than a special feature of the historical life, an aspect of self-formation of the historical life. Such a thing as formal, abstract logic will remain the same anywhere, but concrete logic as a form of concrete knowledge cannot be independent of the specific features of historical life. . . . [pp. 286–87]

I am not saying that logic is of two kinds, Occidental logic and Oriental logic. Logic must be one; it is only as the form of self-formative function of the historical world that it has taken different directions in the course of its development. Roughly speaking, we might say that Occidental logic is the logic that takes things as its object and that Oriental logic is the logic that takes mind as its object. Some may say that a logic with mind as its objective is an impossibility, for logic must always be the logic of the objective object. [On the one hand,] what we call this self of ours is also a fact or event in the historical world. Only as such is it something thinkable, something we can discuss. [On the other hand,] what we call a "thing" really exists only as a fact in the historical world, and nothing exists in the historical world as mere object entirely apart from what we call "self." All [i.e., things and selves], therefore, should come under the logic of historical fact. Now in the logic of Buddhism, I think, there are the germs of a logic that takes the self as its object—a logic of the mind—even though it has remained a sort of personal experience and developed no further. It has not developed into what could be called a logic of fact. We first need to study Occidental logic thoroughly, but at the same time we must have a critical attitude toward it. What we call the study of the Orient today only means taking the Orient as an *object* of study. As yet, a profound reflection about the Oriental way of thinking, in order to evolve a new *method* of thinking, has not been undertaken. [pp. 289–90]

At this point, Nishida presents a brief statement of the theoretical position on which he bases the evaluation of Oriental and Occidental culture given in the concluding selection.[2]

To distinguish among the intellectual trends of different peoples, we must note their respective characteristics. I believe that the principle of self-formation of the historical world formed the foundation of Japanese thought. For the Japanese people who attained their distinctive development as a society almost

2. See Tsunoda et al., eds., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, 1st ed., vol. 2, pp. 356–62.

entirely secluded on isolated Oriental islands for thousands of years, what they called Japan was the same as the world. Japan was a vertical world. The Japanese spirit emerged in the construction of Japanese history. But today Japan is no longer the isolated Oriental islands or secluded society it once was. It is Japan of the world, Japan turned toward the world and rising. Japan's formative principle must therefore become the formative principle of the world as well. Herein lies what I consider a great problem in the present time. To my mind, what must be most cautioned against is making Japan into a subject (*shutai*). That reduces the imperial Way (*kōdō*) to nothing other than imperialism (*teikokushugika*). . . . [Instead,] we must contribute to the world by discovering in the depths of our historical development that principle of self-formation of the world of self-identity and contradictions. This is the realization of the imperial Way and the true meaning of "all the world under one roof" (*hakkō ichiu*). [p. 341]

[*Nihon bunka no mondai*, vol. 12 of *Nishida Kitarō zenshū*, pp. 1, 280–83, 286–87, 289–90, 341; CG; see also Tsunoda et al., eds., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, 1st ed., vol. 2, pp. 350–64]

ENDŌ SHŪSAKU

Endō Shūsaku (1923–1996) was one of the most popular writers in the postwar years. His historical fiction, including the famous *Silence* (*Chinmoku*, 1966), depicted the dilemmas of faith caused by the Tokugawa persecution of Christianity in the seventeenth century. In his novels about Japan's Christian martyrs, whose refusal to tread on a metal image of the crucifix or the Madonna (*fumie*) cost them their lives, Endō portrayed Japanese Christianity as a maternal religion that looked less to God the Father than to the Mother, the Virgin Mary, and often in the form of the images of Maria Kannon that sustained the faith of the "hidden Christians" during the centuries of persecution.

"MY COMING INTO FAITH" (WATASHI NO NYŪSHIN)

Endō Shūsaku's confessional account of his coming into faith explains his spiritual and cultural journey from a perfunctory baptism in childhood through his study abroad in France to his confrontation with his own alienation in novels about those who had faced dilemmas of belief in earlier times.

My Relationship with Christianity

Why did I become a Christian? I did not choose this religion of my own volition. Among the various Christian sects, I am a follower of Catholicism, but I did not choose Catholicism after conducting a comparison of Catholicism and

Protestantism. Neither did I choose Christianity after comparing it with Buddhism or with Communism.

My parents divorced when I was in elementary school, and it seems my mother tried to find solace from her pain after the divorce through religion. Her older sister was a Catholic, and so my mother ended up attending church and was baptized. It was natural for my older brother and me, though reluctantly, also to go to church.

To be perfectly honest, the talks at church were totally uninteresting to me, and I dozed through most of them. It turned out that all the children in my group were to be baptized, and I joined in with them and said I would be baptized, too. I received baptism without giving a thought to its significance. I was in the fourth grade at the time, so I must have been ten or eleven years old.

That was the manner in which I received baptism, so there was no philosophical motivation whatsoever behind it. Like an infant getting baptized, I was converted without any idea of what I was doing. . . .

When I was eighteen or nineteen years old, around the time I was taking preparatory classes to enter Keiō University, I began reading books and decided that perhaps I would cast off this "Western religion." It was like being coerced into a marriage with a woman chosen by my parents, since I hadn't made the choice of my own volition, and I felt like saying to her "Get out!" But she wouldn't leave. Just like a wife. It felt like she was there to stay. . . .

A Religion Retailored to My Body

I think, because I was very strongly attached to my mother, that somehow inside I felt I couldn't look her in the face if I were to flatly reject something she had believed in so fervently. It seemed as if it would be shirking my duty to my mother to discard something she had given me. It seemed inexcusable of me to throw off something without really studying it or thinking about it when my mother had lived it with her whole soul and bequeathed it to me, and somewhere I felt that I, too, had to put my soul into it.

I finally came to the conclusion that I would have to retailor the suit of Western-style clothes that my mother had given me into Japanese attire that would fit my body. . . .

I went to France as a student shortly after the end of World War II, and while I was there I became very ill. I'm sometimes asked whether I began to think seriously about Christianity at that time, since it is very lonely to become ill in a foreign land and one suffers spiritually in many ways. But I didn't give it that much thought at the time. Not that I gave it no consideration at all, but it was actually more during the time of a later illness that I began to take the issue seriously. . . .

It was after I became a novelist, when I had to spend two and a half to three years lying in bed, that I thought about Christianity. . . . I became ill just after

I had finished writing *The Sea and Poison* (*Umi to dokuyaku*), and every time I opened up a literary journal, there was something a friend of mine had written. Knowing that I would be writing, too, if I were healthy, I felt bitter disappointment. . . .

When I fell ill as a student, I still retained the image in my mind that Christianity was a force that was oppressing me, strangling me. Just as Europe was oppressing me. No matter how much I studied about Europe, I could never understand it. Even though I studied very hard. Among those elements oppressing me was Christianity. European-style Christianity, that is. I was stifled by it and wanted to go back to Japan as quickly as possible.

When I got sick the second time, after I became a novelist, I gradually came to realize that Christianity did not belong exclusively to Europe—in other words, that Christianity wasn't just a suit of Western clothes but had elements of Japanese dress as well. And so I began to think about how I could bring it into my own life. I think that feeling emerges in the novel I wrote after I was released from the hospital, *Silence* (*Chinmoku*). . . .

I wrote a novel entitled *The Samurai*, but the image of the samurai there was of one who serves, who surrenders himself and his life to another. I'm sure that people who believe they can handle everything in their lives through their own strength feel they don't need religion, but I'm the kind of man who can't take care of everything in my life on my own; just like the protagonist in my novel *The Samurai*, I have to give myself over to something greater. It's just as Luke records in his Gospel: "Into thy hands I commend my spirit." . . .

I think that Japanese writers in particular are seeking after something religious in nature. We speak of a literature in search of truth, but I think you could replace that concept of truth with the idea of religion. Yoshiyuki Junnosuke is a man deeply sensitive to the sincerity and gentleness and compassion one finds in prostitutes. He responds to the sympathy that such women show him. To turn the whole idea on its head, just as I have sought a maternal religious spirit in God, he has sought something humanly sublime in the red-light district. I suppose this is a bothersome thought for a man like Yoshiyuki who believes in no religion, but I think he'll make it to heaven sooner than I do.

I don't think there are irreligious people and religious people. I think there are two types of people: those who claim to be religious individuals and those who would not make such a claim but for whom the experiences they seek are in fact religious. . . .

Some say that the Jesus in my novels is very gentle, very easy for the Japanese to relate to. Some are critical that he is too Japanese, but that is Jesus as I see him. To say that Jesus is a mirror that reflects each individual's heart is to say that there is one image of Jesus for me and another image of Jesus for others.

And yet . . . I am most drawn to the gentle Jesus. That is the Jesus I love. That is why I have written throughout my career about such a Jesus and why the image of him raging in the temple does not quite come into focus for me.

And so the Jesus about whom I write is not the absolute Jesus, not all there is to Jesus. There are other ways of looking at him. Each Christian has a separate image of Jesus, but the true image of Jesus emerges when we put all those views together.

[Endō, "Watashi no nyūshin," pp. 5–25; VG]

MISHIMA YUKIO

Mishima Yukio (1925–1970) was another of the brilliant writers—including Kawabata Yasunari, Abe Kōbō, and Ōe Kenzaburō—who made postwar Japanese literature an indispensable part of world culture. A prolific novelist, dramatist, and flamboyant figure, Mishima was distinguished from these other literary giants by his powerful commitment to a Japanese imperial tradition that led eventually to his dramatic suicide in the name of a martial spirit he considered lost in the peace and democracy of postwar Japan. Mishima was learned in traditional culture and widely read in Western literature. He insisted on using traditional orthography even after writing had been simplified by the postwar government, displaying contempt for writers who, when they wrote about the former nobility, could not reproduce its distinctive language. Although he criticized the upper classes for their pretension and their materialism, he believed that their language and social behavior preserved Japanese traditions. Mishima's daily life, however, was not marked by any obvious adherence to these traditions. His house was built in a Spanish style and featured a marble statue of Apollo in the garden. He wore the latest fashions and the most stylish sunglasses and, to the end of his life, disdained Japanese cuisine as insufficiently filling.

Mishima did not think of these aspects in his life as inconsistent with Japanese tradition—a tradition he spoke of as a refined eroticism—a *joi de vivre* that manifested itself in an elegant sensuality, which he contrasted to the moralistic puritanism of the West. In choosing the emperor as its focal point, he did not refer to Hirohito, whom he was perfectly willing to openly mimic or criticize. Rather, for him, the emperor was not a particular person but the incarnation of an unbroken tradition extending to the beginnings of Japanese history—Japanese tradition given visible form. Feeling intense disgust at the bourgeois culture and commercialism that had infected Japan, he believed that the imperial institution could provide an axis around which Japanese culture might be reinvigorated. His *On the Defense of Culture* (*Bunka bōei ron*) dates from 1969.

Mishima's sensational suicide in 1970 had little apparent effect on the youth of Japan, the audience to whom he directed his final appeal. But his novels and plays continued to draw audiences in Japan and the West, not because of their political philosophy, but because of the beauty of their language and Mishima's mastery of Japanese literary tradition.

"THE NATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF JAPANESE CULTURE" (NIHON BUNKA NO KOKUMINTEKI TOKUSHOKU)

There is something dubious about such abstract concepts as "world culture" and "the culture of humanity." Especially in the case of a country like Japan, which has a distinct national character, history, geographical situation, and climate, a grasp of the national characteristics revealed in the culture is essential.

First of all, even if the end product of a culture is material, while in a living state it is not material nor is it immaterial like the national spirit before it has manifested itself; it is a form, a kind of transparent crystallization through which the national spirit can be seen, and no matter how turbid the form may become, it is likely that the degree of transparency already achieved will be sufficient for the soul to be glimpsed in the form. For this reason, culture includes not only what may be termed works of art but also actions and modes of action. Culture includes not only the prescribed movements of a nō play but also the actions of the naval officer who was killed after he jumped from a human torpedo as it surfaced in the moonlit sea off New Guinea and brandished his Japanese sword over his head, and it includes all the many last letters written by members of the Special Attack Force (*kamikaze*). Everything points to the form through which the Japaneseness of things can be glimpsed in the two aspects of the "chrysanthemum and the sword," from *The Tale of Genji* to a modern novel, from the *Man'yōshū* to avant-garde poetry, from the Buddhist statues in Chūson-ji to contemporary sculpture, from flower arrangement and the tea ceremony to kendō and jūdō, and even from kabuki to gangster movies or from Zen to military etiquette. Literature in its use of the Japanese language is an important element in the creation of Japanese culture as form.

It is not adequate to extract from Japanese culture only its static side and to ignore the dynamic side. Japanese culture has a special tradition of transforming modes of action themselves into works of art. It is a special feature of Japan that the martial arts belong to the same genre of artistic forms as the tea ceremony and flower arrangement; all come into being, are continued, and disappear within a short space of time. *Bushidō* is a system of making ethics beautiful or perhaps of giving ethical content to beauty; it is a union between life and art. The importance accorded to the traditions of performance that have arisen in nō and kabuki prepares from the outset clues to how the art is to be transmitted, and these clues themselves are forms that constantly give rise to free expression. Even in the modern novel, which might seem at first glance to be the genre with the greatest freedom, the efforts expended at times ever since the rise of naturalism, albeit unconscious, on the creation of novelistic forms, have been many times the efforts expended on intellectual formation.

Second, Japanese culture has never distinguished between originals and cop-

ies. In the West, where culture consists mainly of things, they built with stone, but wood was used in Japan. In the West the destruction of an original building was final; it could not return to life a second time. For a culture based on material things, this was tantamount to extinction; that was why Paris was surrendered to the enemy, as we have seen.

However, it is true equally of the West and Japan that material culture, before plans for organic preservation were drawn up in accordance with the emphasis on culture of modern times, was subjected to frightening license. When one thinks back on the wartime destruction and the conflagrations of the past, it is evident that the survival of material culture has been simply a matter of accident. One cannot say that only objects of good quality, carefully selected by the hands of history, have been preserved. The supreme work of the Greek sculptor Praxiteles may still be sleeping today at the bottom of the Mediterranean. The fate imposed in the past on the Japanese plastic arts, based on a culture of wood and paper, was far more thorough. An incalculable number of cultural properties were lost during the Ōnin War. It was a miracle that the temples and shrines of Kyoto escaped the flames.

One reason that adherence to material culture has been comparatively rare in Japan and that there has been the special feature of transference of cultural forms to forms of action that take disappearance as intrinsic is related to the nature of the materials employed. The extinction of the original is not absolute. Far from it. No definitive difference in value between the original and the copy has been established.

The most extreme example of this tendency can be found in the buildings of the Ise Shrine. The ceremonial renewal of the buildings every twenty years has recurred fifty-nine times since the time of Empress Jitō. The newly erected Ise Shrine is always the original, and the [former] original at this point disappears, passing on to the copy the life of the original; the copy itself becomes the original. The uniqueness of the cultural concept of rebuilding the Ise Shrine becomes apparent if it is compared with the handicap shouldered by Roman copies for preserving the ancient Greek sculptures, most of which survive only in these copies. The rules of *honkadori* (allusive variation) in *waka* poetry and other similar examples show that this kind of cultural concept still today occupies a deep place in our hearts.

The special features of this cultural concept correspond to the special feature of the emperor system in that each successive emperor is indisputably the emperor and the relationship between him and Tenshō Daijin [Amaterasu, the Sun Goddess] is not one of original and copy. . . . [pp. 227–29]

The Emperor as a Cultural Concept

The imperial institution, as a cultural concept of this nature, satisfies the two requisites of cultural totality: temporal continuity has been preserved by reli-

gious rites, but at the same time, spatial continuity at times has gone so far as to tolerate even political disorder; it is as if the most profound eroticism corresponds on the one hand to ancient theocracy while being bonded with anarchism.

Miyabi (elegance) was at once the fine flower of the court culture and the yearning it inspired, but in times of emergency, *miyabi* might even take the form of terrorism. That is to say, the emperor, being a cultural concept, was not always on the side of state authority and order; he sometimes held out his hand to disorder. When state authority and order had separated the country from the people, the emperor, in his role as a cultural concept, functioned as a revolutionary principle attempting to restore "the indivisibility of country and people." The patriots who, in response to the wishes of Emperor Kōmei, carried out the incident at the Sakurada Gate,[3] were putting into practice "single-hearted *miyabi*." An uprising for the sake of the emperor, as long as it did not violate cultural tradition, was to be accepted, but the "emperor system" under Shōwa,[4] adhering to the European system of constitutional monarchy, had lost the ability to understand the *miyabi* of the February 26 [1936] incident.[5]

While it proclaimed "the unity of religion and government," the emperor system under the Meiji constitution provided only a temporal continuity and did not concern itself with spatial continuity, thus giving way to the danger of political instability. In other words, it did not concern itself with the problem of freedom of speech. The political concept of the emperor could not help but abet the sacrifice of the cultural concept of the emperor, which should have been freer and more embracing. Hence in postwar Japan, a "cultural nation" with an emperor system that barely managed to survive under the American Occupation, both these aspects of the system lost their real force. As a result of the "educationalism" in the style of the Taishō period [1912–1926], promoted by low-class bureaucrats and low-class "men of culture," it was made subservient to a mass socialization, and its true dignity was lowered to the realm of "the emperor system" as it appeared in the weeklies. It ended without any attempt having been made to revive and reestablish "the emperor as cultural concept" or "the emperor as unifying agent of a cultural totality." On the one hand, the nobility of the culture died, and on the other, it came about that those looking for a revival of the ancient order could hope for no more than a revival of the emperor as a political concept.

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3. Reference to the assassination of Ii Naosuke on March 24, 1860, by samurai of the Mito domain. Ii, the chief adviser (*tairō*) of the shogun, had relentlessly attempted to stamp out opposition to his policy of peacefully concluding treaties with foreigners. Emperor Kōmei bitterly opposed this policy.

4. Shōwa was the reign-name of Hirohito as emperor (1926–1989).

5. The emperor, not approving of the revolt of young army officers against the alleged corruption of the government, ordered the soldiers back to their barracks.

At the same time, the figure of the emperor as priest and poet still lived in the rites of the palace sanctuary and the ceremonies of the Imperial Office of Poetry Composition. The tradition of imperial poetry composition signifies that it is the emperor who presides over poetry. However, this has almost nothing to do with the emperor's individual talent or cultivation as a poet. [Instead,] it invests the people's poetizing work with a certain elegance (*miyabi*); it attests to the continuance of the cultural holism that has come down from the *Man'yōshū*. Originality is pushed to the periphery, and the commonplace radiates at the core. Poems by the people participating in this courtly elegance and linking up with the imperial composition form an unbroken chain from the summit of the imperial composition all the way down to the skirts of the mountain. By the people's not merely "looking" at the cultural tradition but participating in it with their compositions, glory is thrown back on them by the cultural continuity. The reigning emperor is, like the renewal of the Ise Shrine, at once the present emperor and the first emperor. The secret rituals of Great Thanksgiving (Daijōsai) and "Offering of the First Fruits" (Niinamesai) preserve this tradition well.

The imperial institution, representing the cultural holism that provides the formal link between the cultural present and its origins in the past, between its creation and its preservation, appears to have become almost completely effaced from the consciousness of the bearers of culture today. At the same time, apart from the sense of courtly excellence, we no longer possess a truly typical model of classical beauty. The holism of culture is not to be found in the flatness of the contrast between freedom and responsibility but in the three-dimensional structure of freedom and excellence. Even now, we have no poetic form that completely combines the chrysanthemum and the sword except for the *waka*. Just as the Japanese novel developed from the prefaces to poems, the *waka* is the generic form of Japanese culture, and other genres are extensions of this. The fluid structure based on the operation of images in accordance with the continuing effects of resonant language continues even in contemporary literature almost unconsciously to infuse and diffuse throughout all our literary practice. Caught between the elegance of court poetry and the imitative elegance of popular poetry, there persists only this slender rootless grass in all contemporary culture. The break in tradition is none other than the break in the tradition of what at first glance might seem to be conventional poetry. There is no sign that contemporary Japanese culture has provided anything of the generic beauty we associate with the concepts of *yūgen* (mysterious depth), *hana* (flower), *wabi* (simple beauty), and *sabi* (faded beauty). Without the essential intermediary agency of the emperor, poetry and politics have fallen into diametrical opposition, and politics have swallowed up the domain of poetry. . . . [pp. 244–46]

[*Mishima Yukio hyōron zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 227–29, 244–46; DK]

ŌE KENZABURŌ

Ōe Kenzaburō (b. 1935), the winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1994, viewed Japanese tradition very differently from the way Mishima Yukio did. Marked by his childhood experience of the war, Ōe became an ardent supporter of postwar democracy as an ideal and a steadfast critic of its violations in practice.[6] Ōe wrote in many genres, including novels, short stories, and essays. His preoccupation with personal authenticity and integrity evolved together with a profound engagement with Western literature and philosophy, from William Butler Yeats to Gershom Scholem. He was a persistent public opponent of the myths of the imperial institution, of rearmament and Cold War geopolitics, and of Japan's inadequate relations with Asia, both political and cultural.

"JAPAN, THE AMBIGUOUS, AND MYSELF"

Ōe Kenzaburō's Nobel Prize acceptance speech, an excerpt of which follows, represents his mature views, but the title suggests his continuing anxieties and doubt with regard to unresolved personal and cultural tensions. Ōe's sense of ambiguity, expressed in images he refers to as "grotesque realism," affected him both as a Japanese and as an individual, who, according to the Nobel citation, "with poetic force creates an imagined world, where life and myth condense to form a disconcerting picture of the human predicament."

Ōe introduced his remarks by referring to the Nobel speech of his predecessor, Kawabata Yasunari (1899–1972), the first Japanese writer to receive this literary distinction, in 1968. Kawabata had identified with Japanese tradition as represented by Zen poetry, but Ōe found this too vague and struggled to make his own ambiguities less so.

During the last catastrophic World War, I was a little boy and lived in a remote, wooded valley on Shikoku Island in the Japanese archipelago, thousands of miles away from here. At that time there were two books by which I was really fascinated: *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* and *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils*. . . .

Kawabata Yasunari, the first Japanese writer who stood on this platform as a winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature, delivered a lecture entitled "Japan, the Beautiful, and Myself." It was at once very beautiful and *vague*. I have used the English word *vague* as an equivalent of that word in Japanese *aimai na*. This Japanese adjective could have several alternatives for its English translation. . . .

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6. For his immediate postwar views, see chap. 46; for his views of the atomic bomb, chap. 51.

Under that title Kawabata talked about a unique kind of mysticism which is found not only in Japanese thought but also more widely Oriental thought. By "unique" I mean here a tendency towards Zen Buddhism. Even as a twentieth-century writer, Kawabata depicts his state of mind in terms of the poems written by medieval Zen monks. Most of these poems are concerned with the linguistic impossibility of telling truth. According to such poems, words are confined within their closed shells. The readers cannot expect that words will ever come out of these poems and then get through to us. . . . After those years of his pilgrimage, only by making a confession as to how he was fascinated by such inaccessible Japanese poems that baffle any attempt fully to understand them was he able to talk about "Japan the Beautiful, and Myself," that is, about the world in which he lived and the literature which he created.

It is noteworthy, furthermore, that Kawabata concluded his lecture as follows:

> My works have been described as works of emptiness, but it is not to be taken for the nihilism of the West. The spiritual foundation would seem to be quite different. Dōgen entitled his poem about the seasons "Innate Reality," and even as he sang of the beauty of the seasons he was deeply immersed in Zen.[7]

To tell you the truth, rather than with Kawabata, my compatriot who stood here twenty-six years ago, I feel more spiritual affinity with the Irish poet William Butler Yeats, who was awarded a Nobel Prize for Literature seventy-one years ago when he was at about the same age as me. Of course, I would not presume to rank myself with the poetic genius Yeats. I am merely a humble follower living in a country far removed from his. As William Blake, whose work Yeats revalued and restored to the high place it holds in this century, once wrote: "Across Europe and Asia to China and Japan like lightning." . . .

As someone living in the present world such as this one and sharing bitter memories of the past imprinted on my mind, I cannot utter in unison with Kawabata the phrase "Japan, the Beautiful, and Myself." A moment ago I touched upon the "vagueness" of the title and content of Kawabata's lecture. In the rest of my lecture I would like to use the word *ambiguous* in accordance with the distinction made by the eminent British poet Kathleen Raine; she once said of William Blake that he was not so much vague as ambiguous. I cannot talk about myself otherwise than by saying, "Japan, the Ambiguous, and Myself."

My observation is that after one hundred and twenty years of modernization since the opening of the country, present-day Japan is split between two opposite poles of ambiguity. I, too, am living as a writer with this polarization imprinted on me like a deep scar.

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7. Translation by Edward Seidensticker.

This ambiguity, which is so powerful and penetrating that it splits both the state and its people, is evident in various ways. The modernization of Japan has been oriented toward learning from and imitating the West. Yet Japan is situated in Asia and has firmly maintained its traditional culture. The ambiguous orientation of Japan drove the country into the position of an invader in Asia. On the other hand, the culture of modern Japan, which implied being thoroughly open to the West, long remained something obscure that was forever inscrutable to the West (or at least that impeded understanding by the West). What was more, Japan was driven into isolation from other Asian countries, not only politically but also socially and culturally.

In the history of modern Japanese literature, the writers most sincere and aware of their mission were those "postwar writers" who came onto the literary scene immediately after the last war, deeply wounded by the catastrophe yet full of hope for a rebirth. They tried with great pains to make up for the inhuman atrocities committed by Japanese military forces in Asian countries, as well as to bridge the profound gaps that existed not only between the developed countries of the West and Japan but also between African and Latin American countries and Japan. Only by doing so did they think that they could seek with some humility reconciliation with the rest of the world. It has always been my aspiration to cling to the very end of the line of that literary tradition inherited from those writers.

The contemporary state of Japan and its people in their postmodern phase cannot but be ambivalent. Right in the middle of the history of Japan's modernization came the Second World War, a war which was brought about by the very aberration of the modernization itself. The defeat in this war fifty years ago occasioned an opportunity for Japan and the Japanese as the very agent of the war to attempt a rebirth out of the great misery and sufferings that were depicted by the "postwar school" of Japanese writers. The moral props for Japanese aspiring to such a rebirth were the idea of democracy and their determination never to wage a war again. . . .

After the end of the Second World War it was a categorical imperative for us to declare that we renounced war forever in a central article of the new constitution. The Japanese chose the principle of eternal peace as the basis of morality for our rebirth after the war.

I trust that the principle can best be understood in the West, with its long tradition of tolerance for conscientious rejection of military service. In Japan itself there have, all along, been attempts by some to obliterate the article about renunciation of war from the constitution, and for this purpose they have taken every opportunity to make use of pressures from abroad. But to obliterate from the constitution the principle of eternal peace will be nothing but an act of betrayal against the peoples of Asia and the victims of the atom bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. . . .

The prewar Japanese constitution that posited an absolute power transcending the principle of democracy had sustained some support from the populace.

Even though we now have the half-century-old new constitution, there is a popular sentiment of support for the old one that lives on in reality in some quarters. If Japan were to institutionalize a principle other than the one to which we have adhered for the last fifty years, the determination we made in the postwar ruins of our collapsed effort at modernization—that determination of ours to establish the concept of universal humanity would come to nothing. . . .

What I call Japan's "ambiguity" in my lecture is a kind of chronic disease that has been prevalent throughout the modern age. Japan's economic prosperity is not free from it either, accompanied as it is by all kinds of potential dangers in the light of the structure of world economy and environmental conservation. The "ambiguity" in this respect seems to be accelerating. It may be more obvious to the critical eyes of the world at large than to us within the country. At the nadir of the postwar economic poverty we found a resilience to endure it, never losing our hope for recovery. It may sound curious to say so, but we seem to have no less resilience to endure our anxiety about the ominous consequences emerging out of the present prosperity. From another point of view, a new situation now seems to be arising in which Japan's prosperity is going to be incorporated into the expanding potential power of both production and consumption in Asia at large.

I am one of the writers who wish to create serious works of literature which dissociate themselves from those novels which are mere reflections of the vast consumer cultures of Tokyo and the subcultures of the world at large. What kind of identity as a Japanese should I seek? W. H. Auden once defined the novelist as follows:

> . . . , among the dust
> Be just, among the Filthy filthy too,
> And in his own weak person, if he can,
> Must suffer dully all the wrongs of Man.[8]

This is what has become my "habit of life" (in Flannery O'Connor's words) through being a writer as my profession.

To define a desirable Japanese identity, I would like to pick out the word *decent*, which is among the adjectives that George Orwell often used, along with words like *humane*, *sane*, and *comely*, or the character types that he favored. This deceptively simple epithet may starkly set off and contrast with the word *ambiguous* used for my identification in "Japan, the Ambiguous, and Myself." There is a wide and ironical discrepancy between what the Japanese seem like when viewed from outside and what they wish to look like.

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8. W. H. Auden, "The Novelist," lines 11–14.

I hope Orwell would not raise an objection if I used the word *decent* as a synonym of *humanist* or *humaniste* in French, because both words share in common qualities such as tolerance and humanity. Among our ancestors were some pioneers who made painstaking efforts to build up the Japanese identity as "decent" or "humanist." . . .

I learnt concretely from [Watanabe Kazuo's] translation of Rabelais what Mikhail Bakhtin formulated as "the image system of grotesque realism or the culture of popular laughter"; the importance of material and physical principles; the correspondence between the cosmic, social, and physical elements; the overlapping of death and passions for rebirth; and the laughter that subverts hierarchical relationships.

The image system made it possible to seek literary methods of attaining the universal for someone like me, born and brought up in a peripheral, marginal, off-center region of the peripheral, marginal, off-center country, Japan. Starting from such a background, I do not represent Asia as a new economic power but an Asia impregnated with ever-lasting poverty and a mixed-up fertility. By sharing old, familiar yet living metaphors, I align myself with writers like Kim Ji-ha of Korea[9] and Chon I and Mu Jen, both of China. For me the brotherhood of world literature consists in such relationships in concrete terms. I once took part in a hunger strike for the political freedom of a gifted Korean poet. I am now deeply worried about the destiny of those gifted Chinese novelists who have been deprived of their freedom since the Tiananmen Square incident.

Another way in which Professor Watanabe has influenced me is in his idea of humanism. I take it to be the quintessence of Europe as a living totality. It is an idea which is also perceptible in Milan Kundera's definition of the spirit of the novel. . . . As someone influenced by Watanabe's humanism, I wish my task as a novelist to enable both those who express themselves with words and their readers to recover from their own sufferings and the sufferings of their time and to cure their souls of the wounds. I have said I am split between the opposite poles of ambiguity characteristic of the Japanese. I have been making efforts to be cured of and restored from those pains and wounds by means of literature. I have made my efforts also to pray for the cure and recovery of my fellow Japanese. . . .

"Weak person" though I am, with the aid of this unverifiable belief I would like to "suffer dully all the wrongs" accumulated throughout the twentieth century as a result of the monstrous development of technology and transport. As one with a peripheral, marginal, and off-center existence in the world, I would like to seek how—with what I hope is a modest decent and humanist contribution—I can be of some use in a cure and reconciliation of mankind.

[Nobel Museum, Nobel Lecture, December 7, 1994; English text in Allén, *Nobel Lectures in Literature*, pp. 66–75]

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9. See Ch'oe et al., eds., *Sources of Korean Tradition*, vol. 2, p. 400.

Chapter 50

GENDER POLITICS AND FEMINISM

In Japan, as elsewhere, the upheavals and transformations accompanying the advent of modernity produced new identities and social formations while dismantling, excluding, and marginalizing others. Out of this conflictual and uneven process emerged possibilities for new social alliances and movements, as well as for the writing of new histories representing new perspectives. Indeed, the telling of these histories often meant creating new frameworks for understanding the temporal process of modernity itself.[1]

This was certainly the case for those who have tried to account for how gender, as a fundamental social division, has evolved with the formation of a modern social structure in Japan. Denied the status of legal subjects of the Japanese state until 1945, women (as well as other sexual and ethnic minorities) since the Meiji Restoration have been largely refused active participation in the crucial ideological work of providing the modern nation-state with its historical narratives and cultural canons. With a few exceptions, representations of women's experiences in these bodies of work have been either absent or, equally likely, produced by others. As long-neglected texts and other expressive artifacts

1. For background on the status and role of women, see de Bary et al., eds., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, chap. 17; vol. 2, chaps. 25, 38, 39, 40, 44, 47.

created by women continue to be reclaimed, however, our stories of modern Japanese history will continue to be revised.

That the selections included in this chapter represent an unusually broad time span—from the late nineteenth to the late twentieth century—is indicative of the far-reaching implications of the question of gender for the writing of modern Japanese history. Each piece may be linked, directly or indirectly, to the existence of a social movement calling for women's equality or, as we move closer to the present, for an end to forms of social discrimination based on gender and/or sexual preference. Gender roles have varied greatly throughout history, however, so to assume a single definition of "woman" linking these writings is not entirely satisfactory. That the term *feminizumu* was not used in Japan until the 1970s also complicates our chronology. For example, should the transcription by a feminist anthropologist in the 1970s of interviews with Japanese women sent as contracted sex workers to Southeast Asia in the 1920s be viewed as an aspect of postwar women's studies or as a long-occluded chapter of Taishō history? What are the implications for our current understanding of the emergence of modern Japanese literature of the publication of an anthology of Shimizu Shikin's little-known writings, a hundred years after her birth? Narrowly speaking, such events may be linked to the social movements known as *ūman ribu* (women's liberation) and *feminizumu*, which emerged in Japan in the 1970s and without which, no doubt, these events would not have occurred. Yet insofar as they entail a revision of the story of modern Japan itself, they also require us to rethink the foundations of Japanese modernity.

GENDER AND MODERNIZATION

The nature of modernization and its impact on gender remained a crucial area of debate among late-twentieth-century Japanese feminists. Today, the advent of modernization in Japan is seen not so much as an unqualified advance for women as a historical process in which gender itself was radically redefined, producing both new forms of freedom and new restrictions for women. Many feminists now argue that gender inequality in modern Japan has much in common with that of other societies in which industrial capitalism emerged on a preindustrial patriarchal base. The onset of industrialization in such societies was experienced differently in the countryside and in the cities and affected differently those in varying socioeconomic circumstances. Thus while preindustrial societies were undoubtedly organized around principles of patriarchal authority, depending on the context, forms of gender segregation may have been quite different from what they are in industrialized societies. Marriage, work, child-rearing practices, and codes of sexual conduct in Tokugawa Japan, for example, differed among the four major social classes. While the lives of women

in samurai households were highly restricted and codified, women in the other three classes were more likely to work alongside men, with whom they often shared, to a greater or lesser degree, responsibility for both productive and child-rearing labor. As Japan's efforts to build mines and factories in order to compete in a global economy progressed and as life in the countryside was slowly transformed, young women from farming families were drawn in unprecedented numbers out of the small household units in which they had worked. Although this move took them beyond the confines of the family, they often were segregated more decisively from men because of their low-paying jobs. Within thirty years of the Restoration, however, the Meiji government's new Civil Code took as the national standard a modified version of the samurai household (*ie*), which had secluded women in the family. For middle- and upper-class women, the government's ideal of the "good wife, wise mother" (*ryōsai kenbo*) reflected a new emphasis on education for women, but it also defined their roles exclusively in terms of mothering and caring for the household, from which men were now absent. As Tokugawa literary and theatrical practices associated with cross-dressing and homoerotic relations also were eclipsed, less fluid notions of biologically based feminine and masculine social roles became the norm.

MAGAZINES FOR WOMEN'S EDUCATION

Under the Meiji Civil Code, only men were legally recognized persons. Patriarchal authority in the household was explicitly linked with the emperor. In a departure from the more diverse practices of the Tokugawa period, the oldest son inherited all the household property, in accordance with strict principles of primogeniture. Adultery was punishable and was grounds for divorce only when committed by the wife. Although women were, for the first time, given the right to sue for divorce in court, divorced women faced overwhelming public censure. In the Meiji period, because political (and cultural) institutions were controlled exclusively by men, the number of texts written by women was comparatively small. And an even smaller number of texts written by late-nineteenth-century women continued to be known and read in the twentieth century.

The groundwork for producing and publishing writings by women was established by the Meiji state's early emphasis on universal education and by the emergence of newspapers, journals, and other mass media printed with movable type. Initially, the vast majority of Meiji women lacked both reading and writing skills. But in the immediate aftermath of the Restoration, the abolition of hereditary class distinctions and an 1873 decree that required four years of schooling for all children (stating that "there is no difference between men and women as human beings") sparked efforts to transform education for women. As early as 1872, the mother of Fukuda Hideko (see chap. 39) became a teacher in a girl's middle school established by Okayama Prefecture; soon after, she started

her own private school for girls. As the Freedom and People's Rights movement elicited the participation of women like Kishida Tokiko, Shimizu Toyoko (later known by her pen name, Shikin), Fukuda, and others, the movement for women's education gained strength, so much so that the "girl student," or *jogakusei*, became an emblematic figure in such pathbreaking early Meiji fiction as Futabatei Shimei's *Ukigumo* (*The Drifting Cloud*, 1886). Tsuda Umeko, sent at the age of seven by Education Minister Mori Arinori in 1871 to the United States to learn English and "Western manners," returned after ten years and became a pioneer in women's education. A decree in 1879, however, required that after the first four years of elementary school, girls were to be segregated from boys, attending only girls' middle schools. The first public normal school for women was opened in Tokyo in 1874, but national universities did not admit women until 1913. Families with means, therefore, sent their daughters to private secondary schools, most of which were run by Christian missionaries, for training in English and exposure to new ideas. It was in one such school, Tokyo's famous Meiji jogakkō (Meiji Women's Higher School), in 1885, that educator Iwamoto Yoshiharu started the first magazine devoted to political and cultural commentary surrounding the "woman question," including articles written by women. In this magazine, *Jogaku zasshi* (*Journal of Women's Issues*); its successor, *Bungakkai* (*Literary World*); and other new print media, a few talented young Meiji women published their fiction and social commentary. Much of their writing, however, was received dismissively by critics. Unable to make a living as writers and facing strenuous demands from their families, many of these writers either died or stopped writing when they were in their early twenties or early thirties.

SHIMIZU TOYOKO: "THE BROKEN RING" (KOWARE YUBIWA)

Shimizu Toyoko (pen name Shikin) was the daughter of a Kyoto bureaucrat who joined the Freedom and People's Rights movement, traveling and lecturing with Ueki Emori and Fukuda Hideko in the late 1880s. She became an editor of *Jogaku zasshi* and an instructor at Meiji Women's Higher School in 1891. "The Broken Ring," her semifictional account of events leading to her divorce from her first husband, was published in the journal in 1891. Shimizu published her final short story, dealing with the Meiji *burakumin* or former "outcasts," in 1899, and then lapsed into silence. Her writings were buried in obscurity until her son collected them in an anthology in celebration of the hundredth anniversary of her birth.

I know you are bothered by this ring of mine with the stone missing. Wearing a broken ring like this does not, as you say, look very good. You are probably thinking that I should put in a new stone, that anything would do. But this

broken ring is a kind of remembrance for me, and so you see, there is no way I could possibly repair it. How quickly the days and months have passed since the day I broke it two years ago. During that time, you have asked me again and again, "Why are you wearing that ring? It doesn't really become you." Still, there are things that force me to keep on wearing it, and to you I feel I can try to explain what it means to me.

Every time I look at this ring, I feel a stab of pain and am reminded of how I suffered. But I cannot take it off, even for a single moment, because it has been a great benefactor to me. And if you were to ask why I am so deeply indebted to it, I would tell you that it is thanks to the suffering and grief it has caused me that I have somehow been able to discover in myself the strength and willpower to really mature. It has been both a kind of medium, inspiring me to make great efforts, and an unsurpassable source of encouragement. To others, it no doubt appears unsightly, but to me it is a jewel, a treasure that I would not be able to exchange for enormous amounts of money. It is, on the contrary, something that does suit me very well.

So let me tell you the details of my story. My life has been very much like this broken ring. Like it, I have been criticized by many people, but knowing from the start that I should expect this sort of thing, I wasn't really bothered. Yet sometimes when I look at it [the ring] and think, "Ah, dear ring, how pitiful we are," I cannot help but shed tears of regret. I don't know whether or not others do, but when I regain my composure, I take comfort in the notion that God is merciful and knows what is in my heart. I'm afraid that not until a hundred years have passed will there be a few who understand the precious value of this ring.

As I start to tell this story again, I suddenly feel as though my heart is about to burst. It was on that unforgettable day five years ago, in the spring of my eighteenth year, that I came to wear this ring. That was the day of my marriage. Although it was given to me by my husband, he hadn't really intended it to be what they now call an engagement ring. But looking back on it, I suppose one could call it that. At about that time, the seeds of women's education were at last beginning to be sown in our country, but I myself didn't have even halfway modern views. Also, even though it was a mere five years ago, things were quite different in the region where I was living than they were in Tokyo. The kind of relationship Western women have with their husbands was something I could not possibly have imagined. I knew only of traditional Japanese marital customs and had never heard about the new marriage laws that had been established by then. At the girls' school where I was first educated, we were taught only morals in the Chinese manner and read only books like *Ryūkyō retsujoden* (Liu Xiang's *Lives of Notable Women*). I was, of course, influenced by these things without being aware of it. We were taught that if a young girl's hand were promised to a boy whom she had not even met and that boy were to die young, the girl was bound by custom to cut off her nose or an ear to prove that she would never

be of two hearts. We also learned that even if a young bride's mother-in-law tried to strangle her out of cruelty, that would not be reason enough for her to leave her husband's home. Enduring such things was considered to be an unsurpassable virtue in women. And according to custom in those days, a woman could never be sure of what sort of husband she might end up with. All she could do was decide to uphold her own principles and live purely and leave the choice of her husband up to fate. Like shaking the box of fortune sticks, there was no telling whether she would get a good one or a bad one.

My mother was a woman who took it as a matter of pride to model herself after the ideal of womanhood in "The Great Learning for Women" (Onna daigaku), and so when she spoke to my father, she would almost always respectfully kneel in the doorway to his room. Because she always treated him as though he were an honored guest, I was amazed when I saw other fathers and their children who seemed to get along so easily. I was greatly influenced by my mother's subservient and reserved behavior toward my father and, for no apparent reason, had come to think of the fate of woman as a pitifully unhappy one. But at the same time, I was already beginning to be aware of my own misgivings about this notion. Having realized women's regrettable fate, I even began to wonder whether there might not be some way for me to spend my life in peace, without marrying at all.

But just at about that time—it was probably when I was fifteen or sixteen—my parents began to urge me to marry. This happened more than once or twice, and oddly enough, even though I objected each time, they went on recommending various men, saying, "Now, how do you like this one," or "What about that one?" Each time I thought to myself, "Oh no, not again," and somehow managed to tell them, "No, I don't like him."

At first my mother would speak up on my behalf saying, "Because she's still young, perhaps we should think it over." But when I turned eighteen, my mother was no longer able to fend off the demands of a father who would anger quickly and sometimes even scold my mother, saying things like, "The girl is just being selfish! And it's all because you've brought her up badly."

One day, my father called me into his room; I knew immediately from the look on his face that he was too impatient to wait for me to sit down. Before I knew it, he had commanded me to accept a new marriage offer. How shocked I was at that moment! Recalling it now, I almost break into a cold sweat. Although I had guessed that this might happen and had planned responses to the arguments I predicted he would make, it had never occurred to me that he would confront me with such utter, uncompromising authority. Feeling so completely overwhelmed by this, I could do no more than look meekly at his stern face, which seemed to say, "If you dare to say no, say it now!" I waited for a moment, believing that my mother, who was sitting beside him, would say something to help me, but she was silent. Whether this was because she also feared my father's authority or because she had in fact discussed the matter

with him beforehand, I could not tell. She only looked at me with a worried expression that seemed to say, "Tell him yes, and do it quickly!"

With one parent glaring at me sternly and the other looking at me plaintively, I was at a loss for words. Despite my intense embarrassment in front of my father, with whom I had never learned to feel at ease, I finally managed to bite my trembling lips and, with great effort, to say in no more than a whisper, "Please allow me a little more time to finish my studies." Before I was through, he flashed a sharp glance at me and said, "What unfinished studies! Don't be a fool. I've seen to it that you've been given a good education. What do you mean? What are you complaining about, you selfish girl?" My mother looked at me as if to say, "It's too bad you've made your father so angry." I wanted to explain myself further but, for a moment, could find no words. Finally, I somehow managed to say, "But please, I would like to go on to the Teachers' Training School in Tokyo."

Again, I was cut off by my father's sharp words. "What! Teachers' school! Absurd! Just how do you think you'd manage as a schoolteacher? It's no easy thing for a girl to go through life alone. I'll hear no more of this nonsense. You must do as I say. It's too late to change the arrangement now, anyway. I've told your mother all the details, so listen carefully." With that, he stood up quickly and stormed out of the room.

My mother then tried to console me, pleading in a soft, tearful voice. "Your father's character is such that whenever he speaks like that he isn't likely to change his mind, especially since this time he seems to like the young man in question. The go-between is Mr. Matsumura, who is surely acting on your behalf. You know it's not easy to find someone who is so accomplished and learned. And it's better for a young woman to marry at the right age because otherwise she will lose all her chances."

If this happened today, I would never agree to these things, but then, I was truly innocent of the world. Because I had resigned myself to the fact that I would have to marry someone, sometime, I weakheartedly acquiesced, even though I had only been half convinced by my mother's words. But when I look back on it now, I find myself thinking it odd that I didn't refuse more forcefully. My mother then began to tell me about the *miai* (prospective marriage meeting, literally "see-meet"). A message had arrived suggesting that it be held two days later. She said that I should start arranging my hair and should quickly select a suitable kimono with matching accessories. I could not think of how I should reply and so ended up agreeing. But later, when I went back to my room and thought it over, I realized that because my father had already made a more or less final decision about the matter, even if I were to protest at the formal *miai*, there would be no reason to expect them to listen, and I would only suffer great embarrassment. Having the young man see me would be truly unpleasant, and so with singular resolve I told my mother that I did not want to attend the *miai*. But again, it was no use.

Looking back, I wonder whether this was also a foolish failure of strategy on my part. But now I have come to realize that there was nothing I could do. As a child, I rarely had the chance to meet anyone other than relatives and school friends. When my father had visitors, I was rushed into the back room by my mother, who always told me to stay out of sight. Because of this, I was not a good judge of people. At the *miai*, I was unable to understand a thing, and so before the rash decision was finalized, even though I still thought marriage would be unpleasant, rather than feeling worried, I enjoyed a few minutes of pleasant anticipation wondering what sort of person he might be. Now I have resigned myself to thinking that at least this is a remembrance to look back on.

The ceremony was held in March of that year, just when the cherry blossoms were beginning to bloom. But after two or three months, I still couldn't get used to living with my husband and began to doubt more and more that I could stay in that house for the rest of my life. I really didn't know whether or not my husband cared for me. Sometimes he would take me to a museum or some other place and would offer to buy me things. But I never felt comfortable accepting gifts from him. Again, this was because of the uneasy feeling I had of not really being a member of his household. If we did go somewhere and do something, I didn't enjoy it in the least. On such outings I would be thinking constantly of my village at home and wishing that my mother and sister could be there too.

Then one day, a girl of fifteen or sixteen came to the house with a letter. Our house girl took it and started to bring it to me, but my husband thrust out his hand and glared at her as if to say, "Bring that over here!" I did not have the slightest notion of what the letter might contain and only remember thinking what a short-tempered person my husband was for getting angry over such a trifling thing. He read the letter and awkwardly rolled it up and put it in his sleeve. After telling the girl to convey the message that he would send a reply soon, he sent her away. That very night, he went out saying he was taking a short walk in the neighborhood. He wasn't back by ten or even twelve o'clock. Thinking I should naturally wait up for him, I did not ask to have the bedding laid out. As I sat writing letters to school friends, the night grew later and later, so I told the house girls to go to bed before me. One of them came and sat beside me, saying she thought I must be lonely. As she watched me writing letters, she carelessly commented, "How nice your brushwork is. . . . The former mistress didn't have such a . . . I had just caught the words "former mistress" and, without really intending to, asked, "Oh, was there someone here before me?" The girl had been working in that house for some time and felt obliged to answer my question. I watched her face closely as she half murmured to herself, "How could I have been so careless." Then she turned to me and said, "Although it will make the master angry, I must tell you. Until five or six days before you arrived, there was someone else here. Most certainly she is the daughter of the family where he boarded during his student days." . . .

After that evening, my husband's outings became more frequent, more in April than in March, more in May than in April, and finally he would go out and not return home at all for three or four days at a time. In the beginning, I stayed awake for two or three nights in a row waiting for him, but then, unable to keep my eyes open any longer, I finally dozed off. It was just my misfortune that he came home late that very night. I was suddenly awakened by the sound of knocking at the gateway, and when I rushed to open it, my husband, the smell of saké heavy on his breath, glared at me sharply and said, "What's this? I was pounding hard enough to break down the door, wasn't I? Why didn't you open it? If the neighbors heard me, that would have caused a stir, now wouldn't it! What a fine wife I have, who makes her husband stand outside while she sleeps like a log."

How I suffered at hearing his harsh words. I somehow managed to endure this but would have been deeply embarrassed if one of the house girls had been awakened by that loud, angry voice in the middle of the night and had mistakenly thought that I was arguing with my husband because he had returned so late. I knew that if I were to try and talk with him about it, he would only start grumbling even louder, so even though I knew he was being unreasonable, I handled him as gently as one would a piece of damp paper, placating him with apologies. I somehow managed to get him to bed without further mishap. . . .

Things like this accumulated until my mother, who had always been weak, suddenly took to her bed in a constant state of worry about me. Then in the autumn of my nineteenth year, she passed away like the morning dew. (And was I not the real cause of her death?) Although it may be useless for me to tell you what was deep in my heart, I then realized that the very marriage that my mother had thought would put her at ease and to which I had agreed unwillingly, thinking it would relieve her, had itself resulted in the premature end of her precious life. I felt as though my heart would break under the weight of this discovery. Knowing that my own lack of foresight and limited understanding had brought this about, I resigned myself to a state of unhappiness and, for two more years, spent every day deep in sorrow.

As you may imagine, I had come to feel deeply disturbed by these events. During the two or three years after my marriage, a strong sense of indignation on behalf of young women had begun to grow in me. Just at that time, new ideas about women's rights were being discussed and, along with them, the notion that sorrow and tragedy are not necessarily a woman's fate had gradually spread. As a matter of habit I always kept new publications near at hand to glance at between tasks around the house, and what I read about Western views of women's rights impressed me deeply. Thus, I began to see that Japanese women too had a right to seek the fulfillment and happiness that were their due.

Out of both a need to console myself and a desire to help relieve the unhappiness of women, I began to write occasionally on these difficult subjects, and in doing so, my own way of thinking also changed. Up until then I had

believed in the Chinese code of morals, which teaches that it is virtuous for a woman to endure all kinds of suffering and to sacrifice her own happiness for the sake of her husband. In this sense, I had held a passive view of things. But from about this time on, I ceased to be satisfied with this view and came to hold more progressive ones. I decided to put aside the question of my own unhappiness and try to guide my husband to change his ways so that he might become a fine person of whom one need not feel ashamed. But even though I made the most sincere effort to influence him, because he was my senior by several years and was much more experienced in worldly affairs than I, he would not readily listen to what I said. . . .

But just as the torn cloth cannot easily be mended and the broken stone cannot easily be restored to its original form, here too it had become impossible to make amends. Knowing that it would be more harmful to him for me to remain there, for his sake, too—although I was loath to do so—I left him.

Since then, I have decided to work solely for the betterment of society. As a reminder of that vow, I myself removed the stone from the ring I am wearing. Although I cannot say I have learned from Kōsen's scowl, I gaze at the ring every morning and evening and recall the heavy responsibility it represents.[2] And although my humble gestures cannot compare with lying on burning coals or tasting bitter meats,[3] I most certainly have vowed to work to ensure a better future for the many beautiful young women of today in the hope that they will not follow the same mistaken path as I have.

With reforms of the marriage laws, there are many fine couples nowadays. When I observe their way of living, I can't help but wonder, as I gaze at my broken ring, why I failed to earn the love of my husband and was myself unable to love him.

It is by good fortune that my father still is in good health and now has come to have great sympathy for me in my long years of suffering. He often writes consoling letters expressing regret that the foolish interference of an old man resulted in the breaking of a fresh, young branch. Now he praises my aspirations and offers encouragement, which has given me the greatest pleasure in the midst of these days and months of sorrow. My only remaining hope is that this broken ring may somehow be restored to its perfect form by the hand that gave it to me. But of course I know such a thing is not yet to be. . . .

[Shimizu, *Shikin zenshū*, pp. 14–23; Jennison, "Narrative Strategies in Shikin's 'The Broken Ring,' " pp. 28–35.]

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2. Goujian was a prince of the state of Yue, enthroned in 486 B.C.E., who suffered defeat in an ill-considered attack on the state of Wu and thereafter drank a potion of gall every day to remind himself of the bitterness of defeat.

3. Lying on burning coals and tasting bitter meats refers to the phrase *gashin shōtan*, originally used to describe the king of Go as he was preparing himself physically and mentally before taking revenge on Kōsen for the death of his father. Colloquially, the phrase *gashin shōtan* means to endure severe hardship for the sake of future success.

WOMEN AND LABOR

By the early twentieth century, socialist groups had begun to appear in Japan, claiming a small number of women among their members. These women were the first to call attention to the problems of working women, who had played a significant role in the first three decades of Japan's intense industrialization. Women made up the majority of workers in the textile industry, the site of Japan's first industrialization. In 1880s, these female textile workers were the first workers to strike in modern Japan. By the 1920s, half of all Japanese factory workers were women. Because the land tax imposed by the government to provide capital for modernization was a particularly heavy burden for rural families, they often sent their daughters to work in the pleasure quarters in the cities (or overseas, where they became an important source of foreign currency). As was the case in Europe, the number of prostitutes increased markedly with the advance of industrialization and urbanization. Whether as factory workers or sex workers, young women were exposed to severe health hazards, received little pay, and were subjected to strict surveillance.

Those women in the various wings of the socialist movement at the turn of the twentieth century were often family members or lovers of male leaders, as was the case with Nobuoka Tameko (wife of early leader Sakai Toshihiko), Itō Noe (lover of Ōsugi Sakae), and Yamakawa Kikue (wife of Yamakawa Hitoshi, who founded the Japanese Communist Party in 1922). After the demise of the Freedom and People's Rights movement, Fukuda Hideko also joined the socialist movement. Because article 5 of the Meiji constitution banned them from attending political meetings, these women found themselves, and women's issues, marginalized in the socialist political agenda. In 1907, therefore, Fukuda founded the women's magazine *Sekai fujin* (*Women of the World*), advocating that the struggle against gender hierarchy be made an immediate priority for socialist politics. The journal and Fukuda's socialist women colleagues then launched a movement for the repeal of article 5, a movement that was the forerunner of the women's suffrage movement of the 1920s.

YAMAKAWA KIKUE: *RECORD OF THE GENERATIONS OF WOMEN* (*ONNA NIDAI NIKKI*)

Yamakawa Kikue was active in the prewar socialist and Communist movements and published important articles on women's issues. After the Pacific War, she became the first head of the Women and Minors Bureau in the Ministry of Labor. In her memoirs, she expresses her frustration with the failure of the Meiji women's education movement to address adequately the situation of poor and working women. She also describes her first encounters with textile workers and the early efforts to draft labor laws.

Mistress Tsuda could not abide the politics of the Gakushūin [school for children in the royal family and aristocrats], which focused on educating "little princesses." Moreover, she did not get along with the director of the school, Shimoda Utako, so she left the Gakushūin in 1900 and started her own academy at her home with a few students. Her goal was to establish an institution that would enable her to implement her own educational philosophy. Unlike other educators of this period, she ignored the Ministry of Education's policy that girls should become "good wives and wise mothers." She was a pioneer in educating women to become professionals. She rejected the slave morality and spineless submissiveness that characterized schools like Tokyo Women's College. She herself was independent-minded and forceful and was a natural-born teacher. . . .

Professor Yasui Tetsuko taught ethics and psychology briefly at our school. We read in Higuchi Ichiyō's diary that Professor Yasui had studied under her as a young student. So a couple of my friends and I visited her at her home to talk about Higuchi Ichiyō. The professor poured some tea for us and talked about her experiences. Among her comments were these: "Ichiyō was beautiful and strong and talented. But I feel that she wasted her talents writing mostly about lower-class people. She had dealings with upper-class people. If she wanted to, she could have written about more refined matters. It's a shame, since she was such a talented writer." We didn't know what to say and just looked at each other. Just prior to this, we had heard an older person who studied under Higuchi Ichiyō say that Ichiyō often spoke highly of Professor Yasui's character. We had been impressed by this.

Professors Tsuda, Yasui, and Kawai were all pure idealists. They were like angels and saints frolicking about in heaven. They were naive and innocent, totally cut off from the real world. They were completely unaware of what the students were thinking about and what they were searching for. After all, Professor Tsuda once told our class that Tolstoy was an apostate and a harborer of dangerous thoughts, so she did not want students in her school to read his writings. The institution was as strict as a convent. Even letters from family members were opened and inspected, and the school authorities intervened in a host of other personal affairs. . . . Since it was a language school, it was only natural that they concentrated primarily on language instruction, but I was not satisfied with this and felt frustrated. . . . So I looked into the requirements of Tokyo University. They stipulated that qualified students would be admitted. Nowhere did it say that admission was restricted to male students only. So I asked our teacher of psychology, Sugawa Kyōzō, to help me get permission to audit some courses at the university. The university authorities responded that the term *student* signifies male students. Females do not fall into this category. . . .

At the end of 1908 I went to the headquarters of the Salvation Army in Kanda to do volunteer work. I helped them distribute Christmas presents and Salvation Army pamphlets among the slum dwellers. I was not a Christian, but I admired the dedicated missionary work the Salvation Army performed and their efforts

to help inmates of brothels gain their freedom. I had read and been enlightened by Mr. Yamamuro's writings on public brothels. So I went to them more or less as an outside observer.

Early on Christmas morning, I joined Mr. Yamamuro, Kawai Michiko, and others to visit a textile factory. . . . At that time the factory was running twenty-four hours a day. A few of the girls who had worked for twelve hours through the night began to show up in the lecture hall after breakfast. . . . They looked to be twelve to fifteen years of age, but they lacked the vitality of the young. They looked pale and tired as if they were sick. Eventually, fifty to sixty girls came to the lecture hall and sat on the straw mats that were placed on the cold wooden floor. The only heat in the room came from the charcoal brazier that had been provided for the speaker on the platform. The sky was gray, and it seemed as if it would start snowing at any moment. The cold penetrated deeply into our bones. Directed by the lecturer and accompanied by an organ, the girls sang a Christmas carol that was written out on the blackboard. Then Mr. Yamamuro got up to speak.

He told the girls that Our Lord, Jesus Christ, was a laborer just like them. Labor is sacred. "You too must become good workers, just like Our Lord Jesus. You must be grateful that you are able to work every day in good health. God will answer your prayers."

Mr. Yamamuro was followed by Kawai Michiko, and she also spoke of the sacred nature of work and in a highly emotional voice intoned a lengthy prayer. The meeting closed with a psalm. All during the ceremony I was seated on the platform but hated being there. I was filled with shame and anger. The girls had worked all night beside roaring machines. They were pale and bloodless. How could they be told that the life they led was due to God's blessings and that they should view this kind of slave labor as sacred and holy?

I had hoped that we would be permitted to see the work area, dormitory, and dining hall and be given a chance to question the girls about their work, but we were not allowed to do so. It seemed that the company authorities did not look favorably on this kind of Christian missionary work. None of the company officials came to the meeting. Only those girls who wanted to come were there. After the meeting Mr. Yamamuro and his group left. I felt that I could never join them in their activities again.

After the ceremony the girls either slept or did their washing and other various things. Then they would have to work through the night again. This routine would be followed all week long. They would lose weight during a week of night work and fail to regain it in the following week when they went back on the day shift. Then, back to night shift the week after. Repeating this schedule caused the textile workers to develop tuberculosis at a rate three times that of other women, and to suffer an extremely high death rate.

Several years later, when we heard Fujii Tei speak on the legal status of women, he lent us the *Shokkō jijō* (*Condition of the Factory Workers*), which was

stamped "confidential." At that time, he was drafting a labor law for the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. He was an ardent national socialist, upheld the emperor system, favored building up the military forces and acquiring foreign territories, and, at home, adopting social welfare measures. He contended that Japanese socialists were thoughtless and impractical. If Kōtoku Shūsui had not attempted to do such a stupid thing [the Great Treason incident], there would be at least one or two socialist parties in Japan by now. What in the world are the socialists doing? They have not formulated a single draft for labor legislation. They leave it up to bureaucrats like him, so that every time the draft is passed on to the higher-ranking officials it is gutted of meaningful provisions. . . .

In 1916 a labor act was finally passed, but only after it had been tampered with in a hundred different ways and had been emasculated. At that time Yamakawa Hitoshi criticized the law as a public endorsement of the fourteen-hour workday. Fujii got his dander up at this. "Socialists can't see that this law makes a big difference for the women factory workers. If they had any criticism, why didn't they speak up sooner? If they had spoken up and stirred up public support, our draft legislation would not have been cut to bits this way. The labor legislation was not such a tepid proposal when it was being drafted."

The *Shokkō jijō* would have been the best instrument to arouse public opinion in favor of labor legislation, but it did not see the light of day for about a half-century. Only in 1947, after imperial Japan had been destroyed, did it appear in print publicly. . . .

In 1912 the Bluestocking Society (Seitōsha) sponsored a lecture on women's rights.

Concerning the discussion on birth control and abortion, Miyajima Reiko wrote, "Harada [Kōgetsu] sponsored abortions, Itō Noe supported birth control but opposed abortions, Hiratsuka Raichō approved of both measures, while Yamada Waka opposed both." Yamada also opposed the marriage of young people who were not yet ready to have and rear children. Everyone, except Raichō, held poverty and difficulties in maintaining a living as grounds for abortion and birth control. Raichō argued that aside from poverty, intellectual and psychological grounds existed to justify these practices. She argued that "traditional-minded Japanese women who have no awareness of their individuality and have not had the opportunity to live their own lives [may oppose these practices.] Likewise for lower-class, working women who have no education and who have no leeway in thinking about anything but staying alive. But it puzzles me to find people like you not fighting for these causes."

Needless to say, under current social conditions, it is impossible for women to devote all their energies to becoming totally free, autonomous personalities. Does Raichō believe that those who are frustrated by this dilemma are only those women who are self-aware and cultured, engaged in mental and spiritual work, that they are distinct from lower-class, working women who are ignorant

and have to devote their efforts to eating and staying alive? Does she believe that lower-class, working women deliberately give their lives over to the single task of finding enough food to stay alive? That they live like animals out of choice? Such questions about Raichō's contention were harbored by us too.

Ōsugi Sakae praised Baba Kochō's speech at the same meeting. In the audience was Baba's younger sister. She stopped by at Baba's house that evening, waited for him to come home, and castigated him for speaking "such fine words publicly" and behaving like a tyrant at home. Ikuta Chōkō [a literary critic, 1882–1936] also was a supporter of the Bluestocking Society (Seitōsha) and was sympathetic to socialism, but a decade later he made a 180-degree turn and wrote, "Compared with men, women are closer to savages and animals. If it is permissible to maintain a hierarchy of superior and inferior between adults and children, then it must also be permissible to maintain a hierarchy of superior-inferior between men and women."

Iwano Hōmei, who also spoke at the meeting, soon abandoned his wife, Kiyoko, and his child and moved on to his third wife.

At just about this time my older sister wrote me: "There are many men who appear to be allies of women and speak on women's issues and argue for equal rights and equal status for women. But you must not be taken in facilely. Many of them, when they leave their homes, become allies and friends of women, but take a look at their households to see how they behave at home. They turn into tyrannical princes and treat their wives and daughters as slaves. Their credo regarding women is 'Let them be dependent; keep them ignorant' [the feudal ruling class's policy toward the masses]. They are like tombstones painted in white."

Again, "Before we criticize others or blame society, we mothers must change our ways and stop rearing our sons differently from our daughters. If we carelessly continue to allow our precious daughters to be reared by an educational policy and system that are designed to produce future mothers who believe in treating boys and girls differently, it would be akin to exposing ourselves to a deadly sword."

[Yamakawa, *Record of the Generations of Women*, in *Reflections on the Way to the Gallows*, trans. and ed. Hane, pp. 165–69]

HIRATSUKA RAICHŌ AND THE BLUESTOCKING SOCIETY

Although Hiratsuka Raichō and her colleagues have often been called Japan's "first feminists," she was in fact close in age, but not in socioeconomic background, to the women socialists of Yamakawa Kikue's generation. Entering the upper-class Japan Women's University in 1903, Hiratsuka chafed at the emphasis on domestic sciences and, after graduating, chose to undertake training in Zen

Buddhism, study Nietzsche, and seek out the company of female literary scholars and writers. With their encouragement, she founded *Bluestocking* (*Seitō*), a literary journal exclusively for women. Boldly committed to women's right to self-expression, including sexual expression, *Bluestocking* was initially devoted largely to creative writing and commentary on new cultural trends. The journal's founding, moreover, took place in tandem with an expansion of commercial publishing, which eventually resulted in the establishment of commercial magazines for women and the emergence of larger numbers of publicly recognized women writers. Hiratsuka and her group of "New Women," as they came to be known, became the objects of sensational press coverage, and at one point a rock-throwing crowd converged on Hiratsuka's home. In response to this public reaction, the journal increasingly explored explicitly feminist issues and published translations of writings by European and American feminists. In the early 1920s, feminism was the locus of intense and influential discussions among women writers. The major topics were motherhood and the desirability of state support and protection for mothers and children (the *bosei hogo* debate). Hiratsuka, Yamakawa, and the poet Yosano Akiko argued this issue from three different viewpoints, and it was later examined from the perspective of "maternalism" by Takamure Itsue, a feminist anarchist and great scholar of women's history. The questions of chastity, birth control, abortion, and prostitution were heatedly debated by Yamakawa, Itō Noe, and Yasuda Satsuki.

In 1920, Hiratsuka, no longer the editor of *Bluestocking*, banded together with the socialist Ichikawa Fusae and women of different political persuasions to form the broadly based New Women's Society, which launched the long but ultimately unsuccessful struggle for women's suffrage. Although a bill for limited female suffrage was passed by the Lower House in 1930, it failed to win the approval of the Upper House. The last Woman's Suffrage Conference was held in 1937. The movement had reached an impasse, and its members were gradually co-opted into joining women's associations supporting Japanese imperialism and the war in Asia.

"IN THE BEGINNING WOMAN WAS THE SUN" (GENSHI, JOSEI WA TAIYŌ DE ATTA)

In September 1911, Hiratsuka Raichō wrote the now famous lines carried in the first issue of the *Bluestocking* (*Seitō*) magazine.

> In the beginning, woman was the sun,
> An authentic person.
> Today she is the moon,
> Living through others.
> Reflecting the brilliance of others. . . .

And now, *Bluestocking*, a journal created for the first time with the brains and hands of today's Japanese women, raises its voice.

[Sievers, *Flowers in Salt*, p. 163]

"NEW WOMAN" (ATARASHII ONNA)

In 1913 Hiratsuka was asked to define the "New Woman" in a special issue of *Chūō kōron*. Although her earlier writings had advocated women's autonomy and creative self-expression, her definition of the "New Woman" includes a critique of male privilege.

The new woman; I am a new woman.
I seek, I strive each day to be that truly new woman I want to be.
In truth, that eternally new being is the sun.
I am the sun.
I seek; I strive each day to be the sun I want to be.
. . .
The new woman curses yesterday.
The new woman is not satisfied with the life of the kind of woman who is made ignorant, made a slave, made a piece of meat by male selfishness.
The new woman seeks to destroy the old morality and laws created for male advantage. . . .
The new woman does not merely destroy the old morality and laws constructed out of male selfishness, but day by day attempts to create a new kingdom, where a new religion, a new morality, and new laws are carried out, based on the spiritual values and surpassing brilliance of the sun.
Truly, the creation of this new kingdom is the mission of women. . . .
The new woman is not simply covetous of power for its own sake. She seeks power to complete her mission, to be able to endure the exertion and agony of learning about and cultivating issues now unknown to her. . . .
The new woman today seeks neither beauty nor virtue. She is simply crying out for strength, the strength to fulfill her own hallowed mission.

[Sievers, *Flowers in Salt*, p. 176]

POSTWAR JAPANESE FEMINISM

The process by which most prominent Japanese women leaders, including Yoshioka Yayoi, the founder of the first medical school for women, and Takamure Itsue, a scholar and historian, were drawn in the 1930s into supporting Japanese imperialism is a chapter of Japanese feminist history that is just be-

ginning to be studied. A few women resisted such pressures: Yamakawa Kikue sequestered herself in the countryside, whereas the feminist Communist Miyamoto Yuriko was subjected to police surveillance and repeated jailings during the war years. Under the American-authored postwar constitution, women experienced dramatic gains in status, attaining goals for which they had fought for half a century or more. Women gained the vote, and several women were elected to the Diet in 1946. (Their numbers, however, have never risen beyond 2 to 3 percent of the Diet's membership in the postwar period.) Women were allowed to own and inherit property. The postwar Occupation, moreover, transformed the legal status of women in other ways, which were seen as excessively liberal by those who tried to overturn them in the ensuing decades. A few legal grounds for access to abortion, which had been defined as a crime since 1907, were established, although access to birth-control medication remained illegal, reinforcing the state's long-standing emphasis on women's reproductive roles. The new constitution's pioneering article 14 forbade discrimination based on sex (and the Meiji Civil Code was revised accordingly to permit marriage based on mutual consent). Lacking sanctions for noncompliance, however, article 14 was largely unenforced until demands from Japanese and international feminist groups in the 1980s pressured the government into signing and eventually acting on the United Nations Treaty of Women's Rights.

As the instability of the early postwar years receded, a gendered division of labor not entirely dissimilar from the one that had supported earlier modernization efforts was reestablished. The content of public education continued to differentiate between boy and girl students. While access to higher education for men and especially for women dramatically increased in the postwar years, even in 1988 the majority of women students were still concentrated in two-year junior colleges emphasizing preparation for their role as homemakers and mothers. The faculty of Japanese four-year universities was almost overwhelmingly male. As mothers and as low-paid, part-time workers before and after their child-rearing years, women supported first the postwar recovery and then the high-speed economic growth.

Despite their lack of representation in formal national politics, women and women's organizations played leading roles in grassroots political movements throughout the early postwar years and were especially influential in the peace movement, the consumers' movement, and the antipollution movement. Four major women's organizations were active during this period: the National Coordinating Council of Regional Women's Associations, the Housewives' Council of the Japan Coal Miners' Union, and two women's organizations linked with the Socialist and Communist Parties. In their many and varied struggles—for improved health care, education, and protection from layoffs for women working part time, to name just a few—they advocated political reform based on women's domestic labor and responsibilities, as well as on a generalized concept of "rights." In their discussion of women's reproductive roles and responsibilities for moth-

ering and child rearing, these groups echoed the concerns for "protection of motherhood" articulated by some Japanese feminists of the 1920s.

Out of the movements protesting both the renewal of the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty and the Vietnam War, however, emerged what is often called the postwar's "second-wave feminism," which insists on the right of women to choose not to become mothers and wives. In the mid-1960s, Saitō Chiyo organized the Bank of Creativity to help those mothers who had left the workforce to raise their children to retrain themselves for new jobs. In 1972 she founded the journal *Agora* as a forum for feminist debate. Also in 1972 Tanaka Mitsu founded the Fighting Women's Group (Tatakau onna). In her well-known book *To Living Women* (*Inochi no onnatachi e*), Tanaka asked, "What is it to live as a woman, and what in the world is a woman?" She urged women to radically explore self-definitions outside existing forms of marriage, including same-sex relationships, while maintaining their concern for the emotional needs of mothers and children. From its origins in flourishing networks of mimeographed pamphlets (*mini komi*) in the early 1970s, feminist writing in the late twentieth century achieved broad visibility in journalistic and academic publishing. Feminist historians have retrieved or reconstructed heretofore hidden stories of women's daily lives in modern Japan and redefined modern social relationships and the political and ethical responsibilities they entail. This revisionist historical work has extended to a newly critical consideration of modern nationalism and imperialism (especially as they affected Japanese relations with Asia), as well as an intense discussion of war responsibility. Feminist activists continue to confront the legal complexities surrounding reproduction, reproductive technologies, and the conditions of women's work, including sex work. As these processes move forward, Japanese feminism has continued to redefine itself as its goals and areas of activism have become more diverse.

AOKI YAYOI AND ECOFEMINISM

Aoki Yayoi is a well-known feminist and critic who has published articles on the relationship of gender politics to technological and environmental issues and on the rights of indigenous peoples. Her essay "Feminism and Imperialism" (Feminizumu to teikokushugi), from the book *Feminism and Ecology* (*Feminizumu to ekorojii*), reexamines modern ethics in light of the historical impact on women's daily lives of the *ie* system and its relation to the imperial institution.

IMPERIALIST SENTIMENTS AND THE PRIVILEGE OF AGGRESSION

Within the Japanese system of "nation-as-family," the imperial household holds the position of the main house, and the people become the branch families. An

adoptive relationship is formed between nation and family, and within this framework "loyalty" and "filial piety" are inextricably bound to each other at a structural level. Consequently, it became even more difficult to distinguish between the controller and the controlled in the modern period than during the feudal period. In the modern period, in matters related to government (the emperor and the nation), the concepts of loyalty and "voluntary" self-sacrifice were internalized by the people as the ultimate virtues. This process provided a uniquely favorable environment for the internal systems of a late-developing country, keen to achieve the goals of national unity and industrialization. The union of nation and self-sacrifice around the common goal of "Japan as number one" has formed the foundation of a Japanese work ethic that proposes low wages and overwork as the raisons d'être of the individual worker. At the same time, this approach has fostered the continued existence of selfless patriotism as a key component of the Japanese national character. It was a primary force behind the social predisposition toward giving priority to the "public good" while placing social welfare on the shelf, a predisposition still apparent in Japan today.

Fundamentally, what the household head and the emperor had in common was the fact that neither of them had the rights of a dictator in the modern sense of the word. The authority they could claim was only whatever came to them as the representatives of their ancestors. It was not an autonomous authority, which they could claim in their own right. And their responsibilities and duties were held not in relation to the individual members of their particular family group but in relation to the ancestors they shared with that group. Within a group organized on this basis, even if an individual member is sacrificed for the sake of "family name," "company," or "country," the leader does not need to suffer from any sense of conscience or responsibility. Not only are vertical relations of political influence and power structure clearly in place but it is also difficult for any oppositional relationship to develop between victim and aggressor.

The social action taken by the Japanese people in August 1945 is best understood in the context of this psychological makeup. Hungry, burned out of their homes, and bereaved of loved ones—all for a war fought in the name of the emperor—there was almost no one who blamed the emperor himself. Some suffered the defeat as the direct result of the incompetence of the people and took their own lives to atone for what they considered a disloyalty that had endangered the continuity of the imperial line. The majority of the people, rather than identify themselves as victims and pursue those responsible for the war, chose to try to close the door on the whole situation, referring to it simply as "a crime of the people." While those who fought in the war considered it a "senseless" war, they did not consider the young war-dead "senseless victims." The people fashioned the dead into tragic "war heroes," enshrined them, erased their victim status, and exempted themselves from all responsibility.

The same general structures are found between men and women. If any-

thing, the structural mechanisms are even more complex in the case of gender. For example, in the premodern warrior class, a woman's virginity was considered more important than life itself. The wives and daughters of the samurai class were educated to choose death rather than risk rape. If we consider that men of the same period who kept mistresses and frequented the brothels of the pleasure quarters were regarded as men of the world, we can discern a gross inequity. In the modern period there are practices related to the status of the female that are even more difficult to comprehend. It has to be seen as a modern irony that the burgeoning trade in young female bodies from the Meiji period onward was a consequence of the poverty caused by the downfall of the old samurai families and the impoverishment of the farmers. There were many young women who lost their freedom through a system of prepaid labor that sold them into the spinning mills—the location of so many "sad histories of working women"—but still worse off were the girls sold into brothels. Why was the traffic in female bodies possible in an environment where the prevalent sexual morality continued to claim that it valued virginity over life? A filial ethic has come into play here—"for the sake of the family"; "to save the household from ruin." Though the daughters could probably predict the ultimate fate of their bodies once they were sold, if they refused to go, they would be branded as unfilial; and, as the Imperial Rescript on Education stated, filial piety and loyalty were inseparable components of the national ethic. For young girls, whose position was already weak, there was no hope of defeating this ethic. They threw themselves into the world of prostitution, taking their only solace in the fact that they would be the future heroines of tales of filial piety. In exercising their "parental rights," the parents themselves ended up in exactly the same position of victim as their daughters. They were no more able to question their role of aggressor than the daughters could question their role as victim. There are even records of praise for this unification of parent and child in the act of self-sacrifice: "What is needed today is beauty of the human heart. It was evident in the many brothels in the days of the Yoshiwara. In this time of emergency we must sustain our national ethic, built as it is upon the memory of the beauty of such human devotion."

These words were spoken by Funada Chū [Funada Naka], a Diet member, in an address to the Special Congress of the National Federation of Brothels in the year Shōwa 10 (1935), when Japan was mobilizing for war.

From a modern perspective, it is nothing short of grotesque that a Diet member should have praised the prosperity of brothels as an aspect of the national ethic and then gone on to aestheticize the sale of young girls' bodies as representing "beauty of the human heart" as Funada did. But this structure, where the compassion of the powerful is prerequisite to the self-sacrifice of the powerless, is a special characteristic of a Japanese style of discrimination nurtured within the emotional climate of imperialism. This structure is still in place today. Incidentally, the same Diet member, Funada, continued to be

active in the political arena after the end of the war and, if my memory serves me correctly, served as speaker of the Lower House.

[Buckley, ed., *Broken Silence*, pp. 23–26]

MATSUI YAYORI AND ASIAN MIGRANT WOMEN IN JAPAN

At the time of her death in 2002, Matsui Yayori was a senior staff editor with the *Asahi shinbun*, one of the few women to hold a senior editorial position. The author of numerous books and articles on women's issues, Matsui also helped create activist networks in the Asian region. In 1977 she founded the Asian Women's Association, devoted to maintaining stronger links between Japanese women and women in the rest of Asia. The following is an excerpt from her address to the Conference on International Trafficking in Women, held in New York in 1988. In her talk, Matsui briefly connects the postwar exploitation of Asian sex workers to the forcible recruitment of "comfort women" from Japanese-controlled territories by the Japanese Imperial Army during the Pacific War. The emergence and the testimony of former "comfort women" who demanded reparation from the Japanese government in the early 1990s had a profound impact on Japanese feminism in that decade. Matsui was the organizer of the Women's International War Crimes Tribunal held in Tokyo in December 2000, at which many former "comfort women" gave testimony.

THE VICTIMIZATION OF ASIAN MIGRANT WOMEN IN JAPAN

I am here to make heard the painful cries of victimized Asian women.

I come from Japan, the country that grew rapidly into an economic giant only four decades after the devastation of World War II. On the surface, such rapid economic growth really does look like a miracle. It is little known, however, that this "miracle" was achieved at the expense of countless women both inside and outside Japan. One of Japan's most serious social problems is an expanding sex industry—this is the other, less publicized side of economic prosperity.

In the 1970s, Japan was known as the country that sent men on sex tours to neighboring Asian countries; today it has become the country that receives the largest number of Asian migrant women working as entertainers in the booming sex industry. Some estimate that nearly 100,000 such women come to Japan every year, including both legal female workers with entertainer visas and those who work illegally on tourist visas.

More than 90 percent of these female migrant workers come from only three countries: the Philippines, Thailand, and Taiwan. The number of Filipinas now

accounts for 80 percent of that total, although the number of Thai women coming to Japan is also increasing at an alarming rate. Their jobs are concentrated in the sex industry, with most of them working as prostitutes, hostesses, striptease dancers, and other sex-service-related entertainers.

Almost without exception these Asian women are the victims of exploitation. First of all, they are brought into Japan as objects of the international traffic in women, and then, more often than not, they are forced into prostitution. Most of these women neither raise their own travel expenses to Japan, nor do they find jobs in Japan by themselves. Usually they are picked up by recruiters in their own countries and sent to Japan with the promise that they will work as waitresses, models, or ordinary hostesses (not engaging in prostitution). However, in reality, they are sold by the recruiters to promoters in Japan, many of whom are related to organized crime gangs, better known as *yakuza*. For each woman, the recruiter receives between $2,400 and $8,000. The women are then sold again, by the Japanese promoters, to clubs or other sex business owners, at double the price. Sometimes, they are simply rented at a monthly charge of $1,600 to $6,400. In order to cover such expenses, the owners force the women into prostitution, taking advantage of their vulnerability, the prime cause of which is their illegal visa status. Without the protection of a visa, there is no limit to the abuse and exploitation that these women may have to face. Besides, they are usually young—under thirty, with many in their late teens or early twenties. Not surprisingly, they cannot speak Japanese, and in the case of Thai women, they often cannot speak English either. Furthermore, they have little idea of how to cope with life in a foreign country with a completely different culture and climate. On top of all that, they carry with them a sense of obligation to earn and send money to their poor families back home. Obviously, they are in no position whatsoever to resist their employers or fight for their rights.

Usually they are deliberately kept ignorant of the names of their employers or the owners of their workplace. Moreover, they are forced to live under the close supervision of these anonymous "masters," often in shabby, cramped houses. The women are virtually kept prisoners, locked systematically in "cells." In addition to all this, their passports and air tickets are confiscated, and they are not paid the wage fixed by the contract (which they probably cannot read anyway). Nor are they given holidays. Prostitution is clearly a most effective means of exploiting these Asian victims of the international flesh-trade. . . .

The growing number of migrant women who find their way to shelters all over the country also indicates the scope of human rights violations, inhuman humiliating treatment, and sexual abuse. Over the last three years, 1,200 women have sought refuge and assistance after being subjected to physical violence, psychological threats, nonpayment of wages, or forced prostitution. While migrant women suffer from this gross exploitation, traders—including recruiters, promoters, club owners, and pimps—make enormous profits at their expense; the returns from forced prostitution are particularly high.

Exactly why is it, then, that such huge numbers of Asian women are flooding into Japan? Essentially, this phenomenon results from the unjust economic imbalance between the north and the south. In other words, it is a symptom of deep-rooted economic problems on a global scale.

The countries that send out these women are all facing deteriorating economic conditions. In the Philippines, even after Marcos's dictatorial regime was overthrown by a movement of people's power and Cory Aquino became president, the economy did not improve; on the contrary, it actually worsened. The burden of the country's huge foreign debt, the failure of land reform, continued corruption, intensified militarization, and other problems make people's lives even harder than before. Unemployment and unlivable wages force both men and women to emigrate to survive and support their families. The Aquino government could not give up Marcos's policy of exporting workers for the purpose of providing employment and earning foreign currency.

In the country that receives these women, Japan, the shortage of young workers in the sex industry is filled by imported foreign labor. Usually, young Japanese women high school graduates get jobs in offices, factories, or stores. The women who work in the so-called night industry—bars, nightclubs, and snack bars that cater to men—are mostly middle-aged. Some are even over fifty, and many are married with children. They mask their age by wearing heavy makeup. This situation reflects the low status of women in Japan. It is difficult for women to get ordinary jobs with an adequate salary to support their families. If something happens to their husbands—sickness, death, or an accident—wives are forced to work in the night industry to earn money. The gap in the average income of men and women is larger than in any other industrialized country, with women earning only half as much as men.

But why does the sex industry flourish in Japan, creating such a high demand for female workers? The answer to this question is an inseparable part of Japan's economic system and reflects the situation of women and men in Japan. Japanese men are forced to work very hard and are virtually enslaved by the companies that employ them. Under the "Japanese-style management system," which is supported by the three pillars of life-long employment, seniority, and cooperative management–labor relations, employees are treated as members of the company family. In return, they are expected to be loyal and to devote their life to the company.

Employees average more than 2,000 working hours per year, compared to 1,600–1,700 hours in Western European countries; they take only nine days of paid holidays. They will even work on Sundays. Seeking relief from these extremely tense work patterns, Japanese business "warriors" frequent entertainment facilities with their colleagues or business customers. The companies themselves often provide their employees and customers opportunities to drink and enjoy entertainment with women. Sometimes the companies organize sex tours abroad for their employees as a reward for hard work or successful business deals.

In the context of such business practices, the role of Japanese women is either, as hostesses, to extend sexual services to men or, as wives and mothers, to take care of their husbands and teach children to be future business warriors. Temporary work is another option, yet this is low-paid and unstable.

It cannot be overemphasized that the sharp increase in Asian female migrant workers coming to Japan is fundamentally linked to the very economic system that has brought about Japan's unprecedented rapid economic development. Based on the dehumanization of both Japanese men and women and on imported cheap labor, that development supports a growing sex industry in Japan, estimated at ¥10 trillion. . . .

Trafficking in women is part of a consumer culture created by transnational corporations, which strongly influences third-world countries. Everything is utilized as a commodity to be sold. Even women are commodified and traded to satisfy men's desires, which are stimulated by all forms of mass media. In this context, Asian women are favorite goods because of the "Oriental charm" and exoticism that Western and Japanese men see in them. Thus, countless women in the third world are victimized by racism, colonialism, commercialism, and sexism.

The tidal wave of such sexual exploitation should be stemmed by all available means. What kind of actions should we take? Here I would like to present a brief history of our campaign against sex tours since the mid-1970s. Japanese women were shocked when Korean women protested against Japanese male sex tours in 1973. First, Korean Christian women's groups published a very strong statement condemning the wealthy Japanese men who were dehumanizing their country's women. Then a handful of Korean women students went to Kimpo airport carrying placards stating: "We are against prostitution tourism!" "Don't make our motherland a brothel for Japanese men!" Some of these women were arrested because the dictatorship didn't like such protests.

Responding to the courageous action of these Korean women, we Japanese feminists organized demonstrations at Haneda Airport, distributing leaflets to tourists bound for Seoul. We used strong language, such as "Shame on you!" "Stop your shameful behavior!" and "We will never allow you to repeat your sexual aggression!" During the war, the Japanese Imperial Army forced young Korean women to serve as prostitutes. Hundreds of thousands of them were sent to the battlefields of China and Southeast Asia, and they were abandoned in the jungle when Japanese troops had to withdraw in defeat.

It was during this demonstration against "*Kisaeng* tourism" that I coined a new word for prostitution. In Japanese, prostitution is called *baishun*, written with two Chinese characters meaning "sell spring." I changed the characters so that it meant "buy spring." I wanted to change attitudes toward and concepts of prostitution. Traditionally, women who sold their bodies were blamed, while men who bought their sex were not condemned. Therefore, the word had to be changed. It may seem a rather small thing, but it is revolutionary to shift the

responsibility from women to men. Those who buy sex are to be condemned more than those who sell.

We should not look at prostitution from a perspective of moral judgement but rather analyze the problem within the context of the global economic structure.

[Buckley, ed., *Broken Silence*, pp. 143–53]

UENO CHIZUKO AND THE CULTURAL CONTEXT OF JAPANESE FEMINISM

In the mid-1990s, sociologist Ueno Chizuko was appointed professor at Tokyo University. In the following short essay, she considers Japanese feminism in a broad historical perspective. Ueno answers the frequently heard argument that feminism is a "foreign" or an "imported" movement in Japan, suggesting that in the context of an overwhelmingly culturally hybrid modernity, such accusations are merely ways of dismissing political activism by women. She also calls attention to the dangers of the contention that once the modern is rejected as foreign, Japanese women may be linked to the essence of the native and the premodern. Reflecting on the work of Takamure Itsue, she warns that such reasoning may lead to nationalistic feminism.

ARE THE JAPANESE FEMININE? SOME PROBLEMS OF JAPANESE FEMINISM IN ITS CULTURAL CONTEXT

A remarkable intellectual event in Japanese feminist theory has taken place. It is the publication of a book about Takamure Itsue, a critical biography of one of the greatest Japanese feminist philosophers and historians of the prewar period. The book, written by a young feminist scholar, Yamashita Etsuko, is an attempt to reevaluate Takamure's achievements in the light of developments in recent French postmodernist philosophy.

This attempt is itself rooted in two wider intellectual contexts: first, the rediscovery and reevaluation of premodern thought as postmodernist; second, the reconstruction of a critical history of feminist thought that also problematizes the active participation of Japanese feminists in World War II. The former reflects the current revisionist tendency to reevaluate what was once considered to be backward. The latter demonstrates a feminist "reflectiveness" in relation to women's history. The latent messages are, in the first case, that the Japanese are not always wrong and, in the second case, that women are not always victims. As a cultural product, contemporary Japanese feminism is located within the same cultural context. Feminism is under considerable pressure to respond to these two trends. The purpose of this paper is to see Japanese feminism as a

constructed cultural ideology and place it within a wider political context. To this end I will use a "sociology of knowledge" approach. In a sense, this is an attempt at a meta-anthropology of gender.

In the concept of Orientalism proposed by Edward Said, the East is to the West as woman is to man. Taking an Orientalist approach to national identity, Japanese intellectuals have described Japan as an oppressed woman. Some have gone even farther, to equate Japan with a poor woman raped by the West, particularly when describing the period after World War II. After the Western concept of Orientalism was imposed on the East, the intellectuals of this region took up the same framework as a basis for their own expression of self-identity. The use of gender metaphors to refer to the East and the West has become common. However, on reflection, this is somewhat tautological, given that gender difference is shaped by a romantic worldview that sees men and women as existing only within such binary relations as positive/negative, active/passive, rational/irrational, dominant/subordinate, and ultimately, superior/inferior. However, the "East-as-woman" is inhabited by both men and women. By implication, within this framework Oriental men can, to some extent, be assigned such feminine "traits" as passivity and irrational thinking. Some research has shown that if an individualist orientation is used as the criterion of gender difference, then Japanese men are more feminine than French women. However, this finding does not mean that a Japanese man adopts a woman's role more than a French woman does. He is, after all, a man. There will always be gender politics regardless of the ethnic context.

With the rise of new nationalism since the 1970s, in the wake of the so-called Japanese economic miracle, there has been a tendency for Japanese indigenous thought of the prewar years to be reevaluated as postmodernist, as ideas that had the potential to overcome the constraints of Western-influenced models of modernization. The reevaluation itself has only taken place in the light of the most recent wave of European philosophy. Japanese intellectuals repeatedly take advantage of the cycles of self-criticism within European thought. This could be described as the product of reverse Orientalism—a process of devaluation followed by a process of reevaluation, in which an Orientalist perspective is taken up to define a positive national identity. This approach both fits the existing dominant paradigm for the East and is appealing for its ability to express a fundamental weakness of Orientalism, namely, Western ambiguity toward the non-Western world.

It is in this context that the reevaluation of an indigenous feminist thinker, Takamure, can be understood as an example of reverse Orientalism. Takamure shaped her thought in the face of the modern world, more specifically in reaction to the disintegration of the traditional community structures that had been based on such oppositions as rural/urban, nature/culture, and human/technological.

Takamure's own countermodernism is obviously a modern product, something that would not have existed without modernism. It is a reactionary response to modernism. Takamure stood for the past, for tradition, for things that were rapidly disappearing. She was particularly worried about what she considered the loss of traditional gender roles or identity. The recovery of national identity and gender identity were the same thing for her. She attempted to achieve both goals by tracing women's history all the way back to ancient times. With no professional training as a historian, she strove to prove the existence of matrilineality in ancient Japan by tracing the genealogical documents of the ancient clans. Though she mistook matrilineality for matriarchy, she did offer a challenge to a dominant historical view that had never admitted to the possibility of women's power.

In her search for women's power, Takamure also turned to the Japanese creation myths. According to those cosmological myths, Japan's first great ancestral goddess was Amaterasu, from whom all creations derived. Takamure proposed the idea of "maternal self" as a Japanese cultural ideal, identifying herself and all Japanese women with the first, great goddess. For her, this solution went beyond the Western individualism to which she attributed the destruction of Japan's traditional community structures. Within her concept of a "maternal self," woman is at the center of everything. There is no conflict between community and individual in this ideal culture, and it is only women who can lead.

Her argument was an exercise in countermodernism and problematized the questions related to the debate surrounding the overcoming of modernity. The countermodernists generally sought a process of modernization that was not bound to Westernization or Western models. Among these countermodernists, Nishida Kitarō was an outstanding philosopher who wrote extensively on these issues. He questioned the Western modernism that appealed so much to young Japanese intellectuals of the prewar period. The same young men later had to fight the United States in World War II. When the time came, Nishida encouraged them to participate in the war. The anti-Westernization of countermodernism lent itself to nationalist goals.

Takamure offered a feminist counterpart of countermodernism. Her countermodernism also led her to participate actively in the war. In the late 1930s, she wrote: "The maternal self sees humankind as one family. As our sacred war is a challenge to what interferes with this familyhood, the war is ours, for women." She also described what she saw as the close relationship of women and fascism: "Fascism, which encourages women to have more children, values womanhood and therefore is liberating for women."

Takamure was committed to forming a maternalistic feminism, as opposed to an individualist feminism. From her point of view, individualist feminists, with their focus on such issues as the woman's vote, were effectively destroying

feminine virtues and cultural tradition in their attempts to overcome male standards. This was not the first debate between individualist and maternalist feminists in Japan. The most famous precedent occurred as early as the 1910s.

The two main figures in that debate were Hiratsuka Raichō and Yosano Akiko. Raichō was the founder of the first feminist journal in Japan and a strong maternalist. She argued for the specificity of womanhood and demanded maternal welfare from the state and the community. From the beginning, Japan's indigenous feminism defined itself as distinct from Western individualism. Takamure considered herself a legitimate heir to this first maternalist feminist and received her enthusiastic approval. Takamure's emphasis on motherhood and femininity functioned as an attempt to overcome Western individualism. She was by no means a right-wing woman or a conservative but a strong feminist from the start. However, once locked into a framework of reverse Orientalism (the rejection of the Western model in the search for a Japan-specific one), she became increasingly implicated in fascism.

Not only Takamure, but also leading feminists in the struggle for the women's vote, participated actively in the war effort. In order to earn their share of political rights, women felt obliged to demonstrate a positive contribution to the state in the time of national crisis. A problem shared by most Asian feminists is that of locating a female identity and a feminist movement in relation to questions of national and cultural identity. Since feminism is frequently criticized at the local level as a Western import, feminists are under continuous pressure to distinguish themselves from Western feminists and must always define themselves negatively or oppositionally in order to establish a distinctly indigenous feminist identity.

This is confusing in a country such as Japan, where the national identity is already, at least to some extent, constructed as a somewhat feminine identity. If the Japanese as a cultural group are considered to have "feminine" traits and to have internalized the understanding of their own culture as "feminine" (in contrast to other cultures, such as that of North America, which might be characterized as "masculine" within this framework), then feminists are faced with a dilemma: on the one hand, if feminists ask for equal rights, they are accused of being anti-Japanese; on the other hand, if they stress feminine virtues, men think it over and say, "Look, in contrast to Western men, we are already feminine enough. Why do we have to become more feminine?"

This dilemma was reproduced in the 1980s, a half-century after the first feminine/feminist controversy. The feminist debate in the 1980s was between "maximalist" and "minimalist" feminists. Maximalist feminism was a new wave of feminism that followed radical feminism. It was also referred to as "ecological feminism" and drew support from a countercultural movement for alternative technologies. Its critique of Japanese industrial society paralleled the logic of the earlier countermodernist movement. It began to resemble a new national-

ism when it proclaimed the virtues of such concepts as nature, motherhood, and "vernacular" values (after Ivan Illich).

An oppositional or reactive cycle of Orientalism and reverse Orientalism has been reproduced again and again throughout Japanese history. During the Edo [Tokugawa] period Motoori Norinaga, a philosopher, proposed a counter-Orientalism of the Japanese mind, in opposition to Chinese universalism (*karagokoro*, or Chinese mind). The Chinese model of the Orient and its relation to the rest of the world was the dominant model of identity in the East. Japan was as much the "other" to China as it was later to the West. Before contact with the West, everything—writing, law, technology, philosophy, and art—derived from China. Norinaga was a student of the classical literature of the Heian period. He was particularly known for his study of *The Tale of Genji*, a work written by a woman of the court and renowned as the world's oldest novel. In the Heian period Japanese official documents were always written in Chinese, but women were not allowed to use the Chinese language. It was during the same period that the Japanese writing system, *kana*, was developed. This invention took place among the court women. Gradually a system emerged within which women and men had clearly distinguishable written and spoken languages. Paradoxically, women could express themselves more easily than men in the vernacular of women's speech and the indigenous *kana* syllabary. The Heian period is considered to have seen the birth of Japanese culture, as opposed to Chinese universalism.

Norinaga developed his own theories of *The Tale of Genji* and of a Japanese aesthetic, theories which were based on the premise that the Japanese mind could be characterized as feminine while, by contrast, Chinese universalism could be characterized as masculine. Ironically, the creation of a "Japanese" culture led to the ghettoization of Japanese traits. The particularism of this conscious production of cultural identity is still evident in many contemporary theories of Japanese culture and society. In its attempts to define the feminine positively, maximalist feminism shares much with Japanese cultural particularism. We could point out the following similarities: first, this particularism falls within the same frame of binary oppositions as that imposed by Orientalism—nature/technology, soft/hard, positive/negative, masculine/feminine. It is actually a reversed expression of universalism, Western or Chinese, in that it strives to redefine or reallocate the positive and negative qualities of the existing, traditional oppositions. Second, this particularism is achieved only by ghettoizing the same qualities it claims to valorize. The dominant paradigm is ultimately left intact.

The nature of the relation of feminism to nationalism starts to become ambiguous when feminism and cultural particularism approach one another. In more recent times, a right-wing woman, Hasegawa Michiko, has criticized feminism as being responsible for the destruction of cultural traditions. As a philosopher and, not coincidentally, a student of the works of Norinaga, she has

referred to feminism as *karagokoro*, or "Chinese mind." Hasegawa is the Japanese equivalent of Jean Bethke Elshtain, the American political scientist who, rather confusingly, claims to be a feminist. Fortunately, our "Japanese Elshtain" distinguishes herself clearly from feminism, so we can comfortably and fairly position her as antagonistic.

Hasegawa made a speech at the sixtieth anniversary of the Shōwa emperor's reign, in which she referred to the emperor as the "mother of the nation." Strangely enough, her statement did not cause any anger on the right. Though the Japanese imperial system is patrilineal, the emperor is no longer a powerful patriarch but an embracing mother; conservatives also agree with this view of the Japanese empire. There has been a transmogrification of the image of the emperor from a fatherlike to a motherlike figure. The current imperial system has gone through changes parallel to the transformation of capitalism—from hard to soft, visible to invisible, industrial to information- and service-oriented, centered to decentered. Accordingly, the entire discourse surrounding imperialism has changed. The new discourse of a soft, invisible empire was first posited by the French philosopher Roland Barthes in 1970 in his book *L'Empire des signes*, or *Empire of Signs*. In this book, he describes the emperor as an empty center: the center is there, but it is an empty, passive one. Japanese postmodernists were quick to take up his vocabulary. It is now common to refer to the emperor as the zero sign of Japanese culture: everything derives from this empty center, and everything collapses into one at this center. It functions like a black hole. This model has served as a strategy for enabling the imperial system to survive the transformation of Japanese capitalism. The transformation of the emperor into an empty center can be seen as equivalent to the emergence of the "soft capitalism" of the 1980s, a process often described as a feminization.

To sum up, we find ourselves trapped in a vicious circle that oscillates between Orientalism and a reverse Orientalism. Feminism as a cultural product cannot escape from this closed framework. It is especially difficult when gender is fundamental to many of the oppositional metaphors mobilized in the production of cultural identity. When a feminist chooses to stress the feminine, as in the case of maternalist and maximalist feminists, any alignment with either position will be achieved only by the effective ghettoization of "Japaneseness" and "womanhood." How can we avoid getting trapped by these frustrating alternatives?

In conclusion, it should be said that although I have limited this discussion to the Japanese case, these problems are in no way unique to Japan but are common to all nations. These issues are particularly evident in developing societies where mechanisms of reverse Orientalism have prevailed in the attempt to define local identities. Developed societies in which the formation of a national identity is at issue will also be faced with the same potential problems. Any feminist backlash that effectively ghettoizes the feminine—for example, the emergence of women's religions—also raises these same questions. In con-

sidering the issues I have raised here in relation to Orientalism and reverse Orientalism, feminist and cultural particularism, and nationalism—all of which are specific (not mutually exclusive) strategies for the construction of identity—it would be naive to forget the political specificity of difference.

[Buckley, ed., *Broken Silence*, pp. 293–301]

SAITŌ CHIYO AND JAPANESE FEMINISM

Saitō Chiyo, founder of the feminist journal *Agora*, attempted to redefine the concept of a "Japanese feminism" in the context of the movement's diversification in the late twentieth century. In her remarks, Saitō also alludes to the positions of Aoki Yayoi and Ueno Chizuko, other feminists who are her contemporaries.

WHAT IS JAPANESE FEMINISM?

I usually don't like definitions, but if I was asked for my own definition of feminism today, I might say the following, emphasizing that it refers only to the current situation:

> An international cultural and human rights movement to "cleanse" experience and knowledge, a movement that adopts a female perspective rather than the traditional male value system. Opposition to the privileging of production and efficiency models. The privileging of human life and sexuality. The elimination of all discrimination based on gender, economic status, race, culture, education, etc.

This would be my definition for the present, but it might well change in the future. It is a definition that is informed by all my own priorities, and so I would invite others to disagree. I believe that the first wave of feminism developed philosophically out of a humanist tradition. If we begin to consider the relationship between humanism and feminism, there is material for a book and still some. I don't feel I am familiar enough with this problem to touch on it here in detail, but as a passing observation I would say that the origins of this relationship go back a long way.

There are various theories as to when the word *feminism* first came into use. The widely told official version is that the term was coined by Alexandre Dumas, the French dramatist, in his work *L'Homme-femme* in 1872, where he used it to name the contemporary movement for women's rights. Other explanations trace the first use back to the eighteenth century, but in all cases the country of origin remains France. In that respect it is interesting to note that despite the

fact that there is ample record of the numbers of women at Versailles in 1789, the expression "Freedom, Equality, and Brotherhood" (*fraternité*) excludes sisterhood (*sororité*). The expression *sororité* is still rarely used officially in France today outside limited feminist circles.

The Renaissance is known as the period of the discovery of mankind, the restoration of mankind, and yet, be it the Renaissance or the French Revolution, women are excluded from the category of mankind. Perhaps some will consider it an exaggeration to say that feminism has played a major role in the movement to restore the excluded group—women—but that is my impression. In its earliest forms feminism called for sexual equality in political, economic, educational, and social rights, and these focuses led to the popularization of such terms as "Women's Liberation" and "Women's Rights Movement." However, the radical feminism and second wave of the feminist movement that grew out of the anti-Vietnam and civil rights movements of the 1960s brought major qualitative changes. As early as the nineteenth century some people had questioned whether the Women's Rights Movement went far enough, wanting also to assert the value of woman as reproductive subject. This movement focused on the maternal female. Radical feminism went another step further, calling not only for the glorification of female life and sexuality but also for the feminization of all fixed value systems and future social principles. Perhaps it is because the women of this movement repeatedly brought such massive numbers of demonstrators onto the streets in support of their demands that today American feminists credit their country with the birth of the movement. The Women's Liberation Movement spread quickly across the world under the abbreviated title of "Lib." In contrast to the emphasis on certain aspects of female identity and the fight for equal rights that characterized the classic feminism, the new radical feminism was remarkable in its resolute demand for a realization of the total identity of all women as living subjects. Ueno-*san* has said that we have seen such diversification because feminism has matured and reached its outer limits. From the perspective of feminism's long history, one could say that it has reached a period of maturity, but it is on this solid foundation that radical feminism has come into being. One could call this a step toward the limits of feminism or a step in the development of feminism. For this very reason we can call up the old saying of "a hundred houses, a hundred different voices," but it would be just as true to say "a hundred different blossoms scattered far and wide." While the first wave of feminism worked to expand women's place in the world, the second wave—radical feminism—is attempting to eliminate the logic of male-dominated society. This is not a task that will be achieved in a mere twenty or thirty years.

I believe it is important not to lose sight of the fact that feminism is related to an actual movement. I think that here is another possible explanation for the diversification of feminism. The philosophy of feminism is not just an impractical doctrine; it constitutes the tactics and strategy for action. It will reflect the

social conditions of the country, region, and historical period that forms the backdrop of the movement and thus be in a constant process of change. Some argue that the radical feminism of the 1960s grew out of women's rejection of the clearly defined male and female role distinctions within the anti-Vietnam movement. I believe this was not the cause but an opportunity. When people asked questions about sending troops all the way to Vietnam to fight, the links between the structures of discrimination and war were exposed. When people began to ask "Why" in the 1950s and 1960s—Why are there no seats on the buses for blacks? Why must blacks go to separate schools?—it became clear that there were no places for women either and that this was contrary to the proclamation of "justice" in the U.S. Constitution. These links led to the emergence of Women's Liberation, developed as a mass movement in tandem with the civil rights movement and the anti-Vietnam movement, and from their momentum the move to eradicate the "male principle" that lies dormant in the hearts of men gained its strength.

While one dimension of any movement is an emphasis on basic principles, a movement will also usually confront the reality of its time. Those associated with feminism have consistently called for reforms in the context. Of all the realities whose paths they have tread, each of these calls for reform has developed a theoretical base of its own. In response to Ueno-*san*'s claim that the abundance of theoretical positions represents the demise of feminism, I would argue that the richer the movement, the richer the range of theories. I predict that the more women who join the ranks of feminism, the more vigorous feminist discourse will become. I should add, however, that at one level I do agree with Ueno-*san* when she says that in some sense the proliferation of theory is an attempt to change the way we see the world in the face of the apparent impossibility of changing the reality of the world. When I hear people labeling one another—"Oh, she's a radical feminist," "She's an ecological feminist"—I get the feeling that if theory is ever reduced to just this, a collection of intellectual labels to wear, then the movement will be dead.

If feminist theory and the movement are two sides of the same coin, surely what links them is the fact that both originate from the same basic emotions. This, too could be seen as another source of the recent proliferation of feminisms. Some people came to feminism from their experience of discrimination in the workplace, others due to hardship caused by the restrictions of the family system or the difficulty for women with young children to return to the workforce. The range of experiences is not unlike that suffered in a state of war. Some suffered psychological injuries, and some the pain of discrimination due to race, culture, class, or other "identifications." For others the starting point was their concern over nuclear weapons or the contamination of food supplies. Still others came to feminism out of a religious love. There are so many paths that bring people to feminism. When I was in New York in 1982 for a peace rally, I tried to meet with as many of the feminist groups there as possible. There

were mothers who had become involved over the contamination of milk by radioactive rain, black activists, supporters of cooperation with the third world, minority groups, lesbians, and many others from different interest groups. It is not surprising then that so many different tactical approaches have emerged ranging from antipatriarchy, the elimination of class, sexual liberation, new ecology, rethinking the body, a rejection of the male principle, and cooperation with the third world to talking from the heart and relaxation.

At yet another level, this diversification is fundamental to understanding the movement itself. The most basic foundation of feminism is each woman's own emotions and perceptions. Feminism is opposed to standardization and regulation. The entrenchment of the standardized concept of "women in the home, men in the workplace" should be questioned. Another example of such questioning is the criticism from lesbians of heterosexual dominance and their call for equal rights for homosexuals. The other unavoidable question is whether the fight for the expansion of rights can be limited to women. The territory has been shifting to include race, culture, birthrights, the handicapped, and others. Even the very category of humanity is coming under question. Ecological feminism, with its call for alternative ways of life that reject high-production society and its questioning of the conditions of human life, will have a major impact.

With this level of diversification it is inevitable that at different times different approaches will generate a barrage of sparks as they come in contact with one another, but as long as no one group attempts to adopt a dominant position, the stimulation of these fiery encounters can become the ground for new ideas and actions. It is here that we can identify the boundless potential of feminism. I believe that this diversity will continue to breed still further differentiation.

Let's return to the idea of a Japanese feminism. If we accept the concept of diversity as a characteristic of feminism, then there is no reason why there should not be a multitude of feminisms in direct relation to geographic, historical, and contextual variables. Within this system the possibility that we would nurture a Japanese feminism in Japan is perfectly acceptable, and indeed, I believe it to be the reality. I may not have met even a hundred foreign feminists in my time, but even so they have come from as far afield as Asia, Africa, the Middle East, Central America, North America, Australia, northern Europe, southern Europe, and the Eastern Bloc. I have felt very subtle variations among the feminisms of each of these countries. It is only natural that, given the differences in social conditions in each place, the tone and hue of the feminisms should also differ. . . .

[Buckley, ed., *Broken Silence*, pp. 262–68]

Chapter 51

THINKING WITH THE PAST: HISTORY WRITING IN MODERN JAPAN

Like all modern nations, Japan takes its history seriously, mobilizing the past in the service of national identity, cultural value, and political critique. Such uses of history are by no means new to modern Japan, which inherited the historical mindedness associated with East Asian Confucianism as well as a centuries-old habit of defining Japan against China by evoking a distinctive national past. This combination of new and old reasons for attending to history may help explain the prominence of historical concerns in contemporary Japan. From public politics to popular culture, from early Meiji to the beginning of the twenty-first century, Japanese have used the past as something to think with.

History is thus no academic matter but part of the national consciousness, in which the story of "Japan" is collectively told. The modern version emerged in the Meiji period under the sign of the nation-state that was then under reconstruction. This newly designated "national history" (*kokushi*) employed the methods of a newly "scientific" history writing. Both the national story and the academic discipline of history belonged to what Narita Ryūichi called a "grammar of modernity" common to nation-states in the late nineteenth century. Its legacy, in Japan as elsewhere, was to make the nation the main subject of most historical sentences, whether stated or implicit, and to give precedence to historical knowledge based on written sources and expressed in written form.

The logic of modernity further challenged historians in Japan and other places to situate their nation in world history, understood as a universal progress toward

modern forms of politics, society, and culture. This meant comparing Japan with the West, regarded as the source of models of modernity and theories of history, and with China, which became an antimodel and icon of an antiquated past. On the one hand, such historical comparisons justified Japan's wars and imperialism in Asia. On the other, the allegedly universal models, which were in fact Western, injured national pride. The result was nationalistic histories asserting the uniqueness of Japan. This tension between a common modernity and a distinctive national history was itself nearly universal, a dilemma that Japan shared with most twentieth-century societies, outside a very few Western countries.

Even the categories of history writing made comparison inevitable. Japanese history was fitted, for example, into Western chronologies of ancient, medieval, and modern, or into Marxist stages of development from feudalism to capitalism. European conceptions of revolution and democracy provided the interpretive framework for understanding the Meiji Restoration, the parliamentary system, and so on. For a long time, Western modernity was set against Japanese "tradition" in an absolute dichotomy that led historians and social critics to idealize and demonize either one term or the other. Centuries of Japan's long history were viewed from the vantage point of the present, as if the entire past had been prologue to the modern nation-state. These strong concepts, typical of modern historical consciousness as it developed in the nineteenth-century West, produced great debate among historians as well as in the wider domains of politics and culture. At stake were both the understanding and the production of a Japanese modernity.

This challenge generated a creative and contentious historiography, which wrestled with the common questions of modern history writing everywhere while producing powerful interpretations of Japan's particular experience. The master narrative of history since 1600 amounted to the story of becoming modern, with the contention arising from different notions of what modernity ought to look like. For Meiji historians, it looked like Western-style "civilization," toward which Japan was rapidly "advancing." For Marxist historians, who dominated Japanese history writing for much of the twentieth century, true modernity required a revolution to make the transition from capitalism to socialism, which, in their view, "backward" Japan continually failed to achieve. For liberal progressives like Maruyama Masao, being modern meant a democratic parliamentary politics based on the will of autonomous individuals, whose absence these historians linked to the rise of fascism and aggressive war. For scholars of modernization, in contrast, modernity comprised economic growth, social change, and political democracy, which they judged Japan to have "succeeded" in acquiring in the decades after World War II. For "people's historians," a proper modernity ought to concern society, not the state, the daily lives of ordinary people, not the protected provinces of a self-selected elite, and so they rewrote the story to make the people the protagonists of history. Social and cultural historians then sought to include in the national narrative those previously excluded because of gender,

status, location, ethnicity, or colonial rule and, in the process, deconstructed the very notion of a singular homogeneous "Japan."

Different definitions of modernity thus produced different approaches to history, and these in turn resulted in changing stories about the past. But modern history writing is also oriented to the future, which is supposed to be better than the present, to make "progress," that most fundamental of modern beliefs. So historians constantly reinterpret the past for what it has to say about why the present is as it is and how to move forward from it. Nowhere is this clearer than in the changing interpretations of the two main epochal events in modern Japanese history: the Meiji Restoration and World War II. Both events were considered absolute ruptures between an old past and a new future. The Restoration, as the founding event of the modern nation, and the war, as the new beginning of postwar democracy, were examined with an eye to their causes and consequences. But they were also understood as charges to the future, and historians interpreted them according to their views of what that future should hold.

Their openly declared present and future mindedness impelled Japanese historians to practice their history in public, their activism ranging from the support of revolution in the 1930s or democracy in the 1960s to continued engagement with the politics of textbooks and history education. As public intellectuals, Japanese historians appeared prominently in the press and the mass media, welcome contributors to the successive "history booms" that swept popular discourse since the first "history fever" was identified in the 1890s. The public appetite for history was manifested in the popularity of historical fiction, drama, and television, where heroes like the spirited samurai Sakamoto Ryōma were reinterpreted as often as the Restoration itself. But not all popular history was about heroes or the safely distant past. Toward the end of the twentieth century, as World War II became more prominent in public memory in many places, Japanese were called on to confront the enormity of their wartime actions in Asia, including the excesses of colonial rule in Korea, the military's exploitation of "comfort women" as sex slaves, and atrocities such as the Nanjing massacre. The received national story of the war, which had focused on the victimization of the Japanese people by their own leaders, now had to recognize the Asian victims of war and empire. The result was a heated national and international controversy about Japan's twentieth-century past. Whether commentators were celebrating Tokugawa tradition or condemning Shōwa imperialism, Japanese public culture remained "saturated with history."

NEW HISTORIES IN MEIJI JAPAN

As with many things in Meiji Japan, the new history writing, repeatedly heralded as a complete break with the past, was in fact a blend of Western approaches and established Tokugawa habits. Because both the Western approaches and

the Tokugawa habits encompassed diverse and conflicting views of their own, the mix made for considerable turbulence among those contending for a place in the new historical landscape.

History was accorded importance from the beginning. Already in April 1869—even before the country was fully unified—the new Meiji government established the Office of Historiography. In a slap at the shogunate, the office was charged with resuming the imperial tradition of writing national histories, which had lapsed during the eight centuries of warrior rule. But the times were no longer propitious for state history defined as the compilation of materials in Chinese arranged in chronological order by imperial reign, and in the 1890s, faced with criticism from several quarters, the government abandoned its effort. Not so the compilers, whose successors at the Historiographical Institute at Tokyo Imperial University were still collecting and publishing primary sources as the twenty-first century began. They were not, however, writing history.

Writing history, as opposed to compiling sources, took two main forms in the Meiji period, each declaring itself especially appropriate to the new age. The first, histories of civilization (*bunmeishi*), were lively national narratives dedicated to showing where Japan stood in the universal course of progress and how its past exhibited the same "laws of history" described by nineteenth-century European historians like Henry Buckle and François Guizot and thinkers like Herbert Spencer. These civilizational histories were written not by academic historians but by public intellectuals and journalists such as Fukuzawa Yukichi (see his *Outline of a Theory of Civilization* in chap. 38) and Tokutomi Sohō (see his *Future Japan* later in this chapter), who took it as their mission to impel the nation forward by enlightening the people. They consciously centered their histories on the people, society, and culture, not on the government or the state, in works that were optimistic, hortatory, and enormously popular. Nothing interested them more than the "trends of the times" (*jisei*), the "progress of civilization" (*bunmei no kaika*), and the future of Japan.

What interested the pioneers of the new "national history" (*kokushi*)—the second stream of Meiji history writing—was a scientific understanding of the past based on "facts" recounted without bias or moral purposes. Influenced by German historicism, their respect for verifiable data led them to debunk hallowed heroes and events in Japanese history, earning them public condemnation for their "theories of obliteration." They denounced Confucian praise-and-blame history as moralistic, yet their method of verifying facts was an updated form of textual criticism (*kōshōgaku*) inherited from Tokugawa Chinese studies (and from Qing philology). With the establishment of the Department of National History at Tokyo Imperial University in 1889, these historians—Shigeno Yasutsugu and Kume Kunitake, in particular—became the founding figures of the modern academic discipline of history.

Like the new categories of "national literature" and "national language," the discipline of national history emerged together with the intensified nation-

mindedness of the late 1880s and 1890s. While this concern was clearly linked to the Meiji pursuit of modernity, it was also part of the wider nineteenth-century evolution of the nation-state. Indeed, the professionalization of national history occurred in roughly the same period in Japan as it did in France, Britain, and the United States, suggesting that the contemporary global context was as important as any need specific to the recently unified Meiji state. In each country, the new professional historians employed the latest scientific, or "objective," methods to narrate the nation as a continuous unitary entity, thus contributing the weight of the past to the modern catechism of national identity.

This link between history and the nation provoked public controversy. In the early 1890s, both Shigeno and Kume were dismissed from the university for having violated the sanctity of national myth, hounded out by Shintoists and others who resented either Chinese or Western approaches or both. School textbooks repeatedly aroused debate, and in 1911 the "controversy over the Northern and Southern Court" reached the highest political levels. The Meiji constitution, after all, stated that the emperors reigned in a line "unbroken for ages eternal," making it inopportune to suggest the existence of two contending imperial lineages in the fourteenth century.

By the end of the Meiji period, both civilizational and academic history had spawned a new generation of historians. Public intellectuals like Yamaji Aizan carried on the tradition of popular national narrative, and professional historians such as Hara Katsurō and Uchida Ginzō inaugurated the academic fields of medieval and Tokugawa (*kinsei*) history. It became the prevailing fashion for later historians to condemn the Meiji founders as either unrigorously popular in the case of histories of civilization or rigorously pedantic in the case of professional historians, whose method was denigrated as "academism." But the truth—as the academic professionals might have asserted—was that these historians thought of themselves as the vanguard of a new age of history writing. In their combat against old forms of Confucian moralism, imperial annals, and ungrounded mythologies, they were indeed radical, if not quite as free of the Tokugawa past as they were wont to claim.

TAGUCHI UKICHI

Taguchi Ukichi (1855–1905) exemplified the spirit that produced the new histories of civilization (*bunmeishi*), which both recounted Japanese history as progress toward enlightenment and hoped to enlighten Meiji Japanese about the "universal laws" of history. Like Fukuzawa Yukichi, Taguchi criticized feudal rule and Confucian scholarship, arguing that historians should identify "fixed principles" and cause and effect, not merely produce "chronologies" or praise moral individuals. Always both historian and participant, Taguchi—sometimes known as the Adam Smith of Japan—founded the important *Tokyo*

Economic Journal in 1878 on the model of England's *Economist*, took part in the political Freedom and People's Rights movement, tried his hand at private enterprise, and spent the last decade of his life as an elected member of the Diet. His popular history magazine, *Shikai* (*Historical World*), of 1892 ignited the controversy that cost the academic historian Kume Kunitake his job, while Taguchi's indefatigable publishing efforts produced large-scale collections of historical documents that remain invaluable.

A SHORT HISTORY OF JAPANESE CIVILIZATION (*NIHON KAIKA SHŌSHI*)

Published between 1877 and 1882, Taguchi Ukichi's famous *Short History of Japanese Civilization* made the economic argument that material progress is fundamental to cultural development and the historical claim that the people (*jinmin*), not the state, propelled history forward during the Tokugawa era. This excerpt shows the way in which Taguchi constructed his historical arguments for the progress of Japanese civilization.

The Phenomena of Civilization that Emerged During Tokugawa Rule

ON THE GREAT PROGRESS OF MATERIAL AND IMMATERIAL GOODS AFTER THE CALMING OF SOCIETY [UNDER THE TOKUGAWA]

During the era of war-torn chaos [of the sixteenth century], the people (*jinmin*) suffered from hunger and thirst and could not afford to choose their food and drink. Although they desired better, it was impossible for them to improve their sustenance and shelter. But in the era of Great Peace, when circumstance no longer suppressed these demands, people worked as hard as they could to obtain what they wanted to make their lives comfortable. And just as plants bring forth their shoots in the spring breezes, nothing could keep the elements of civilization from thriving in the nurturing air of the Great Peace.

It is in the nature of man to protect life and avoid death. To protect life and avoid death, man must clothe, feed, and shelter himself, but clothing, food, and shelter that merely stave off hunger and cold are not enough. What is desired is clothing soft to the skin, food sweet to the taste, and comfortable shelter against the elements.

To satisfy these desires, people must use their intellectual abilities. This leads to material progress and, with it, progress in the inner human spirit. Material progress depends on progress of the spirit, and as long as material conditions do not devolve, the spirit will not regress either. This is because material goods develop intellectual abilities, and the human spirit makes material progress possible. . . .

ESTABLISHING THE CRITERION OF PROGRESS ON THE BASIS OF WHAT ARE CALLED LUXURY GOODS

It is not easy to advance standards of living. Some believe that the extravagance of the people would know no bounds unless the government set limits to it, but this is not at all the case. Because standards of living progress as the property and capital of the general populace increase, this striving, far from leading to ruin, is in fact the very criterion of civilization.

THE CHARACTER OF CIVILIZATION THAT EMERGED UNDER FEUDALISM

The feudal system values the family. The eldest son is esteemed, the younger sons slighted, and even if the heir is a fool, the intention to continue the family unbroken into perpetuity prevails. A familial blood line may be entirely severed, and yet by adopting an heir, the family may still appear to the world to continue. Such practices, based as they are on man's nature (to avoid death and protect life), resulted in great progress under the feudal system.

Recognizing this in retrospect, it is easy to see that there is a fixed principle in society, which merely operates differently under different systems. . . .

SOCIETY REMEDIES ITSELF

Reasoning from the facts stated above, we understand that it is in the nature of society for civilization to progress. When the debates over distinctions of rank in the aristocratic lineages became extreme in the Heian court, for example, the localities sought freedom, thus giving rise to feudal power. When feudalism descended into the chaos of the warring states like that of late Ashikaga rule, the lords sought to achieve the Great Peace, eventually uniting the country. And after achieving the Great Peace, the people sought to make their lives comfortable, engendering progress in all things from literature to the practical arts. Society always moves in this way. The actions of heroes and great men merely hasten or delay these forces. Thinking of the future in the light of this principle, we can foresee the prospects for our nation.

[Taguchi, *Nihon kaika shōshi*, pp. 181–83, 232–33; CG]

SHIGENO YASUTSUGU

Caricatured in the press as Dr. Obliterator for his denials of the historical existence of legendary heroes, Shigeno Yasutsugu (1827–1910) was a founding figure of academic history at Tokyo Imperial University. Both roles derived from

Shigeno's sure sense of the historian's vocation, which he defined as a search for the truth, based on facts verified through close textual criticism (*kōshō*) of primary sources. Thus when he found no corroborating textual evidence for the existence of Kojima Takenori, the famous imperial loyalist who appears in the military tale *Taiheiki*, Shigeno said so, arousing the wrath of traditionalists. From the time of his appointment to the government's Office of Historiography in 1875, he practiced the strict textual methods of his early training in Chinese learning, eschewing any sign of unreliable narrative and sticking close to the sources. This earned him the hostility of Shintoists, nationalists, people who thought that official history should be written in Japanese rather than Chinese, historians of civilization who found textual criticism insufficiently inspiring for progress, and younger critics who thought his history antiquated and him an old fogy.

Like many Meiji figures who came of age under the Tokugawa, Shigeno was a transitional figure between the old and the new history, who nonetheless left his mark as the founder of "academism," which dominated the halls of Tokyo Imperial University. When the Department of National History was founded there in 1889, Shigeno and Kume Kunitake were among its first professors. When the Historical Society was established the same year, Shigeno became its president, and when the society began its *Historical Journal* (*Shigaku zasshi*), Shigeno wrote for it. In response to the following speech published in the inaugural issue in 1889, Shigeno was denounced as deficient in loyalty and national feeling, and when the Office of Historiography was closed in 1893, he lost his university post. The journal, still published by Tokyo University, remains the professional home of academic, "positivist" history to this day.

"THOSE WHO ENGAGE IN THE STUDY OF HISTORY MUST BE IMPARTIAL AND FAIR-MINDED IN SPIRIT" (SHIGAKU NI JŪJI SURU MONO WA SONO KOKORO SHIKŌ SHIHEI NARAZARU BEKARAZU)

In light of the current recognition of the need for history, my lecture today concerns the many articles published in various journals which are one-sided and lacking in impartiality. Anyone engaged in the study of history must first faithfully follow his art. If the historian's spirit is partial and unfair, all his views will be biased, creating abuses that make it impossible to achieve the objectives of scholarship and that obstruct the development of the study of history. The historian must therefore strive for an impartial spirit, avoiding bias and self-interest. . . .

Because their discipline involves study and speculation about enormous numbers of people over thousands of years, any partiality of spirit on the part of historians may lead both people and the world astray, causing immeasurable harm. . . .

Unfairness leads to bias and partiality, to the habit of preferring the eccentric and extolling the new, to the malady of favoring victory and harshly criticizing error, and in myriad ways turns out to be either too much or not enough. In the end the historian falls into prejudice, unable to choose the good or select the virtuous, obstructing thereby the progress of the age. This ought to be the greatest concern of scholars of history.

History is the reflection of the conditions of an age, and the point of historical scholarship is to examine those conditions and establish the facts. Yet those who write in the belief that history is primarily a moral teaching tend to distort the facts in the service of morality. As commendable as the concern with social teachings may be, distorting the facts contravenes the essence of history, which is to reflect the conditions of the world. Conveying this reality through "impartial views and impartial writing" also works naturally to praise good and blame evil and serves as the source of moral teaching.

In the writings of the ancients I found two lines which ought to serve as the historian's guide:

> Examine by following evidence.
> Write directly based on facts.

The first line comes from a "Comprehensive Explanation of the Study of History" (Shitong tongshi), and the second from Zhu Xi. Seek evidence, examine it, establish the facts, and write things just as they are. The first line pertains to investigation; the second, to compilation. History consists of both investigation and compilation, and although the study of history is largely concerned with investigation, compilation is always linked to it. These lines express the substance of history: it is the historian's task to encounter a phenomenon and conjecture as to its character, consulting and employing the methods of Eastern and Western history. . . .

We now convene this society in the hope of benefiting the nation, dedicating ourselves to textual criticism (*kōshō*) of the traces of our national history and to its compilation based on the materials collected by the Bureau of History and utilizing Western methods of historical investigation.

[Shigeno, "Shigaku ni jūji suru mono wa sono kokoro shikō shihei narazaru bekarazu," *Shigaku zasshi*, December 15, 1889, pp. 2–5; CG]

KUME KUNITAKE

Shigeno Yasutsugu's colleague in founding the new academic history, Kume Kunitake (1839–1931) was the most accomplished historian of his generation. His long and prolific career began with his "true account" of the Iwakura Mission of 1871 to 1873 (see chap. 37), which he accompanied on its travels to the

West. He worked in the Office of Historiography, cowrote the first national history textbook (*Kokushigan*), and was one of the first professors in the new Department of National History at Tokyo Imperial University until he was ousted in the famous Kume incident of 1892. He then moved to Waseda University, where he continued research and publication until he retired in 1922.

Kume experienced firsthand the dangers of writing national history in a charged ideological atmosphere. As one of the "obliterators," he published such articles as "The *Taiheiki* Is of No Value for Historical Scholarship," which inflamed nativist scholars. Like the Shintoists, they opposed the Chinese text criticism and Western methods that were usurping their position as arbiters of national history. So when Taguchi Ukichi reprinted Kume's article "Shinto Is a Primitive Form of Nature Worship" in his popular history journal, the Shintoists and nativists promptly attacked Kume and succeeded in provoking his dismissal from the university. One year earlier, the Christian Uchimura Kanzō had been forced to resign his post for refusing to bow before the portrait of the emperor in the "disrespect incident." Such nationalist feelings ran high in the early 1890s, often without the instigation of the state, and national history, always linked to identity and ideology, met with constant controversy.

"THE ABUSES OF TEXTUAL CRITICISM IN HISTORICAL STUDY" (SHIGAKU KŌSHŌ NO HEI)

In the 1901 lecture excerpted here, Kume Kunitake refers to the institutional characteristics peculiar to national history in the university. By then, the study of history had been divided into national history, Asian history, and Western history. While this separation typified nineteenth-century national history in other countries as well, the result was that the study of the history of Japan was severed from that of Asia and the world. It was also subject to ideological scrutiny and suppression. Kume nonetheless counseled academic historians against retreating to the safe haven of antiquarian source criticism, which is precisely what many of them did. "Academism" in Japanese history in the universities thus owed its longevity not only to a commitment to scholarly objectivity but also to a professional impulse to stay out of political trouble.

Although textual criticism (*kōshō*) is absolutely essential to the study of history, it is equally obvious that textual criticism alone is not sufficient. The first step in historical research is to ascertain the facts. The sole rule—the fundamental law (*kenpō*)—of historical study consists of presenting one's opinion based on scientific research, founded on reliable facts, in a context of free academic inquiry.

And reliable facts are ascertained by textual criticism, which is thus the first essential of historical study, though not in itself adequate to genuine scholarship.

Yet ever since the public uproar about [the authenticity of the historical figure] Kojima Takanori, national history (*kokushi*) has been severely attacked in public. In response to the continual cannonade of "national polity" (*kokutai*), "national essence" (*kokusui*), and even "national traitors" (*kokuzoku*), national history defended itself against the siege with the shield of textual criticism. Thrusting textual criticism to the fore, they disclaimed responsibility for their statements, inasmuch as they could do nothing about the facts revealed in the old documents they examined. This issue has dogged history writing ever since. When I presented some small opinions of my own, I was dismissed from the university. The discipline of history has been beset by difficulties from the start, and even now one cannot be optimistic about a discipline so reviled by the public.

There is a reason why people revile history. The notion that the shield of textual criticism might protect the discipline from this hostility is of no avail. National history is singled out for attack because the very idea of academic freedom comes from the West: it is an import, not a domestic product, one that society is compelled to accept under pressure of the trends of the time. Similarly, in the university, departments of law, medicine, science, and engineering did not exist in Japan and China. They are all imports, which is to say that they too are foreign. Thus whatever the old guard says about those fields whose doctrines were not transmitted from past times is of no consequence. But when it comes to literature—no, even in [the faculty of] literature what we now call philosophy (*tetsugaku*) is also a foreign import. It is true that the philosophy department includes the field of Eastern philosophy, which in turn includes Chinese studies—not, however, because it is Chinese studies but because it is considered part of philosophy. And because it is in philosophy, it benefits from academic freedom, which must be respected there [by virtue of the field's foreign origin]. Japan's indigenous literature, in contrast, became the province of the department of Japanese literature, which was subdivided into national history (*kokushi*) and national literature (*kokubun*). This national literature has generated superb national products; even so, recently there has been considerable commotion in debates about the "unification of the spoken and written language" (*genbun itchi*) and the reform of the national language. And yet even though it is only the Department of National History that interprets the written history of the facts of our people in the context of the national polity (*kokutai*), any and all debate on this subject in the foreign spirit of academic freedom is deemed out of the question and considered a slight to the *kokutai*. In such a context, history is subjected to vigorous public attack. Thus it is only in the field of national history that academic freedom is suppressed.

To avoid these public attacks, national history had little choice but to give in and commit itself to conduct research following the steadfast and appropriate course of practicing textual criticism founded on reliable facts. And indeed, practicing textual criticism on the basis of reliable facts is an eminently reason-

able course to follow. Yet however much we believe this, it is of no use against the attacks of antiquated thought. For isn't it under the very watchwords of "textual criticism to ascertain reliable facts" that Kojima Takanori was expunged and the battle at Kawanakajima, too, disappeared [from properly scientific history writing]? . . .

Thus, while textual criticism is essential to the discipline of history, textual criticism alone does not constitute historical study. Making judgments that determine one's opinions is essential to any genuine scholarship. But because history writing faces so many obstacles, we cannot develop our opinions in open display, as is done in other fields. Still, because scholarship is a matter of one's own learning, I intend to devote myself to developing my interpretations and to relishing historical research. And I would like to recommend that you gentlemen do the same.

[Kume, "Shigaku kōshō no hei," pp. 60–61, 70; CG]

MARXIST HISTORY WRITING

The prominence of Marxist approaches to history was one of the most impressive characteristics of twentieth-century Japanese scholarship, impressive in intellectual achievement and in prominence despite a political environment largely hostile to the left. The upsurge of interest in Marxism in the interwar period occurred around the same time as the liberal trends described in chapter 42, but in the field of history and in intellectual life more generally, it was Marxism, not liberalism, that had the greater impact, from the 1920s through the 1970s. Marxism became synonymous with the institutionalization of "social science" in Japanese universities after World War I, and educated youth of the interwar period immersed themselves in the texts and theories of Marxist analysis. Notably, the first full edition of the *Collected Works of Marx and Engels* appeared in Japan, not Europe, edited and translated in thirty volumes between 1928 and 1932. Although Marxist scholars suffered repeated suppression during the late 1920s and 1930s, they emerged from World War II to dominate the academy in a postwar context that initially seemed favorable to their visions of a democratic revolution. In the ensuing decades progressive historians remained steadfast in their opposition to conservative trends, receiving a respectful public hearing in the media even as they lost hope of realizing their social and political goals.

Marxist history writing began as a response to an environment of social and economic crisis in the 1920s and 1930s. In contrast to Meiji historians who had ridden the crest of national progress, Marxist historians confronted the crisis of capitalism and world depression, the contradictions of social unevennesses en-

gendered by modernity, and the possibility, even the necessity, of revolutionary change. These "world historical" phenomena impelled Japanese intellectuals, like their counterparts elsewhere, to seek solutions on the left. In the ferment of political commitment, which ranged from Bolshevism and Communism to socialism and social democracy, historians saw their task as understanding Japan's past in order to bring about a new future. For them, history was no armchair calling but a call to arms. They railed against academic historians as antiquarian and irrelevant; timid positivism (*jisshōshugi*), they judged, could not change the world in the way a properly scientific historical materialism could.

Prewar Marxist historians worked within a difficult double mandate. First, they had to place Japanese history in the universal developmental scheme, which necessarily led from feudalism to capitalism to socialism. In China, this periodization resulted in identifying a feudal era that was some two thousand years long; in Japan it produced what Andrew Barshay called a "logic of backwardness," stressing the "feudal remnants" that prevented modern Japan from developing an authentic form of capitalism. The second mandate came not from Marx but from Moscow, where the Comintern produced its own changing diagnoses of Japanese history in accordance with Communist Party strategies for revolution (see chap. 42).

The main scholarly split between the Lectures Faction (Kōza-ha) and the Labor-Farmer Faction (Rōnō-ha) arose from this double mandate, one historiographical and the other political. Any analysis of the Meiji Restoration, for example, had to explain why it resulted in what the Lectures Faction called an "absolutist emperor-system state" and to identify where it stood in the developmental typology of revolution, with the English, French, and Russian Revolutions as historical models. The reason for this was also political: if the Restoration was a failed bourgeois revolution, as the Lectures Faction argued within the Comintern framework, then Japanese activists had two revolutions to bring about in the twentieth century: first the bourgeois and then the proletarian. But if the Restoration qualified as a genuine, if incomplete, bourgeois-democratic revolution that had produced a Japanese form of capitalism, as the Labor-Farmer Faction contended, then Japan could move directly to a socialist revolution. History and politics were thus closely conjoined.

In history writing, the Lectures Faction prevailed, its two-stage revolution theory emphasizing the ways in which Japan had diverged from the universal scheme of social, economic, and political development. In real life, both factions met with suppression, including imprisonment, and no revolution of any kind occurred in the years of fascism and war. But after 1945, the possibility of a democratic revolution's emerging from the ashes of defeat energized Marxist historians as they continued their debates, the Lectures Faction still prevailing, for several decades to come.

LECTURES ON THE HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF JAPANESE CAPITALISM (*NIHON SHIHONSHUGI HATTATSUSHI KŌZA*)

Many pioneers of Marxist history writing worked outside the academy, some by choice and others because they were forced out of universities by police repression. Their political commitment, scholarly energy, and amateur status combined to galvanize the intense "debates on Japanese capitalism," which put Marxist scholarship on the intellectual map in the late 1920s and the early 1930s.

The landmark work of this period was the seven-volume *Lectures on the History of the Development of Japanese Capitalism* (*Nihon shihonshugi hattatsushi kōza*), which gave the Lectures Faction its name. Its charismatic editor, Noro Eitarō (1900–1934), taught at the Workers School, joined the Communist Party in 1930, and died, ill, in prison in 1934. His collaborators in this series, which reflected the shifting views of the Comintern, included such central figures in the Lectures Faction as Hirano Yoshitarō, Hattori Shisō, Hani Gorō, and Yamada Moritarō, whose famous analysis of Japanese capitalism is excerpted in chapter 43. Noro enlisted the prestigious press Iwanami to publish the work, which met with repeated censorship. The published essays focus on the deviant character of Japanese capitalism, the developmental level of the late Tokugawa economy, and the nature of the Meiji Restoration, employing the analytic methods of social and economic history. Despite the complexity of argument, the often contradictory views it contains, and the sheer danger of such material in the increasingly dark times of the 1930s, the series sold extremely well, laying the cornerstone for decades of historical debate to come.

Features, 1932

1. The series approaches the historical development of capitalism in Japan as part of the total system of world capitalism; it analyzes the fundamental contradictions in this development, constrained as it was by various special factors; and it elucidates the conditions for a fundamental resolution of these contradictions, with particular reference to the present general crisis of postwar capitalism.

2. The series pursues a thoroughly scientific view of history, rejecting the textual source criticism, narrow specialization, idealist methodology, and simple analogies with processes in foreign countries that characterize conventional histories of the *bakumatsu* [late Tokugawa], Meiji Restoration, and Meiji–Taishō periods as well as the history of the development of capitalism, political history, and the rest. It takes into account—scientifically, systematically, and dialectically—the total structure of economy, politics, and culture, based on the concrete interrelatedness of their historical development.

3. The narrative is as simple, direct, and clear as possible without either

vulgarizing or sacrificing scientific precision, in order to be widely accessible to general readers interested in historical truth.

4. The series has profited from substantial cooperation and assistance from many quarters and has succeeded in presenting the most appropriate authoritative contributions from the various fields of contemporary scholarship.

5. Editorially, the series is, literally, a major collaborative effort of all the contributors, based on tightly unified editing and unceasing vigorous research and debate.

6. The series avoids overburdening readers by concisely compiling its wide-ranging contents into seven volumes, arranged in accordance with major themes.

Prospectus, 1931

The prospectus was written by Noro Eitarō, the editor of the multivolume work.

The world economic depression is shaking the foundations of the entire capitalist system, and with it that of the Japanese capitalist system as well. The mounting general crisis of capitalism, the catastrophic deepening of the ongoing depression, the threatening tension of international antagonisms, and the unsustainable intensification of class struggle—the rapid deterioration of all these circumstances, which, though one may try to conceal them can no longer be concealed, has led the ruling class and its agents finally to cry that a national crisis (*kokunan*) is upon us. "A national financial crisis!" says one; "a national crisis of thought!" says another; and yet another proclaims a "national crisis unprecedented since the founding of the nation!"

Imperialists flustered by the increasingly desperate situation are apt to think only of war and fascism. Yet the sole way to find solutions to such problems as the economic dead end, political instability, and social unrest is to delve into the fundamental contradictions that made this chain of changes necessary and inevitable. Reflection on the history of the establishment of Japanese capitalism and examination of the characteristics of its contradiction-filled development are therefore the key to discovering the path to a fundamental resolution of the problems facing Japanese capitalism. This series attempts to provide such a key.

Originating in response to these pressing present demands, the series does not stop with the mere enumeration and explanation of historical facts. Nor, however, do its contributors have any notion whatsoever of fabricating facts to fit some hidden agenda. What we resolve to undertake is not the interpretation but the transformation of history. Transforming history does not mean altering the historical facts of the past but creating the history of the future. We cannot, however, create this history just as we please. Only on the basis of already given

conditions is it possible to transform and create history and to expect any true resolution to the problems at hand.

No single individual can provide this kind of thorough investigation and total analysis of the conditions of the development of Japanese capitalism, its essential characteristics and its fundamental contradictions. Nor can the problem be entrusted to the scholarship of most so-called historians. This series includes the great majority of researchers capable of cooperatively contributing to the true resolution of these problems. It is literally the collaborative effort of some thirty authors. And while each contributor's originality is amply displayed within his assigned scope, each article also constitutes a part of the tightly integrated structure of the whole.

The series provides the most comprehensive scientific research on Japanese capitalism and the most fundamental analysis of its contradictions to date. Yet it merely offers the key to the fundamental solution of the problems facing us. We expect the task to be completed only by the active efforts of many readers, themselves searching to find a way out of the crisis of Japanese capitalism. It is for this reason that we venture to submit this series for the consideration of a public which seeks the truth within social contradictions and the laws governing the development of capitalistic society.

[Uchida et al., eds., *Marukushizumu* I, pp. 37–39; CG]

THE ASSOCIATION OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

In 1932, amid the political ferment that produced the "debates on Japanese capitalism," a group of young historians at Tokyo Imperial University formed the Association of Historical Studies (Rekishigaku kenkyūkai). Influenced by Marxism and dedicated to scientific history, they saw themselves as scholarly progressives in contrast to their elders and peers, the "academic" historians of the Historical Society, which had been founded in the mid-Meiji period. Compared with outsiders like Noro Eitarō and Hattori Shisō, however, these historians were professional academics, and although they were subjected to police surveillance and some suppression, they published their journal, held academic conferences, and pursued detailed research until finally forced to suspend activities in 1944. They combined progressive politics and Marxist approaches with a deep-seated empiricism that they in fact shared with the "academic" historians whose "positivism" they so often criticized. Just as Meiji scholars had joined Tokugawa text criticism with Western historicist methods, Marxist historians matched their new theoretical frameworks with an old respect for facts and data. This was the reason they prevailed in the academy and the reason the Association of Historical Studies and its journal have endured for so long as a progressive national organization alongside the "academism" of the more methodologically and politically conservative Historical Society.

FOUNDING STATEMENT (SEITAN NO KOTOBA)

Historical knowledge should not be the monopoly of any one set of people but must permeate all domains of society. Undistorted "history," based on an understanding of reality, will be the driving force of the future.

Now as the sound of the gears of history moving the world grows ever more violent, past "historiography," for all its brilliant achievements, seems to have lost any relation to reality, fallen into aimless abstraction, and ended up far removed from the interests of the people.

Can such "history" become the driving force of the future?

Our association has been formed by numbers of young historians who are wholly dedicated to the pursuit of scientific research in history through realistic, concrete, and collaborative methods and who reject all ulterior interests. Ours is not a special private guild but a scholarly association. In order to make our activities truly a thing of the people, we are establishing this journal.

Here we will both select essays of significance to actual affairs, which advance the achievements of our predecessors and also report on the results of the association's activities. These accounts must be accurate and concise and provide interesting reading for the people.

Through this journal we place our activities in line with popular trends. Let us stand boldly in the streets carrying out our "historical mission." May all those who love history not begrudge us their cooperation and their criticism.

[*Rekishigaku kenkyū*, no. 1 (November 1933); CG]

DRAFT OF THE CHARTER OF THE ASSOCIATION OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

When the Association of Historical Studies formed again in 1946, both its politics and its scholarship seemed suddenly more in tune with the times. Progressive historians, who ranged from Communist Party Marxists to social democratic left-liberals, soon gained prominence in universities, their earlier arguments for scientific history now further strengthened by their critique of wartime "imperial history" (*kōkoku shikan*) for its chauvinistic manipulations of the past. The progressives also came "out of the study," as they put it, in self-critical reflection for not having done more to resist the forces of imperialism and war. Many worked tirelessly for social causes, peace, and accurate history teaching in the schools. The great progressive historians of the 1940s, such as the medievalist Ishimoda Shō and the historian of ancient Japan Tōma Seita, joined with earlier Marxists like Hani Gorō to propel the association into dynamic scholarly and public activity after the war. Their successors—among them Tōyama Shigeki, Nagahara Keiji, Fujiwara Akira, and many others—continued the Marxist

and progressive traditions of history writing associated with the association and its journal, *Journal of Historical Studies* (*Rekishigaku kenkyū*).

In 2002 the association commemorated its eightieth anniversary, continuing its scholarly mission with a conference on the theme of "global capitalism and historical knowledge" and its public activism with interventions opposing the nationalistic revision of history textbooks and the potential violation of the Peace Constitution by antiterror legislation authorizing the dispatch of the Self-Defense Forces abroad in the wake of the attacks of September 11, 2001. And just as a comparison of the 1933 and 1946 manifestos reveals the difference between those two historical moments, so do these turn-of-the-twenty-first-century issues illustrate the abiding link between politics and history writing to which progressive historians have committed themselves across the years.

First, we advocate at all times the freedom of research and total independence of scholarship, without regard for any authority except scientific truth.

Second, we assert that the freedom and development of historical studies exists only within a correct relationship between the study of history and the people (*jinmin*).

Third, we seek to destroy all nationalistic, ethnocentric, and other old biases and advocate a democratic and world-historical position.

Fourth, we intend to establish a tradition of scientific study of history, properly using the fruits of earlier scholarship and developing them further.

Fifth, we intend to enhance the culture of our ancestral land and its people by joining forces with all progressive scholars and organizations, regardless of their national origin.

[*Rekishigaku kenkyū*, no. 122 (June 1946): 47; CG]

WRITING ABOUT THE MEIJI RESTORATION

As the iconic event marking "the emergence of modern Japan," the Meiji Restoration of 1868 played a role in Japanese historical thinking similar to that of the French Revolution in France. Like the Revolution, the Restoration was understood as the end of an ancien régime, in this case the Tokugawa shogunate, and the beginning of a new age that laid the foundations of the modern nation. Like the Revolution, the Restoration was subject to continual reinterpretation as times and notions of modernity changed. To debate the Meiji Restoration was to question the origins of modern politics and society and the reason—depending on one's point of view—Japan's modernity either had turned out for the best or had gone somehow awry.

The Restoration figured in every precinct of historical representation, both scholarly and popular, its depiction shifting with the concerns of the times.

Three large themes, however, remained constant over the years. First, the debate over change and continuity posed the question of whether the Restoration had in fact created a "new Japan" severed from the Tokugawa age, which preceded it. One result of this juxtaposition of new against old was the reinvention of the Tokugawa (or feudal) past as Japanese "tradition," represented, whether negatively or positively, as the historical Other of modernity. A second result was a counterargument that emphasized continuities across the alleged rupture of 1868. Some proponents stressed the gradual nature of change across a "long Restoration" from the 1820s through the 1880s. Others claimed that deeply fundamental change did not occur during the transition, suggesting to conservatives that Tokugawa "tradition" remained to undergird modernization for the better and to progressives that feudal survivals prevented the development of an authentically modern economy and politics for the worse.

Second, the relation of external to internal factors in the Restoration raised the question of the role played by the West in this most nationally significant of historical moments. In regard to causes, how important was the catalytic appearance of Matthew Perry's black ships and the impending peril of Western imperialism? In regard to consequences, how did Euro-American models of civilization operate in the Meiji reforms that established the institutions of modern Japan? In regard to comparison, how did internal historical factors impel or impede Japan's taking its place in world "trends of the time" or universal "laws of history"? Writing the history of the Restoration demanded an inside–outside perspective that sometimes wounded national pride, which preferred an originary event that owed more to indigenous than to international factors.

Third, the nature of the Restoration itself presented a problem for historians, who combined the restoration (*ōsei fukkō*), narrowly construed as the events of 1868, with the Meiji renovation (*Meiji ishin*), the reforms that followed between 1868 and 1873, and asked: Was it a revolution; if so, what kind; if not, why not? (see chap. 37). Was it merely a change in political rule, from shogun to emperor; a social leveling of the feudal status system to a nation of equal subjects; an economic transition produced by a class alliance of low-ranking samurai and well-off merchants; or an intellectual transformation in the way people knew and construed their world? Depending on their answers to such questions, subsequent historians judged the Restoration to have succeeded "smoothly" or to have failed to "complete" its task. Already in the 1880s, Tokutomi Sohō announced the need for a second restoration; in the 1920s and 1930s, right-wing activists called for a Taishō and a Shōwa restoration; and Marxist historians wrote about an "unfinished Restoration." In 1928, the sixtieth anniversary of the Restoration brought a slew of fictional and dramatic portrayals of what by then seemed to most Japanese to be bygone heroic times. In 1968, the government celebrated the Meiji centennial with a triumphal story of modernization made good by peace, democracy, and the second highest GNP in the free world,

while progressive historians greeted the commemorations with vocal protests. In the Meiji Restoration, everyone found a metaphor for modern Japan as each differently envisioned it.

TOKUTOMI SOHŌ

The civilizational historians of the 1870s and 1880s produced the earliest narrative accounts of the Restoration, expressed in their customary register of optimism and progress. Perhaps the most popular and influential was *Future Japan* of 1886, whose author, Tokutomi Sohō (1863–1957), epitomized the new generation of Meiji youth imbued with Western ideas, Japanese potential, and a confidence in their own ability to combine the two for the sake of the nation. Tokutomi was a journalist, prolific writer, and prominent political gadfly who advocated democratic "commonerism" (*heiminshugi*) in his early work, imperialism in his middle years, and ultranationalism in his old age during World War II, all the while holding fast to a Meiji-inspired nationalism.

FUTURE JAPAN (*SHŌRAI NO NIHON*)

Future Japan, which inspired many youthful readers, borrowed from Herbert Spencer to argue for Japan's inevitable transition from a militant (samurai) to an industrial (democratic) society. In his account of the causes of the Meiji Restoration, note Tokutomi Sohō's views of what moves history and also the way he treats the themes of new–old, inside–outside, and the nature of the change brought about by the Meiji reforms.

Even though thirty years ago the civilization of Japan was gasping for breath and was headed on an extremely uncertain course toward the future, strangely enough the country changed direction with lightning speed, reversed course, [and,] with a buoyant spirit, set off in pursuit of Western Civilization, and produced a state of affairs in which it appeared as if Japan desired to compete with it. That is what we are wondering at, and yet congratulating ourselves. It is of course not without reason that this has attracted the attention of people in the West.

Suppose we were to take the people of the city of Edo who died when the Tokugawa shogun Ienari was in his heyday [in the seventeenth century], bring them back from the tomb, and let them stand in the Ginza today. Show them the houses lining the sides of the street, the goods displayed in the shop windows, the passersby on the street, and the people chatting to one another. No matter what, they certainly could not comprehend even in their dreams that this is what was known to them as Edo. It would seem as if they were like the

Dreamer who rode off aimlessly into the air on the wings of a kite and was cast down into Never-Never-Land.

In fact, today's changes are not regressive changes but progressive ones. Today's battlefields are not the final battlefields but the battlefields of the first war. Today's departure is not a departure in desperation but a departure in hope. Behold! The downfall of our feudal society, reminiscent of the similar conditions of the Dark Ages in eleventh-century Europe, took place a mere ten years or so ago. Behold! The establishment of a parliament, which is expected to derive from nineteenth-century European parliamentary institutions, is already about to take place in four or five years. The slavelike commoners have suddenly risen in status, while their samurai masters have suddenly fallen in status. Already they are coming to meet on an equal footing. In the old days, people who did not have long swords at their side were not even regarded as human beings; nowadays you cannot see anyone bearing swords, except for soldiers or police. Now there are even those who bend their knees to the cross, the symbol of the Christian religion, which was trampled under bare feet in the past. Think of it! From the argument for closed ports to that for the total abolition of import tariffs and for free trade; from the advocacy of "repelling barbarians" to that of "mixed residence." How many days and how many generations have elapsed?

The more we think about it, it is like a dream or a fantasy, and it is not improper to say that it is just as if the phrase "this time of ours is like a great, confused dream" had been created to describe this era.

Such rapid changes are not confined to politics, social activities, food, clothing, and shelter, things that we see and hear of in daily life. We must also consider the spiritual plane. For example, everything in standards of morals, religion, human relations, honor, ideas, and so on, has been completely overturned. . . .

For this reason, we should not call this the transformation of Japan but, more appropriately, the restoration and regeneration of Japan. For the old Japan has already died, and what exists in the present day is the new Japan. . . .

Why is it that only the history of our Restoration reforms has progressed vigorously, exceeding people's expectations at every turn, and utterly astonishing them? I can assert that it has been because the great reform of the Meiji Restoration was a result of internal and external stimuli coming at the same time, the outside pushing and the inside shoving, which were eventually exhibited in a grand spectacle. To be more precise, the world trend awakened the spirit of the people, which then had to succumb to this inevitable pressure of the world trend and finally embark on an unforeseen and great undertaking, performing a fresh and extraordinary play that we had never seen and of which we had never heard. Not only we, the onlookers, but even the patriotic and righteous leaders of the Restoration themselves, the actors in the play, must surely have been taken completely by surprise. . . .

In our country, before the Restoration reforms, there had not been a speck

of cloud hanging over its sky; there had not been a drop of rain falling on its land. Isn't it true that the sudden great deluge that wiped out not only the government but [also] the old world certainly came not by magic but as a result of the general stormy trend of the world? The leaders of the Restoration reforms wavered lest they sacrifice both good and bad people indiscriminately. Nevertheless, they were spurred on by unrelenting pressure from this general world trend. Hence, one reform stimulated another. One overthrow invited another. Even the leaders wished to stop; they were not allowed to. Even they wished to pause; they were not allowed to. Finally, this thunderous approach led to reforms that in their magnitude are perhaps without precedent to date. . . .

Extemporaneous measures, designed to meet immediate needs, unintentionally completely changed our militant society into an industrial society and our aristocratic society into a democratic society. . . .

[Adapted from Tokutomi, *The Future Japan*, trans. Sinh et al., pp. 16–17, 158–59]

NORO EITARŌ

The optimism of the mid-Meiji period had long disappeared when the Marxists turned their attention to the Meiji Restoration in the late 1920s. For them, it was society rather than the nation that required urgent historical attention, what with capitalism in crisis, a rural economy in recession, and politics beset by forces of reactionary nationalism and imperialism. Toward that end, they debated the revolutionary nature of the Restoration, comparing it with the bourgeois (English and French) and socialist (Russian) revolutions of the West. With political economy as their frame and historical materialism as their method, they situated Meiji Japan as a stage in the inevitable world-historical development from feudalism to capitalism to socialism.

HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF JAPANESE CAPITALISM (*NIHON SHIHONSHUGI HATTATSUSHI*)

In this excerpt from the *History of the Development of Japanese Capitalism*, published in 1930, Noro Eitarō introduces a precursor of the Lectures Faction argument about the Restoration as a failed bourgeois revolution that resulted in an absolutist imperial state. In regard to political economy, Japanese capitalism emerged without ridding itself of "feudal remnants" in social and economic relations, among both capitalists in industry and "parasitic landlords" in agriculture. Here Noro criticizes, in turn, academic historians, bourgeois liberals and socialists, and rival Marxists of the Labor-Farmer Faction. At the same time, he suggests how Lectures Faction Marxists viewed the three main themes of Restoration history writing.

The Meiji Restoration was clearly a powerful political revolution, and—precisely because of that—it was a far-reaching social revolution as well.

It was not what it is generally understood to be: merely the restoration of imperial rule (*ōsei fukko*)[a] or a struggle for political power within the feudal ruling class.[b] Nor, however, was it [as some scholars say] a straightforward bourgeois revolution in which the propertied groups grasp political power.[c]

Without doubt it was an epochal social change that constituted the beginning of the shift from feudal relations of production to the developing dominance of capitalist relations of production, and consequently also from the former feudal rulers to the establishment of the dominant authority of capitalists and "capitalistic" landlords. The Restoration thus comprised extremely far-reaching and complex political, economic, and social aspects.

Any detailed analysis and development of the revolutionary nature of the Meiji Restoration must be deferred to a work on "the history of the Meiji Restoration." Here I investigate just the epochal importance of the Meiji changes as the first step in the development of the dominance of capitalistic relations of production in Japan.

[a] *Ōsei fukkō*: In the received general view of the so-called historians of Japan, there is no investigation whatsoever of the historical necessity of the Meiji changes. Because their ruler-centered "suprahistorical view of history" remains entirely uncritical of the internal inevitability of historical development, it is nationalistic and reactionary in content. In order for the rulers who seized power through the Meiji changes to justify their power in perpetuity, they needed a historical interpretation that obliterated any revolutionary significance of the Meiji changes. And now that a revolutionary crisis is approaching at an ever increasing pace, they are again seeking to justify their existence with slogans like the "second Restoration" and the "Shōwa Restoration," which are the fraudulent expressions of the reactionary efforts of the ruling class.

[b] Struggle for political power: This is the view strongly advocated in recent times by petit-bourgeois popular scholars like Ueda Teijirō, Inotani Zen'ichi, and Takahashi Kamekichi. The main historical premise for Ueda and Inotani is the so-called new liberalism, while for Takahashi it is the petit-bourgeois parliamentarism of patriotic socialism. All fail to grasp the relation between the particular and the general and just slavishly reproduce the surface aspects of phenomena. Beginning from this kind of superficial understanding of the Meiji changes, their understanding of the present stage of Japanese capitalism falls into weak moral argument. Because they either conceal or underestimate the most fundamental contradictions in the present state of Japanese capitalism, their assertions—even though they may be based on sincerity of scholarly effort and good intentions—end up with results that support the fraudulent policies of the reactionary imperialists.

[c] Bourgeois revolution: This view seeks a direct analogy between the changes of the Meiji Restoration and England's Glorious Revolution and the French Revolution. In the way it stops at a general and formal understanding without grasping the essential character of the Meiji Restoration in its totality or mediated concreteness, this view is no better than the previous two. The statements of bourgeois radicals like Takimoto Seiichi, Shiroyanagi Shūko, and Watanabe Ikujirō and also those of formal socialists in general are close to this view. In the Marxist camp, too, beginning with Yamakawa Hitoshi, Sano Manabu, and others, many seem to have fallen into the formalist argument that the Meiji Restoration was a bourgeois revolution. Not only that,

today the group around the magazine *Rōnō* (*Labor-Farmer*) edited by Yamakawa still clings to a formalist understanding of the "present stage." It seems that they have failed to transcend a simple formalism in regard to the Restoration and to the development of Japanese capitalism that evolved as its result.

[Noro, *Nihon shihonshugi hattatsushi*, pp. 121–23; CG]

NAKAMURA MASANORI

The postwar period changed many things in Japan, including views of the Meiji Restoration. In the immediate postwar years, some invoked the *Meiji ishin* (literally, Meiji renovation) as a direct historical antecedent of the thoroughgoing reforms of the Occupation period, while others stressed the need to complete finally what the Restoration had left unfinished. The peace and prosperity of the 1960s returned the Restoration to its place as the narrative beginning of a successful modernity, at least in official and non-Marxist academic circles. Similarly positive appraisals appeared in translations of American works of what Japanese scholars call the "modernization theory" school, referring (not always accurately) to most of the studies published by U.S. historians in the 1960s and 1970s. Marxist historians, meanwhile, continued to develop their prewar critiques and debates into the 1980s. By 1989, the year that both the Cold War and the Shōwa era ended, Nakamura Masanori (b. 1935), an economic historian who had once declared himself to be "the last of the Lectures Faction" in Marxist history writing, published an article entitled "The Meaning of the Meiji Restoration Today" in a leading national newspaper.

In it, he criticized the existing scholarship on the Meiji Restoration, including his own earlier views, and called for a reinterpretation in the light of postwar domestic and international developments, with a concomitant shift in vocabulary and emphasis. In addition, his world-historical characterization of the Restoration as a "revolution from above" reflected a different comparative perspective. Rather than the classic cases of England and France, he referred to modernization in what Immanuel Wallerstein called "semiperipheral" countries—in this instance, Scandinavia and central Europe—whose experience Nakamura likened to that of nineteenth-century Japan. Here, then, is a post-postwar progressive rendering that tells a differently weighted story of the Restoration.

"THE MEANING OF THE MEIJI RESTORATION TODAY" (MEIJI ISHIN KENKYŪ NO KONNICHITEKI IMI)

Debate about the Meiji Restoration is once again becoming lively. The Meiji Restoration, needless to say, marked the moment of departure of modern Japan, the turning point from feudal Tokugawa to modern capitalist society. For more than sixty years historians have argued about the historical nature of the Meiji

Restoration as a social revolution and, in so doing, about the nature of modern Japan as a whole.

Meiji ishin is translated into English as "Meiji Restoration" (*fukkō*), "Meiji Reform" (*kaikaku*), and "Meiji Revolution" (*kakumei*). All three aspects were indeed present in the Restoration. The first term stresses the restoration of imperial rule; the second, the origin of absolutism; and the third, the Restoration as a bourgeois revolution. Depending on their emphasis, these scholarly views of the Meiji Restoration differ greatly from one another.

In the well-known prewar debates about Japanese capitalism and the *Meiji ishin*, the historical battle lines were drawn between the Kōza-ha (Lectures Faction), which included Hattori Shisō, Hirano Yoshitarō, and Hani Gorō, who advocated the absolutist interpretation, and the Rōnō-ha (Labor-Farmer Faction), whose supporters Inomata Tsunao and Yamakawa Hitoshi interpreted the Restoration as a bourgeois revolution. Fierce controversy broke out between these two main scholarly positions, which carried over into the postwar years and has not yet been resolved. Because the prewar and, for a time, the postwar debates about the *Meiji ishin* were directly linked to revolutionary strategies in the present, they had an extremely politicized character, from whose fetters they are now freed.

Far more important than these debates, I believe, is the effect on Restoration scholarship of the high growth of the Japanese economy. After Japanese capitalism overcame the two oil shocks of the 1970s and the world came to see Japan as an "economic superpower," the view emerged that the origin of contemporary Japan's prosperity lay in the *Meiji ishin*. Added to this are the increasing numbers of foreign researchers from Asia and the Middle East who come to Japan to ask why Japan succeeded in modernizing in the *Meiji ishin* and to learn from its experience. This is a research context unimaginable twenty years ago.

In such circumstances, what issues should we consider in order to move Restoration scholarship forward once again?

The first is not to waste any more energy on the conceptual debate over whether the *Meiji ishin* represented a bourgeois revolution or the establishment of absolutism. The theories of the *kōza-ha* (lectures faction) originally rested on dual explanations of the *Meiji ishin* as either a bourgeois revolution or absolutism. And even the *rōnō-ha* (labor-farmer faction) version of the Restoration as a bourgeois revolution usually qualified it as an "incomplete" or a "backward-country-type" bourgeois revolution. Neither group thought that the *Meiji ishin* had resulted in a classical Western-style bourgeois revolution or absolutism. As for myself, I have lately come to understand the *Meiji ishin* as a "bourgeois revolution from above"—neither a revolution nor a restoration but a reform—the "Meiji Reform." . . .

Second, I believe that one must consider the interpretations of the *Meiji ishin* as a "set" with those of the "postwar reforms" after World War II. It has long been customary to view the *Meiji ishin* as having begun either with the

Tenpō reforms of the 1830s or with the arrival of Commodore Perry in 1853 (the opening of the country) and having ended with the abolition of the domains [in 1871], the Satsuma Rebellion [of 1877], or, at the latest, the establishment of a constitutional system in 1890. This is fine to define the meaning of the *Meiji ishin* itself, but to grasp the historical significance of the Restoration in the context of modern Japan, I think the postwar reforms must also be included.

This approach involves making clear which issues broached by the *Meiji ishin* were resolved and which remained unresolved and, further, which of the outstanding issues were resolved by the postwar reforms and which were not. This leads to the task of considering the continuities and discontinuities between the prewar and the postwar or, in other words, questioning the connections and the differences between modern and contemporary Japan.

Third, the most important part of the task is to clarify the relation between economic development and democracy. Previous research has shown that despite the hyperspeed of economic development in the modernization since Meiji—or indeed because of it—political modernization was retarded. And this question, I think, has a broader global scope. . . .

The Meiji Restoration and the postwar reforms offer excellent material for such a study. I predict that future research on the *Meiji ishin* will—and must—develop within this broader global framework.

[Nakamura, "Meiji ishin kenkyū no konnichiteki imi,"
Asahi shinbun, April 4, 1989; CG]

BANNO JUNJI

The postwar period saw a rise of non-Marxist interpretations of the Restoration that granted the revolutionary aspects of the Meiji reforms while stressing the contingencies—rather than the historical necessity—of the political process that resulted in the imperial nation-state. In general, these narratives present a fitful evolution of modern parliamentary politics within the framework of a constitutional monarchy, from the 1870s to the 1930s, and shift the focus from large-scale socioeconomic structure to the thoughts and deeds of political actors. Combining archival empiricism with the precepts of postwar social science, this work resonated with American accounts of the Restoration, such as Albert Craig's *Chōshū and the Meiji Restoration* and Thomas Smith's "Japan's Aristocratic Revolution," both published in the 1960s.

Impelled by concerns about contemporary parliamentary politics in its postwar forms, Banno Junji (b. 1937), a political historian at Tokyo University, concentrated on the Meiji outcomes of the Restoration rather than on the event itself. In the following excerpt from a book published in 1996, he summarizes his views of the historical strands woven, one way and another, into the political fabric of imperial Japan.

"MEIJI JAPAN'S NATION-BUILDING PROCESS"

The familiar expression "nation-building process" implies a complicated mix of revolutionary upheaval and construction. Such "construction" in Japan's case did not mean a time of pragmatic political leadership. Many leaders were driven by their own personal ideals of what the Meiji Restoration's "governmental revolution" implied and advocated practical measures based on these perspectives. As a result, even policies that at first glance seem completely pragmatic were simply attempts to achieve such ideals; on the other hand, quite violent and reactionary policies were proposed as feasible and realistic. A prime model for such reasoning in the former case was Industrialization from Above; in the latter, the demand for war with China in 1874. The first policy was enforced regardless of Japan's economic weakness and was therefore broken by fiscal realities. The second was rejected by the government, but its advocates were fully engaged in plans to mobilize troops and in making internal arrangements for war leadership.

Industrialization and expansionary nationalism were not the Meiji Restoration's only revolutionary aims. Even as early as 1868, after establishing imperial rule, the emperor's Charter Oath publicly promised Democracy from Above; after the Iwakura Mission to Europe and the United States of 1871–1873, leaders who regarded this as the Restoration's fundamental principle insisted on framing a constitution to embody the Charter Oath in detail. In short, productive industry, expansionary nationalism, and guided democracy became the basic ideals for nation building by the Meiji government after the "revolution." . . .

In the nation-building process of all countries, expansionary nationalism and democratization cannot always stand together in an equal balance. The Meiji Restoration was a "samurai revolution," not the result of demands by farmers who had been newly mobilized as conscript soldiers. . . . The "revolutionary armies" from the Satsuma, Chōshū, Tosa, and Hizen domains that hoisted the banner "Revere the Emperor, Repel the Barbarians" to overthrow the shogunate were inspired by a special brand of expansionary nationalism, which is therefore termed New Exclusionism in this chapter. . . . Nationalism of this kind and democratization were mutually opposed. If democracy was to advance, it had to supplant New Exclusionism; on the other hand, if complications with East Asia grew more constricting, progress toward democracy would be frozen.

. . . After the collapse of the militaristic New Exclusionist group, the Industrialization from Above and Democratization groups competed with each other. The Industrialization from Above group was the first to be broken by fiscal realities in 1880; next, the Democratization group was broken by the political crisis of 1881. . . . A decade or so later "Rich Nation" and "Strong Army" came together as a joint slogan under a constitutional monarchy. After victory in the 1894/1895 war against China, Japan succeeded in achieving a harmonious blend of the three aims of industrialization, expansionary nationalism, and democ-

ratization. At the same time, the fierce ideological struggles seen during the nation-building process faded away.

[Banno, "Meiji Japan's Nation-Building Process," in *Democracy in Pre-War Japan*, trans. Fraser, pp. 1–3]

BITŌ MASAHIDE

The surge of cultural nationalism in the 1980s and 1990s brought another wave of celebrational interpretations of the Meiji Restoration. Some took the form of civilizational histories, which found aspects of a distinctively Japanese modernity already present in Tokugawa "tradition." Others praised the Meiji leadership for providing an Asian model of pragmatic reform. In this selection, Bitō Masahide (b. 1923), an academic historian of Tokugawa Confucianism, presents a little of each of these, plus some others, in his treatment of the themes of new–old, inside–outside, and the nature of change—or lack of it—that characterized the Meiji Restoration.

WHAT IS THE EDO PERIOD? (*EDO JIDAI TO WA NANI KA?*)

The boundary between the early modern [Tokugawa or Edo] and modern eras seems easily drawn because of the clearly defined changes of the Meiji Restoration. But the Meiji Restoration was a peculiar kind of change. From the vantage point of world history the transition from feudalism to modernity was accompanied by enormous political change, epitomized by events like the French Revolution. Other European countries also experienced the turmoil and bloodshed of so-called citizens' revolutions during the emergence of the modern nation-state. In any case, in general these transitions were not easily accomplished. Japan did experience some disorder and even conflict, as in the Boshin war [at the time of the Restoration]. But since the Tokugawa shogunate self-destructed comparatively smoothly, the new government was formed and modernization policies advanced with great rapidity.

In the process there was resistance like that of the Satsuma Rebellion, and yet, smoothly, in a little more than twenty years a constitution was written and the Diet [parliament] was convened. Although this was a foreign system, it functioned to an extent because it was modern. In the context of world history, this was clearly a singular phenomenon. If one considers why this was possible, it comes down to the fact that—despite the great changes that occurred when Western civilization entered Japan before and after the Meiji Restoration—the actual organization of society scarcely changed at all. This was especially true of the villages, where the peasants, who comprised 90 percent of the population,

lived, so that village organization constituted most of social organization as a whole. Names changed: village headmen became village officials and mayors, and other such changes were made. But these only introduced new names, leaving the actual village collective organization unaltered. In some sense, it persists to this day. . . .

Those in the higher strata of political authority as well—the court, shogunate, and feudal lords—were not entirely stripped of authority. On the contrary, they remained at the center of power, just as in the past, and only the form of the authority structures was changed. Of course, the higher strata were gradually pushed aside, as competent lower-level samurai and low-ranking court nobles assumed actual power. And yet the political authority of the former samurai and court nobles and court officials was not overthrown, but changing its form, it survived intact within the Meiji government. Therefore, to take the critical view, the Meiji Restoration was nothing more than an extremely compromised and incomplete reform, which left feudal authority intact, with the negative effect of preserving the feudal character of Japanese society until the end of World War II. It is perhaps no wonder that this criticism arose and that people still argue this way today.

However, the people who constitute the structures of power do not really change. They may change, individual by individual, but in terms of class, they do not change. And yet even though they did not change, the modernization policies implemented by the Meiji Restoration were drastic indeed, and as a result the formation of the modern state proceeded smoothly. What this means is that neither the upper strata nor the base of society was changed completely by the Meiji Restoration and also that the aspects that did not change were great in number. We must think, therefore, in terms of continuity. And precisely because of this continuity the Meiji Restoration was able to accomplish reform so smoothly. We can also see that since that time, Japan has managed to continue to the present without any great disturbance. In this way, while the Meiji Restoration may seem clearly to demarcate a line between the period before and after it, we now acknowledge that in fact the early modern and the modern are continuous. At least that is what I think.

[Bitō, *Edo jidai to wa nani ka*, pp. 12–14; CG]

SHIBA RYŌTARŌ

In popular culture, the Meiji Restoration was rarely out of fashion, whether in print, film, theater, television, or cartoons. Historical fiction and drama always favored periods of turbulent change—in particular, the age of the Warring States in the sixteenth century and the closing decades of the Tokugawa era, which culminated in the Restoration. And whereas professional historians stressed the role played by socioeconomic structures, political forces, and in-

tellectual trends, popular history preferred exemplary heroes like Sakamoto Ryōma and the forty-seven masterless samurai, whose individual or collective actions were portrayed as having made history happen.

Shiba Ryōtarō (1923–1996), the most famous writer of postwar popular history, epitomized the so-called optimism boom of the 1960s. Turning away from the dark years of imperialism and war, Shiba reveled in stories of "bright Meiji," which to him and his readers seemed to presage the prosperous status quo of high-growth Japan. Youth and salarymen counted prominently among his millions of fans, whose enthusiasm meant that Shiba often had a best-selling novel, a newspaper serial, ubiquitous magazine articles, and a blockbuster television drama in the media at the same time. In 1968, the year of the Meiji centennial, he published the Restoration novel *The Mountain Pass* (*Tōge*), which had been serialized in the *Mainichi* newspaper for eighteen months, and began the four-year serialization of his Russo-Japanese War novel *Clouds Above the Hill* (*Saka no ue no kumo*) in the *Sankei* newspaper. The same year, his popular novel *There Goes Ryōma* (*Ryōma ga yuku*), about the perennial Restoration favorite, the "samurai of spirit" Sakamoto Ryōma, appeared as the NHK weekly historical drama that echoed on television sets throughout the country every Sunday night. What many Japanese knew about the Meiji Restoration, and other aspects of their history as well, they learned not from school but from Shiba Ryōtarō. An impressive memorial museum to the author, designed by the architect Ando Tadao, opened in Osaka in 2000.

As in most of Shiba's works, the people in this excerpt from *The Mountain Pass* are real historical figures engaged in a fictionalized conversation. Some of his characters were famous, like Fukuzawa Yukichi, who here represents the advocates of Western-style civilization in the remaking of the nation. Others attained national fame after Shiba wrote about them, as was the case with Kawai Tsugunosuke, the loyal samurai retainer whose devotion to his domain remained steadfast even after the cause was lost. No less forward-looking than Fukuzawa, Kawai wielded Western firearms as he led his domain to defeat and was killed in 1868 resisting the new imperial forces. Shiba's respect for the two samurai says a great deal about his own view of the Restoration.

THE MOUNTAIN PASS (*TŌGE*)

During the banquet, [Kawai] Tsugunosuke said to himself, "Ah, so that's how it is," and now he understood everything about Fukuzawa [Yukichi]. . . .

"I've got it—who you are. But you're . . . how shall I say?" Tsugunosuke thought a bit, "a very unusual person."

Tsugunosuke understood that Fukuzawa's ideals and enthusiasm were

bringing civilization to the country. To import the civilization that had ripened in Europe to the foreign environment of Japan, the soil had to be prepared for transplanting. The soil must first be fertilized with the thought of freedom and rights, and with this fertilizer, everything would have to change from the ground up.

The list of ideals that Fukuzawa embraced included such freedoms as the abolition of the status system, freedom of speech, freedom of belief, freedom of choice of occupation, and freedom of enterprise. Rights are the obverse side of freedom. And these rights are protected by the state. Creating a state that guarantees and protects rights was the ideal of Fukuzawa Yukichi, translator in the shogunal bureau of foreign affairs.

"That is why he's neither against the shogunate nor for it. For Fukuzawa, it's not a question of choosing the Tokugawa or Satsuma–Chōshū. As long as the people in power create the right kind of state, it's fine with him," thought Tsugunosuke, then confirming his thoughts aloud, "That's so, isn't it?"

Fukuzawa replied, "Yes, exactly. Because the state is supposed to protect civilization. That's all it is, and nothing more." . . .

. . . The saké bottle in front of Fukuzawa was now empty. Fukuchi Genichirō motioned for a waitress with his hand.

"Now, Kawai," said Fukuzawa, passing the cup to Tsugunosuke, "I want to hear about you."

"First I'd like to know whether you are for a monarchy centered on the Tokugawa or on Kyoto," inquired Fukuzawa.

Tsugunosuke shook his head.

"I take care to be as little interested as possible in such debates."

"In such debates?"

"Yes. I'd rather leave the debates over what to do with the realm to other samurai of spirit (*shishi*). For me, being a chief retainer of the Nagaoka domain of Echigo is more important, and that's all there is to Kawai Tsugunosuke."

"I'm surprised. You're purposely keeping your windows shut."

"That I am. I exist in this world solely as a chief retainer of the Nagaoka of Echigo. That's what I believe."

"That's just an argument from position."

"A person lives in his position. And I do not allow myself to step outside mine. That is my unshakable point of view."

"Difficult," said Fukuzawa, summing up his impression of Kawai Tsugunosuke with these words. . . .

Walking home, Tsugunosuke thought about the tragic character of human beings.

"I guess that describes me," he mused.

He understood Fukuzawa's point. More than understood, for he agreed with Fukuzawa Yukichi in advocating the complete opening of the country,

and in farsightedness there was no difference at all between Fukuzawa and Tsugunosuke.

He also agreed that "a nation and society that distinguishes people by high and low status will not prosper." But since Fukuzawa was a thinker and Tsugunosuke was a politician, Tsugunosuke's expression of his beliefs had to take shape in reality, not words. Such a goal might well be a national task in the future, but his intention was to implement it, however late, within his own domain.

Not that Tsugunosuke considered this from the standpoint of the people's welfare. His interest in dismantling the status system of high and low lay instead in drawing men of talent from lower strata to serve the prosperity of the domain. While Tsugunosuke's opinion on this point was coming to resemble that of Fukuzawa, it had a slightly different tinge.

Tsugunosuke was a follower of Confucianism. He believed the tenets of Confucian political thought that serving the ruler promotes the welfare of the people and that the people should be ruled as benevolently as possible from above.

This was what Tsugunosuke meant by the "people," whereas Fukuzawa invoked a "people" whose expanding wealth, culture, and power would themselves produce a flourishing nation and society. Although Fukuzawa had doubtless not read Rousseau's original text on the right of liberty, he had grasped its very substance and made it his own. In any case, it was on this point alone that the two men differed; on the rest they felt the same.

And yet Tsugunosuke was not able to reach the same conclusion as Fukuzawa.

The "same conclusion" meant that "the fall of the Tokugawa and the domains was not the main issue." For Fukuzawa it simply didn't matter.

To his way of thinking, "it is the logic of history that old powers become incapable of sustaining society and are overthrown and that their overthrow benefits the happiness of the people. Now it is Satsuma and Chōshū that will build the country, and their lot includes some very dubious company (radical opponents of the West like court nobles and the so-called antiforeign samurai of spirit). It is not clear how much can be expected of them. Still, society is on its way to becoming a society of equal and individual human beings, and we must help this process along. In such times, it is strange indeed to talk nonsense about what might happen to the Tokugawa or the domains."

And on this point Tsugunosuke and Fukuzawa could not have differed more.

"I'm the one who's talking nonsense," said Tsugunosuke to Fukuzawa.

But for Tsugunosuke, the most important thing was to talk such nonsense. Fukuzawa understood progress through pure reason, but Tsugunosuke was strong in feeling. He regarded feeling as the virtue of a samurai and a gentleman and the most important value for him as a person.

[Shiba, *Tōge*, pp. 70–73; CG]

A HIGH-SCHOOL HISTORY TEXTBOOK

MODERN JAPANESE HISTORY (*GENDAI NO NIHONSHI*)

This general summary is the introduction to modern Japanese history in a high-school textbook for Japanese History A, a course that deals with the modern and contemporary periods. It situates the Meiji Restoration in this longer history in a way that is conventional and also reflects its times, the 1990s, providing a comparison with other versions of this epochal event.

Modern and Contemporary Japanese Society

Around the middle of the nineteenth century, Japan gave up the policy of seclusion that had lasted for more than two centuries and set about modernizing itself on the lines of the countries of the West. Realizing that moves by the West to dominate the world had begun to extend to the vicinity of Japan, the men of the day decided, in order to safeguard Japan's independence, to open up the country and adopt the advanced civilization of the West, radically transforming the Japanese nation and its society. With the series of reforms that are referred to as the Meiji Restoration, Japan shifted from the closed, placid society of the Edo [Tokugawa] period to a society that was ceaselessly changing and developing, all the while deepening its relations with other countries. The Japan in which we live today is founded in the accumulated efforts toward modernization that began at this time.

Not all the things that this involved were desirable in themselves. In order to improve the national life, a long period of endurance was necessary. In the process, Japan committed aggression against neighboring countries, inflicting grave harm on them, then launched a major war, as a result of which it was defeated and occupied by foreign forces—the first such experience in its history. Because of its emphasis on trade, economic development—while creating for the first time a society in which people could live hopefully and enjoy an affluent consumer life—changed not only life within Japan but also the lives of people in other countries, creating in the process new problems such as environmental pollution and the depletion of resources.

In the following chapters, we shall study Japan's process of modernization, taking note of its relationship with trends in the West and Asia, getting to know the aspects that we can be proud of as well as those we have to reflect on in the legacy bequeathed us by our ancestors as we consider the way we should live from now on.

[Toriumi et al., *Gendai no Nihonshi*, p. 65; trans. adapted from International Society for Educational Information, *High School*, vol. 2 of *Japan in Modern History*, p. 65]

ALTERNATIVE HISTORIES

Because national histories are, by definition, ideologically and institutionally entrenched, they are frequently challenged from outside the halls of established scholarship. Modern Japan has a long and vital tradition of such alternative histories, often labeled *minkan shigaku*. The term literally means "history writing among the people," setting it apart, first, from official versions supported by the state and, second, from the academism of university professors of national history. The translation "amateur history" emphasizes the nonprofessional status of its practitioners, and the phrase "popular history" refers to the oppositional, often populist stance of these so-called *zaiya* (out of power) historians.

The modern tradition of amateur history began with the civilizational historians of the Meiji period, from Fukuzawa Yukichi and Taguchi Ukichi to Tokutomi Sohō and Yamaji Aizan, who produced alternative histories centered on "the people" rather than the state or the emperor. Marxists in the 1920s and 1930s also challenged academic history from outside the academy, entering the universities in numbers only after World War II.

Alternative histories flourished in the early decades of the twentieth century, according to the historian Kano Masanao, who identified five attributes of this kind of history writing. Written against the state, it stressed the darker sides of modernization, focusing on the oppressed or discriminated against, including Okinawa, women, and the natural environment. Written against official national history, it preferred the private to the public, the daily life of the people to events in the life of the nation. It was also a social movement, which both studied the history of ordinary people and engaged ordinary people in the study of history, particularly in local history. Avoiding the imported rhetoric and missionary tone of academic history writing, it used ordinary language and valued experience and observation. Finally, as a part of the popular movements associated with Taishō democracy, these histories imagined an alternative modernity to the state-led version produced by the Meiji transplant of Western civilization. Where academic history was "external" in nature, these histories were "internal" to the understanding that ordinary Japanese had of their own experience.[1] For all these reasons, these "lay historians" had an impact on Japanese historical consciousness that was often stronger at the end of the century than at the time they wrote.

IFA FUYŪ

By the end of the twentieth century, Okinawa had become a favored site from which to relativize the dominant storylines of national history. Still seeking

1. Kano, *Kasei suru rekishigaku*, pp. 239–41.

alternatives to the narratives of modernity focusing on the nation-state, historians looked to the margins and inner borders of an allegedly homogeneous Japan. They paid renewed attention to the Ainu and *burakumin* (former outcast communities) inside their national boundaries and to the Koreans, Taiwanese, and other colonial subjects of the empire outside the "home islands." Modern Okinawa had attributes of both: when the Meiji state annexed the Ryūkyū Islands and established Okinawa Prefecture in 1879, its people became Japanese nationals (*kokumin*), but with a distinction that was in fact discrimination and with legacies of an inner colonialism that outlasted Japan's formal empire.

Okinawans, of course, had long confronted the ambiguities of their place in modern Japanese history. Ifa Fuyū (1876–1947) played a pioneering role in the scholarly articulation of the abiding ambivalence of Okinawans caught between a desire to be fully accepted as Japanese and a wish to retain a distinctive identity derived from their own history and culture. Ifa's famous early work, *Old Ryūkyū* (*Koryūkyū*, 1911), reflected this ambivalence in the mirror of late Meiji times. By claiming "common ancestry," he was asserting a Ryūkyūan historical subject, but in the context of a Japanese national identity. By invoking the ethnic, racial, civilizational, and linguistic markers of a newly introduced anthropology, he aligned Ryūkyūans with the "nations" of Japanese and Chinese and, one step of kinship removed, Koreans as well, while distinguishing Okinawans from the allegedly primitive Ainu and Taiwanese aboriginal "peoples" who were judged to be civilizational inferiors.

This was a hard line to draw, and in later years, Ifa came close to Yanagita Kunio in viewing his fellow "southern islanders" as fully Japanese, although with cultural attributes of earlier ages. Thus was Okinawa inserted into the prehistory of Japan, a place where Japanese might find living signs of their own lost past. Later-twentieth-century historians rejected this ethnographic colonialism but still faced the dilemma confronted by Ifa of how to do justice to the commonalities and the differences between Okinawan history and the national story that remained in the grasp of the main islands.

OLD RYŪKYŪ (*KORYŪKYŪ*)

The most important thing to understand about today's Okinawans is that they are the descendants of people from Kyūshū who settled in the southern islands more than two thousand years ago. For a long time these ancient colonists maintained contact with their homeland. But in the fourteenth century all contact was cut off as a result of the hostilities between the Northern and Southern Courts in the homeland and the conflict among the three principalities in Okinawa. At this time, the Okinawans came into contact with the Chi-

nese continent and became tributary subjects of the Ming, actively importing Chinese institutions and culture. The Okinawans of the time were Japanese in Chinese costume. In the fifteenth century, a heroic figure from Okinawa island named Shō Hashi unified the three principalities [in 1429, into the Ryūkyūan kingdom] and reestablished the long-severed contact with the homeland. The thought of Japan and China flowed into Okinawa, and by the beginning of the sixteenth century Okinawans had assimilated Japanese and Chinese civilizations and created an Okinawan culture. During this era of centralization under King Shō Shin [r. 1477–1526], Omoro poetry—which may be called the *Man'yōshū* of Okinawa—flourished, and stone inscriptions and personal letters were written in the Okinawan language. This spirit eventually issued forth, and trade began in the Southern Seas, with Yanbara ships sailing as far as the eastern shores of Sumatra, to the amazement of the Portuguese adventurer Mendez Pinto. The Okinawans of this period showed a character not unworthy of the valiant Yamato people. But in the misfortune of being wedged between two empires, Okinawans were unable fully to manifest their true character, and over time they came to be treated as the instruments [of others' interests]. And so, even during the era of national seclusion, the Shimazu clan [of Satsuma] took advantage of its location to trade with China by way of Okinawa. . . .

. . . In terms of race, too, Koreans and Japanese are distant relatives, but Japanese and Ryūkyūans are related like sisters born of the same mother. In the *Kian Diary*, composed at the time of the conquest of Ryūkyū by the Satsuma clan, it is written that "the elders say we should regard Tang [China] as our grandmother and Japan as our grandfather," but by early Meiji, Okinawans thought of China as the mother and Japan as the father. This would seem to mark a historical development in which the relation of grandparents changed into that of parents over the course of two hundred or three hundred years. The annexation of Ryūkyū [by Japan in 1879] was like returning a lost child—the Ryūkyūan people—to its parents. Nonetheless, despite their having roamed the islands of the China Sea for two thousand years, this lost child, the Ryūkyūan people (*minzoku*), unlike the Ainu or [Taiwanese] barbarian peoples (*piipuru*), had lived together as a nation (*neeshon*). . . .

. . . I believe that Okinawans actively exerting their common character will make Okinawans a part of the powerful Japanese empire. Any attempt by force of habit to completely destroy the distinctiveness of Ryūkyūans would amount to severing the spiritual connection between the two peoples and ignoring their history. As I have just said, it is essential to let Okinawans exercise their common character [with Japanese], but it is perhaps necessary for them to display their differences as well. This is particularly true for Okinawans in the arts. To speak of differences may be a bit misleading, so let us speak rather of qualities that others cannot imitate. I believe that everyone possesses characteristics that others cannot possibly imitate. . . .

[Ifa, *Koryūkyū*, pp. 62, 89–90, 100; CG]

YANAGITA KUNIO

After Marx and Marxism, the greatest single influence on postwar history writing was neither a historian nor a theorist, but the founder of Japanese ethnography (*minzokugaku*) and folklore studies, Yanagita Kunio (1875–1962). Similar to the impact of cultural anthropology on Western history writing, Yanagita's works encouraged historians to shift their event-oriented and document-bound gaze to cultural practices and meanings expressed in oral, visual, and material form. In the context of Japanese history writing, Yanagita also offered an alternative to the dry positivism of academic history and the socioeconomic determinism of Marxism. He criticized both for their inattention to the lives of ordinary people, the textures of everyday life, and the rituals of community. Yanagita's romance of custom and the countryside amounted to a "new nativism" (*shinkokugaku*), which mixed a critique of modernity with folk nationalism in the conservative culturalism characteristic of the 1930s.

ON FOLKLORE STUDIES (*MINKAN DENSHŌRON*)

In this canonical summary of 1934, Yanagita Kunio outlined the new folklore studies, which, while owing its name to a translation of the French *tradition populaire*, is here described in Japanese terms. Yanagita matched the three objects of study in everyday life—material culture and custom, oral traditions, and beliefs and values—with three degrees of social distance, concluding that only the local people themselves could understand the last and most important of the three. Privileging the people as ethnographic insiders echoed his cultural arguments about the primacy of the folk and the singularity of national history. Later historians who drew on Yanagita for an alternative populist history also ran the risk of romanticizing the nation in the form of the ethnic people (*minzoku*).

1. The study of folk tradition is a discipline of the future. It is a sapling. It is up to us whether we plant it in the mountains or turn it into a bonsai. And so its adherents are able at the same time to be its prophets.

2. All disciplines once experienced a period of infancy, and many disciplines have already aged. Only our study of folk tradition is still malleable. . . .

4. Over the past thirty years, folklore studies has evolved sufficiently to draw attention to its future prospects. In Japan the ground for this discipline is as yet untilled, but the precedents in foreign countries have already shown us the path of its development.

5. We are now able to answer three important questions that must be settled first. The first is that of objectives, or to what degree knowledge can in fact be

gained by collecting and analyzing folk traditions. It is clear that this knowledge may extend over nearly the whole history of human culture.

6. It is true that the areas in which we previously achieved results through these methods were limited. Also, since we collected so-called residual sources, they could easily be applied to any issue. In addition, the amount of material depended in the first instance on regional character (*kunigara*).

7. Scholarship begins with doubts arising in real life, and its judgments should be based on a knowledge of facts. This means that no cultural theory can ignore the course of a nation in earlier times. Much of folklore studies is the discovery of things that have previously gone unnoticed. All past explanations must now be reexamined in this light. . . .

9. The second issue concerns scope; that is, our present practices notwithstanding, what ultimately is the extent of folklore research relative to other disciplines? Historical study has certainly expanded its domain in recent times, but its capacity still is limited. What lies outside history's purview should now be taken over by other disciplines, so that no unclaimed spaces remain between them.

10. From the perspective of historical study, our discipline is so-called supplementary learning. Yet the areas in which documentary sources can be used are themselves extremely limited. As life's problems crowd in on us and the demand for explanations of past uncertainties grows, there are many instances that call for the aid of new methods. Although anthropology initially appeared with limited goals, it has now become a suitable name for the sum total of these methods. . . .

19. . . . The third issue arises from the question of "classification," which is essential to our consciousness of the value of our research.

20. The origins of folklore studies were extremely diffuse, and it did not develop as a profession. The fortunate result of this, however, was a special capacity to call for mutual communication and collaborative effort. . . .

23. My proposed classification centers on Japan but does not make any substantial changes to established opinion. The scheme falls naturally into three general categories, which differ from those of England, France, Germany, and elsewhere only in their names and order.

24. The first category includes the outward forms of daily life (*seikatsu*), collected by observation and by travelers. One might also call this a record of techniques of daily life (*seikatsu gijutsu*). What we know as compilations of indigenous customs were largely limited to this type, which folklore research in other countries did not ordinarily include.

25. The second category consists of interpretations of daily life, collected visually and orally by temporary residents. These are traditions that can be learned through the knowledge of language. From the names of things to narrative tales, all verbal arts are included in this category, which stands at the "marketplace on the boundary" between existing compilations of indigenous customs and the study of folk tradition.

26. The third category comprises the core, which is the consciousness of daily life (*seikatsu ishiki*), which involves collecting by inner feeling, that is, by the local people themselves. With rare exceptions, outsiders are not privy to this category, which is why local research is essential.

[Yanagita, *Minkan denshōron*, pp. 1–7; CG]

TAKAMURE ITSUE

The founding female figure in women's history, Takamure Itsue (1894–1964), worked for more than three decades secluded in the Tokyo suburbs writing comprehensive and provocative histories of women in Japan. Her most famous studies dealt with matrilineal and matrilocal marriage in early periods, in which she expressly countered Yanagita Kunio's male-centered views of marriage customs focused on "becoming a bride" with the "female principle" of "taking a groom," which was common practice until well into medieval times.

For Takamure, women's history and women's liberation belonged together, and she dedicated both her activism and her scholarly writings to the struggle against the long dominance of patriarchy in Japanese society. As an anarchist, in 1930 she founded the magazine *Women's Front* (*Fujin sensen*), in which she opposed all forms of state power, including socialism. As a historian, her concern with the family system and her "maternalism" were connected to contemporary social and political debates about the "protection of motherhood." Takamure's "new womanism" (*shinjoseishugi*), as she called it, places her among the early generation of twentieth-century feminists discussed in chapter 50.

The imposing *History of Women*, 1,261 pages in four volumes (1954–1958), presents Takamure's master narrative of Japanese history on the basis of "historical research from the standpoint of women." By this she meant a total women's history, not a female supplement to a narrative dominated by men. A comparison of its distinctive chronology with the usual periodization of Japanese history shows how Takamure traced the rise and fall of "women-centered" society from primitive Japan (using the term "primitive" in the Marxist sense) to the postwar years, when she hoped for a re-creation of the equality and women centeredness that she identified with ancient times. Writing from the perspective of Marxist historiography, she saw Japanese history as part of a universal world history, at least in its ultimate outcome, but her vision of that outcome made women, rather than class or the state, the pivot of a better world.

But as critics subsequently noted, Takamure's emphasis on women in primordial society—including the figure of the Sun Goddess—derived from a "countermodernism" and "reverse orientalism" that led her to express vocal support of the war (see Ueno Chizuko in chap. 50). Later historians also challenged her theories of matrilineality, and a bit like Simone de Beauvoir, Takamure was

taken to task by late-twentieth-century feminists for having been insufficiently radical in her depiction of women's autonomy, especially in her focus on motherhood. Nonetheless, the surge of women's history in the 1970s and 1980s and the "new women's history" of the 1990s still had to reckon with Takamure and her creative way of reading Japanese history against the masculine grain.

HISTORY OF WOMEN (*JOSEI NO REKISHI*)

Volume 1: *Women-Centered Society*

PREFACE

This book may serve to encourage the correction of the conventional—in particular, the male-centered—view of history. "How should we live?" is a perennial human question, but never has the answer been as urgently sought as today, when the peace of humankind and the independence of peoples are threatened and the advance of women, too, is liable to be distorted. History must provide the answer to this question. . . .

CHAPTER 1: THE WOMEN-CENTERED ERA

In my view, the difficulty of women's movements and of the women's history that I am writing here is that in the end they are inseparable from "motherhood" (*bosei*). If women's history and women's movements remain solely a question of women's rights, they are easily understood and can be discussed by anyone. But when it comes to motherhood, things are not so simple. Such matters absolutely must be grounded in the genuine awareness and actions of women themselves. . . . I want it to be understood that the rights of mothers and children are in fact the ultimate women's rights and that they are unique to women. . . .

In short, what I attempt to do in this book is consider the history of the development in Japan from a primitive matriarchal society based on maternal identity through a patriarchal society based on the individual male self, to its correction in the present and the future. . . .

In the women-centered primitive era, there was no "home" (*katei*, *hōmu*). At the time, people were satisfied with group or visitation marriage, and the care of children was secured by the group or clan.[2] . . . [In modern times], the home is a symbol of patrilineality and patriarchy. . . .

The desire of our ancestors to seek the support and protection of the group

2. Visitation marriage refers to the husband's visiting the house where the wife resides and he does not.

was great indeed. So they created a "social organization" under the leadership of the clan matriarchs, who were the most spiritually powerful individuals of the time, thus taking the first step in the glorious history of humankind. And of course they began with what was extremely close at hand: the security of mothers and children. . . .

CHAPTER 2: HOW THE POSITION OF WOMEN REGRESSED

THE COLLAPSE OF WOMEN'S CULTURE: WHAT IS WOMEN'S CULTURE?

In my view, the culture of the matrilineal era was a kind of naturalistic culture that preceded all forms of discrimination or categorization. Thus, at that time neither women nor men knew the sorts of oppression that appeared in later eras, and they were able to manifest their own naturalness with abandon and without fear. In this sense one might call it natural culture rather than women's culture. But since I wish to emphasize that this natural culture emerged through the female sex, I will call it women's culture. . . .

Until the end of the Kamakura era [in the fourteenth century], Japanese women had the capacity to see with their own eyes, think with their own minds, and act according to their own wills. As far as we can tell from the documents, Nara maidens (*otome*), Heian working women (*shokugyō fujin*), and Kamakura housewives (*shufu*) all possessed this ability.[3] Thus it is only in these periods that we can explore the tradition of women's culture of old. From the Muromachi era on, we women became almost completely incapacitated and, as a result, left no cultural legacy. . . .

Volume 2: *The Prison of Sex*

CHAPTER 3: THE ERA OF WOMEN'S HUMILIATION

JAPANESE WOMEN'S HISTORY SEEN THROUGH THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF WORLD HISTORY: ANCIENT GREEK WOMEN AND JAPANESE WOMEN AFTER THE MUROMACHI ERA

The Muromachi era [1392–1573] in Japan corresponds to the extended patriarchal system in ancient [Greek] times. In the Edo era [of Tokugawa rule, 1600–1867], a rapidly maturing feudal authority suppressed this system, and a divided patriarchal system (*bunkai kafuchōsei*) emerged under its regime. As a composite of feudal and ancient practices, Edo was a "semiancient" era, which displayed its most backward dimension in the family system in particular. . . .

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3. "Working women" and "housewives" are twentieth-century terms associated with modernity, used here to highlight the subjectivity of women that existed in earlier times but was later eclipsed by patriarchal feudalism.

I therefore regard this period as the peak of oppression of women in our country and call Edo the era of women's humiliation. By grasping the conditions of this age of humiliation as accurately as possible, I hope to make clear the origins of the ancient and feudal fetters that still afflict us today. . . .

The enslavement of women is synonymous with the commodification of sex. . . . In one case, women become merchandise as brides; in the other, they become merchandise as prostitutes. In civilized society, every demand is met in the form of commodities. And women are clearly one of those "demand goods." When there is a demand for labor, slaves are sold on the slave market, and when there is a demand for sex, sex slaves (*sei dorei*) are sold on the sex market. These two types of "human commodification" typically emerge together with the development of commercial and urban economies. It is obvious that in this respect, classical ancient Greece corresponds to the Muromachi era [and] onward in our country.

ASIAN SOCIETY AND JAPANESE WOMEN'S HISTORY

The path of history is singular. Although the manner of concrete expression may vary, there is only one direction to history. Both our Asian society (in which blood relationships are more distorted and exploited) and European society (in which individualistic tendencies are more pronounced), while attaining historical development each in its own way, will in the end follow the single linear path that leads from a blood kin-based communal age to one of land-based individuals and, finally, to an era of social collectivity.

SO-CALLED COMMONER CULTURE: COMMONER CULTURE AND WOMEN

In the Momoyama times of Hideyoshi [late sixteenth century] . . . an invigorating and expansive atmosphere permeated society. The cities continued to flourish, frequent efforts to suppress them notwithstanding. . . . Meanwhile, however, the family system became stricter; trade in household slaves and transactions in brides were conducted ruthlessly and expansively under a strong patriarchal authority. Women had become dependents, losing almost entirely the property rights they had once possessed. We should not therefore be deceived by the word *expansive*. Consider the Greeks—let us remember that in the shadow of that civic freedom, slaves were writhing in iron chains. . . .

I conclude that this civic culture (*shimin bunka*)—townsmen culture (*chōnin bunka*) or so-called commoner culture (*shomin bunka*)—was in the end founded on the victimization of women and slaves, and, in the Edo period, on that of peasants as well. . . .

Volume 3: *The Dawn of Liberation*

PREFACE

Stirrings of the liberation of women in Japan began with the so-called opening of the country and the Meiji Restoration. [In imperial Japan] women endured the oppression of semifeudal Japanese capitalism and the reorganization of the family system. Then, as a result of the new constitution promulgated with the establishment of a bourgeois democracy after World War II, liberation reached the stage of the realization of equal rights for men and women.

CHAPTER 4: WOMEN ARE NOW RISING (1)

THE OPENING OF THE COUNTRY AND GEISHA GIRLS

The opening of the country brought a stream of foreign officials and merchants. Fujiyama and geisha girls (*geisha gaaru*) became the symbols of an international Japan. . . . We cannot overlook the important significance of geisha girls in Meiji women's history [1868–1912]. Geisha girls caught the eyes of foreigners precisely because they were active on the front lines of social life, in place of ordinary women, who were enslaved in the household.

JAPANESE-STYLE "GOOD WIFE, WISE MOTHER"-ISM

Japanese-style "good wife, wise mother"-ism suited the reorganized patriarchal system [of imperial Japan] because it was an ambiguous composite of Confucian and some Western-style values. . . . The main characteristic that distinguishes the Japanese-style "good wife, wise mother" ideology from that of the West derives from two of its fundamental ideas: "no need for serious learning for women" (denial of women's education) and "boys and girls separate after age seven" (denial of mixed society). Thus, the good wife of Japan, unlike the good wife of the West, who is a helpmeet in all aspects of life, was more on the order of a housekeeper. A wise mother, too, was meant to be more a nanny than someone wholly in charge of her children's education.

THE REORGANIZATION OF THE PATRIARCHAL SYSTEM

In the Meiji Civil Code, which went into effect in 1898, patriarchal authority was reorganized in the authority of the head of household, with some touches of modernism added. . . . The Civil Code was a retrograde law that harked back to the old patriarchal system, bypassing even the limited patriarchal system of Edo samurai (which did not include married younger sons) in favor of the even more backward divided patriarchal system of commoner families (patriarchal extended families). . . . In the patriarchal system, the family in general is enslaved, but the women's position is that much more slavelike, and after daughters grow up and are married into another family, their status remains similarly low.

CHAPTER 5: WOMEN ARE NOW RISING (2)

WOMEN'S SELF-AWARENESS AND WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS

Although Seitō [Bluestocking] was a purely literary movement, there is no doubt that the single sentence "in the beginning, woman was the sun," [which Hiratsuka Raichō wrote in 1911] in the founding issue of its journal, was the initial "declaration of women's rights" in Japan [see chap. 50]. . . . It can be said that her "declaration of women's rights" was quite Japanese in that it was the voice of a tradition that stemmed from women's rituals in primitive Japan (the ideology of primitive communal society). . . . The latent genius of Japanese women lies in transcending the process of equal rights for men and women associated with present-day capitalist society, passing through the stage of socialist revolution by the masses, and envisioning the recreation of the primitive in a new form. . . .

Volume 4: *A Century of Women Workers*

CHAPTER 6: WOMEN ARE NOW RISING (3)

It was assumed that woman's employment was marriage and that her calling lay in housework. For men, in contrast, marriage was understood as employing a female servant called a wife, and beyond that men were expected to follow [the dictates of] national production. These assumptions were undercut in the Meiji period. The main national industries were built on women's labor because as household industry was socialized (*shakaika*), women's labor was socialized with it. A woman who was pulled out of the household in this way came to bear double labor, both of the household and of society, in a single body. This double labor constitutes the greatest inevitable and tragic duty of women in a capitalist society. . . .

CHAPTER 7: WOMEN ARE NOW RISING (4)

CRISIS CULTURE AND WOMEN

Paying no heed to the voices calling for woman's duty in the home, cruel capitalism hauled women out of the house in numbers. Those who disliked having women wrenched from the home would have had to oppose capitalism itself, which they could not do. Women's labor was no exception but was everywhere a necessary component of modern production, including in the main national industries. . . . In this way, the conflict between home and workplace surfaced in the realm of women's labor, and as the old-style family system gradually waned, the reconstruction of a new family system became inevitable. . . .

CHAPTER 8: TOWARD A CENTURY OF LOVE AND PEACE

THE PEACE MOVEMENT: MOTHERS RISING UP

A mother's love is a love of life. For a long time, mothers entrusted their children's lives to their fathers, but that history has been largely tragic. The fathers' century was a century of "power," in which wealth and brute force were praised and the philosophy of the survival of the fittest reigned. And because of this, the fathers' century has seen unceasing war. . . .

THE AWAKENING OF THE WORLD (2)

Mothers demand peace. In the eyes of mothers no time has ever seemed as terrible as the present. . . .

The world is awakening . . . except for a portion of the ruling strata, the conscience of the masses is already widely and irrepressibly awakening to the voices of peace. Capitalism will not immediately perish, but people are gradually comprehending that civilized people trust the progress of society to issue from peaceful coexistence. From the viewpoint of mothers especially, peace itself is everything. And so it is clear that the awakening of the mothers of the world to peace will continue to grow.

Mothers of the world and the masses, unite! Halt the utterly tragic war of human extinction that threatens us, and go forward in a century of peace and love. . . .

A CENTURY OF LOVE

Throughout this book I have emphasized that "when the economic system becomes communal, the kinship system becomes matrilineal." In a matrilineal society, child care is communalized, housework is socialized, and mechanized production is promoted on the principle of the labor of all the people. It is, in short, the society of a "century of women workers."

[Takamure, *Josei no rekishi*, vol. 4, pp. 1, 4–5, 11, 68, 225–27, 240, 248–49, 261, 469–70, 473–74; vol. 5, pp. 1, 497, 553, 583–84, 721, 723, 902, 995, 1031, 1040, 1046, 1053; CG]

JAPANESE HISTORY IN COMPARISON

Historical thinking everywhere favors analogy, and scholars scan the past for instances of similarity to or difference from the subject at hand. Modern history writing, of the sort that originated in Europe and is now practiced in hybrid forms around the world, built Western exemplars into the very categories of history, from the term "modernity" itself and an array of opposites like "pre-

modern" and "tradition" to component parts such as revolution and the nation-state. By definition, then, histories of modern Japan are always already comparative. Whether the comparison is with the West, Asia, the world, or some "universal" principle, every text here is implicitly or explicitly set in a comparative frame.

The examples of comparison in this section represent influential attempts since the 1960s to approach the perennial problem of how and why Japan's history differs from other experiences in the universe of historical possibilities. Individual historians, of course, defined this universe in different ways and often left unstated the comparisons that drove their analysis. It is therefore worth examining the following excerpts to identify what the historians had in mind for what was "not Japan" as they argued the case for what was. Recurrent themes again included the dialectic between internal and external factors, the relation between change and continuity, and the undertow of a cultural essentialism that seemed to postulate some enduring Japaneseness that stood outside, or underlay, the course of history. In the background, too, was the general assumption of modern history writing that the early national modernizers, England and France in particular, set the pattern with which all subsequent cases necessarily had to be compared. The history of modern Japan, like that of Germany and other countries, was thus saddled with what Narita Ryūichi called the burdens of "negative particularism," which treated historical difference as a deviation from the proper course of modern development. One reaction to this burden of difference was an insistence on an indigenous path to a distinctively Japanese modernity. This often nationalistic view retained the comparative framework while turning negative difference into positive distinctiveness, even uniqueness.

MARUYAMA MASAO

As a scholar and public intellectual, Maruyama Masao (1914–1996) was one of the emblematic figures of the early postwar period. Influenced by Marxism and Anglo-American liberalism in his youth, Maruyama emerged from the war with a left-liberal commitment to civil democracy and civic responsibility. To realize these goals, Maruyama and others engaged in a sustained diagnostic effort to ascertain what had gone wrong in the past. In his view, the postwar challenge was to rectify the flawed modernity of imperial Japan, which had culminated in imperialism, fascism, and war.

Maruyama described his field as the study of politics (*seijigaku*). Whether his subject was Tokugawa Confucianism, Meiji intellectuals, prewar fascism, or postwar democracy, Maruyama pursued the question of what constituted modern politics and what had prevented it from developing in Japan. His European definitions of both modernity and politics led historians of other per-

suasions first to label his work "modernism" and later to accuse of him of an elitist nationalism of the sort espoused in the Meiji period by Fukuzawa Yukichi, one of Maruyama's lifelong interests. In both respects, he was a man of his times, poised like the title of one of his books, "between the war and the postwar," examining a bad past for the sake of a better future.

"THE STRUCTURE OF *MATSURIGOTO*: THE BASSO OSTINATO OF JAPANESE POLITICAL LIFE"

In this essay from the 1970s, Maruyama Masao describes principles that he claimed have operated in Japanese history since ancient times. In other works, he uses a geological metaphor of "ancient strata" to evoke the practices of the remote past that continued to affect the present. Here he adds the musical metaphor of a "basso ostinato," which he identifies as the determining mechanism of the relation between change and continuity, internal and external factors. What comparisons did he have in mind that generated this interpretation and with what implied effect for modern history and politics?

In recent years I have been working on the problem of continuity and change in Japanese intellectual history. Often this problem is discussed as general theory, using one of the world's cultures as an illustration. My problematic, however, is not simply to apply this kind of general inquiry to the case of Japan. Japan is characterized by a degree of homogeneity—homogeneity in terms of race, language, mode of agricultural production, etc.—unusual among the highly industrialized nations of the world. This homogeneity has profoundly affected the ways in which continuity is related to change in the course of Japanese history. Often it is emphasized how much Japan has changed despite basic continuities; I, however, prefer to ask whether historical changes occurred not in spite of, but precisely because of, some basic continuous factors that underlie the Japanese experience. It is in this context that I believe Japan's exceptional homogeneity is relevant, since it has allowed those continuities to persist over a long period and through diverse kinds of historical change.

In grappling with this inquiry I hope to elucidate what might be called the basso ostinato of Japanese history. I use this musicological metaphor, for no other adequate expression comes to mind. In music the basso ostinato, as distinct from the basso continuo, is a recurrent pattern of bass notes. It is an underlying motif that is independent from the treble part, and if the main theme appears in the treble part, it is bound to undergo some modifications by this basso ostinato. This metaphor may be applied to the historical development of Japanese thought. Most of the main themes have been imported from abroad since ancient times, beginning with Confucianism, Daoism, [and] Buddhism and including modern ideologies such as liberalism, constitutionalism, anarchism, socialism, and so on.

In this context, any attempt to construct a coherent system of political thought deserving to be called the Japanese Way was bound to fail. If, however, we examine the circumstances in which those ideologies underwent modifications after they arrived in Japan from the Asian continent or from the West, certain patterns of thinking similar in each case emerge, each responsible for subtly changing the original. These recurrent patterns of thinking are those which I have termed the basso ostinato of Japanese intellectual history.

In this chapter I intend to examine the basso ostinato of the Japanese political way of thinking. First, I have selected certain pivotal words which ancient Japanese used in their references to government and politics. Second, I have made a paradigm from these words in order to show the structure of political consciousness in ancient Japan. The documents from which I have selected the pivotal words were compiled around the seventh and eight centuries and include such works as the *Kojiki*, *Nihon shoki*, *Shoku-Nihongi*, *Fudoki*, *Man'yōshu*, *Engishiki*, *Kogoshūi*, and others. Needless to say, these texts, the oldest extant examples of Japanese literature, are valuable sources of ancient Japanese myth and history. In the seventh and eight centuries the Yamato dynasty established a system of government modeled on the centralized bureaucracy of the Tang dynasty, and the paradigm here relates directly to the political institutions that emerged during that period, which later came to be called the *ritsuryō* system. My purpose here, however, is not to describe the political history of ancient Japan as such. My selection of pivotal Japanese words from the documents mentioned above is made because I think the period of intense encounter with continental Chinese civilization is best for isolating those bass notes that give color to the main theme which the ruling class of Japan intentionally adopted from the Chinese empire.

. . . The word *matsurigoto*, which is used here in the sense of "matters governmental," in which sense it is expressed by the Chinese characters, which in turn may also be read *seiji* (politics). . . .

. . . The first point is the way in which the separation of the level of legitimacy from the level of actual political power—this particular bass note—influenced the large-scale adoption, both theoretical and institutional, of the Chinese system of centralized bureaucracy by the Yamato court in the seventh century. The dramatic change of the system of government under the influence of Tang China at that time may well be compared with the adoption of the Western political system after the Meiji Restoration. Nevertheless, what was noteworthy was that a new institution was interposed between the emperor and his ministers. It was called the *dajōkan*. The *dajōkan*, literally translated, was a council of great government and became the highest organ of the Japanese state. In China there was no counterpart to the *dajōkan*, since it was taken for granted that the emperor was both the source of legitimacy and the holder of supreme power. . . . In Japan, however, the emperor did not govern. His subordinates conducted *matsurigoto*. Hence an organ like the *dajōkan* was necessary. Thus,

though the Japanese were thorough in their adoption of Tang institutions, setting up even the most minor of offices, they nonetheless found it necessary to invent a new organ, the *dajōkan*, which was an intermediary between the emperor and the bureaucracies.

Another important modification of the Chinese imperial system was the notion of joint rule. This was expressed in ancient documents as *tomo ni osamu* (ruling together). This idea had already been expressed in the half-legendary constitution issued by Prince Shōtoku in 604. There had been various kinds of joint rule in ancient and early medieval Japan; for example, the joint rule of emperor and crown prince, of emperor and a member of a powerful clan (such as the Fujiwara), of emperor and abdicated emperor. . . . In this sense the basso ostinato of Japanese emperorship has been poly- rather than mono-archic. . . .

The above-mentioned points, first on the separation of the level of legitimacy from the level of decision making and, second, on the concept of joint rule, were bound to obscure the locus of ultimate responsibility concerning matters governmental. The other side of the coin was that this same pattern made it difficult for despotism or dictatorship to establish itself in Japan.

These patterns of institutional modification that occurred in the seventh and eighth centuries were repeated again and again in the course of Japanese history. For example, imperial regents, *sesshō* and *kanpaku*, soon became permanent institutions instead of temporary ones as existed in imperial China. Beginning with *sesshō* and *kanpaku*, extralegal officials not mentioned in the *ritsuryō* codes emerged during the Heian period. These have come to play important roles in the governmental process, thus increasing distance not only between the levels of legitimacy and actual power but also between the *dajōkan* and formally inferior bureaucrats. This trend was even more dramatically revealed by the establishment of the Kamakura shogunate at the end of the twelfth century. With the emergence of the Kamakura shogunate, the power of decision making in Japan moved, on a large scale, to the shogun and away from the court. And yet the emperor remained the source of legitimacy; it was from him or, more strictly, from the imperial family that the shogun derived his legitimate power to rule. And what is striking was that this same pattern was revealed within the shogunal government itself, since the internal structure of the Kamakura shogunate soon came to resemble that of the court bureaucracy it had replaced. From as early as the thirteenth century, the Hōjō clan came to exercise power on behalf of the shogun in the name of the shogunal regent (*shikken*). . . .

In all these cases, the relationship between power and legitimacy is the same, always separate and distinct, whether between the *dajōkan* and the emperor, or between the regent (*sesshō* or *kanpaku*) and the emperor, or between the shogun and the emperor, or between the shogunal regent (*shikken*) and the shogun. The same relationship persists throughout. In every case the nominal servant, the one who offers service, is the actual wielder of power.

This state of affairs produced two trends as the official system began to de-

generate. First, power tended to devolve downward to subordinates; that is, to lower and lower status levels. . . . Second, public power tended to become more and more informal and private, so that the private employee of a family or a group set up within a private household to manage the household finances ended up by conducting public affairs of government. This informalization had already begun even when the imperial court still retained public authority, and it continued in the successive shogunal governments. . . .

The two trends mentioned above converged: power developed downward at the same time as it became more informal and private. The climax of this convergence was *gekokujō*, or inferiors overpowering their superiors, a phenomenon which characterized the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries when powerful local warriors rose to power and chaos prevailed. The remarkable thing, however, is that no matter how extreme *gekokujō* may have been, it never led to any change in the level of political legitimacy in Japan as a whole. Toyotomi Hideyoshi, one of the great unifiers of the late sixteenth century, was symbolic of his age. He rose from the peasantry to the highest level of political power; and yet only the title of *kanpaku* (regent to the emperor), conferred on him by a powerless emperor, could legitimate his supreme position.

Where government is conceived primarily in terms of service offered to a superior by a subordinate and where the source of legitimacy is strictly separated from the actual possessor of power, revolution of the system is most unlikely to occur. This paradox is revealed in modern history as well. In what is known as *gekokujō* within the military in the 1930s, power devolved downward from the general staff to low-ranking field officers. The climax of this downward movement was the insurrection of February 26, 1936. Yet this incident failed to bring about a revolution even in the structure of the army, let alone the state. A court noble serving Emperor Hirohito, as the Duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt served Louis XVI, might well have replied to the emperor's question: "Is it a revolution?"

"No, sire, this is nothing but a revolt called *gekokujō*—a recurrent phenomenon in Japanese history."

[Henny and Lehmann, eds., *Themes and Theories in Modern Japanese History*, pp. 27–29, 38–43]

IROKAWA DAIKICHI

The rise of "people's history" (*minshūshi*) in the 1960s entailed a commitment to resituate historical action and agency outside the state and its elites, usually among the common people of the countryside. The people's historians expressed dissatisfaction with Marxist history writing because of its overly exclusive focus on impersonal socioeconomic structures, and they criticized Maruyama Masao's style of modernism for its concern with elites and its European orien-

tation. Most belonged to the generation too young to have played a role in the road to war but old enough to have been affected by the defeat. Their dedication to popular democracy and to people's history also reflected the political mood of the 1960s and the scholarly trends of "history from below" in other places, although the emphasis in Japan fell less on social history than on a cultural history of popular mentalities and values.

The landmark work of Irokawa Daikichi (b. 1925), literally translated as *A Spiritual History of Meiji* (*Meiji seishinshi*), was filled with accounts of colorful local figures, collective popular action, and the contributions of educated peasants to such modern phenomena as parliamentary politics and constitutions. No less concerned with the baneful effects of the "emperor system" of 1868 to 1945 than the postwar Marxists and Maruyama, people's historians identified an alternative tradition in the popular past. In their view, this indigenous dynamic, rooted in Tokugawa villages and Meiji local society, was squelched by modernizing elites in the name of the imperial state. Like historians elsewhere who were increasingly drawing on anthropological approaches, the popular historians evoked the ethnography of Yanagita Kunio, who for Irokawa effectively replaced Karl Marx and Max Weber as a methodological guide for writing a modern history of the common people.

Enshrining the popular tradition in the historical mainstream in no way resolved the problems posed by the dominant narratives of modernity. The relation of Japan's experience to that of Asia, the West, and the world remained a leitmotif even for those who insisted on the importance of internal factors in the historical passage to modern times. The following selection from the introduction to Irokawa's best-selling book, *The Culture of the Meiji Period* (*Meiji no bunka*), written in the wake of the Meiji centennial of 1968, suggests the comparative frame for his understanding of the nature of Japan's modern history.

THE CULTURE OF THE MEIJI PERIOD (*MEIJI NO BUNKA*)

Where does what we call "Meiji" fit in with world history and culture, and what significance does it have? To answer those questions we have to decide what qualitative change was involved in the mid-nineteenth-century response to Western influence by a Japan that had maintained the "independent culture of an island country" for over a millennium without being enveloped by a continental world power. In this respect Japan is too unusual for it to be taken as a model for underdeveloped countries. That is, countries like Japan and Russia, which maintained their independence when they came into contact with the modern civilization of the West, provide a contrast to countries that were colonized or dependent. They proved relatively adept at receiving and adapting and managed to develop economic and military strength, but on the

other hand their appropriation of the imported culture was partial, and it brought an extended period of facile imitation and confusion. . . .

To be sure, one cannot simply explain away all differences in national response by crediting them to the fact of a country's having been colonized or not. It is also important to note the stage of world history at which a country's people were exposed to contact. For instance, the possibilities of retaining independence were radically different for China, which had to open its doors in the early 1840s; for Japan, which was opened in the 1850s and 1860s; and for Korea, the last to open its doors in the 1870s. Of the three, only Japan was able to profit from the mutual rivalries and checks and balances of the Western powers and take advantage of the energy the Indian and Chinese masses poured into their anti-foreign civil wars in order to retain its own independence.

Then again, the cultural level and degree of national consciousness people attained when their countries experienced the impact of the West constitutes an important consideration for their ability to resist subjugation. In the case of Japan there was the maturity of early modern culture and the legacy of Dutch studies; the wide diffusion of education and the spiritual self-discipline the masses had developed were combined with the patriotic spirit that they came to share. Furthermore, all this merged with people's hopes that the new era would meet the requirements for riding out the dangers of the international situation. It will be important for us to see how the Japanese greeted the full flood of Western culture, how that culture was transformed by them, and what kind of "Meiji culture" they produced.

If it was only in the Meiji period that the Japanese were able to bring forth things that had begun to germinate in Tokugawa times, then what are these modern "elements" that we can designate in "Meiji culture"? One is a clear response to human rights. Democratic self-awareness became particularly evident during the 1880s as a popular groundswell during the Movement for People's Rights. Another is probably an awakening individualism, a kind of self-consciousness, as we have seen in the poems of Takamura Kōtarō. This was particularly strong among those who had direct experience of the West or with the concepts of Christianity, and it was notably current among members of the former samurai class and the intelligentsia. But even among ordinary people a modern kind of individual consciousness was developing slowly, in concert with the breakdown of ideas of "village" and "household" that had characterized feudal society; to be sure, it was seldom felt as sharply as it was by Takamura. Third, elements of capitalism—materialistic values, utilitarianism, and practicality—began to replace the old values that had had a more spiritual basis. Striking aspects of this transition were to be found in the decline of Confucian ethics and the ideals of *bushidō*.

A fourth and final aspect of modern culture was the rapid strengthening of an ethnic and national self-consciousness that encompassed virtually all of so-

ciety. This showed itself through the rediscovery of Japanese aesthetics after an infatuation with those of the West and in the reevaluation of Japanese morality, tradition, and view of life. Okakura Tenshin's new Japanese Art movement, Kōda Rohan's movement for native literature, the folklore movement of men like Yanagita Kunio, and the National Essence movement of Miyake Setsurei and Kuga Katsunan were all examples of this. Even so, we must not forget that this confrontation with the West lacked the kind of frontal opposition that took place in India and China, since it approved the imperialist course Japan adopted; it degenerated into eclecticism and a confused pluralistic mélange of East and West.

I think these four elements (self, democracy, capitalism, and nationalism) are the principal components that make up modernity in all countries and not in Japan alone. General theory can be developed only after definite determination of the relationship of these elements to each other in other countries, in addition to an examination of the way those relationships posed logical inconsistencies.

For instance, when self and democracy were unable to mature because of the suppression of the movement for people's rights, the growth of capitalism and of nationalism became distorted; with that, in the Meiji period, came the emergence of the "emperor system" as the focus and node of this set of contradictions. We have to understand that those special characteristics that are cited as fundamental characteristics of Meiji culture—eclecticism, family (*ie*) consciousness, nativism, localism, naturalism, shortcomings in civic and in public consciousness—are all ultimately elements in the "emperor system as a spiritual and mental structure."

Consequently it is of vital importance to trace the historical process in which that emperor system was hammered out and then to examine the process whereby it penetrated the minds of the Japanese. Furthermore, in order to relativize it, and to overcome it from within, to avoid regarding it as something transcendental and foreordained, we have to examine carefully the subterranean consciousness of Japan's common people from early to recent times. That task in turn requires us to employ, however modestly, the findings of specialists in related disciplines like folklore, religion, sociology, geography, and anthropology.

[Irokawa, *The Culture of the Meiji Period*, pp. 15–18]

YASUMARU YOSHIO

An influential analyst of people's history, Yasumaru Yoshio (b. 1934) made his mark by identifying popular consciousness as a driving force in modernization. Changes in what he called the popular, or conventional, morality (*tsūzoku dōtoku*) of Tokugawa villages transformed Confucian values into practices of

collective self-formation that enabled the people to become the active agents of their own, and Japan's, social transformation. At the same time, Yasumaru recognized that local visions of change could also subject the people to the totalizing forces of capitalism and the emperor-system state. He neither romanticized the countryside nor essentialized Japan as unchanging, but instead sought the historical specificities that accounted for the way Japanese modernity evolved. The following passage includes his criticisms of other approaches and suggests his view of the appropriate uses of comparison in writing the history of modern Japan.

"NATIONAL RELIGION, THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTION, AND INVENTED TRADITION: THE WESTERN STIMULUS"

Explanations of Japan's modernization put forward since World War II generally fall into two categories. One approach stresses discontinuity, citing premodern elements and backwardness that had to be overcome by modernization. The other emphasizes continuity, asserting that particularistic aspects of Japanese society and culture furthered modernization.

A break with the past accorded with Japanese thinking in the early postwar years when the national psyche was battered by defeat and hopeful for a fresh start. Discontinuity was the hallmark of the sweeping postwar reforms and democratic movements. From about 1960, as rapid economic growth began to define popular consciousness, continuity came to the fore. Groupism and its underlying values, for example, were lauded as determinants of modernization and the economic "miracle."

Selective affirmation of the past sparked a flurry of books from the 1960s celebrating the uniqueness of Japanese and Japanese culture—*Nihonjin-ron*. This introspective, self-congratulatory genre was a response to and finally supplanted the crusading social science and Marxist historiography dominant through the 1950s. Even Maruyama Masao, the famous scholar of political thought who personified postwar enlightenment, addressed such themes as the "prototypes" and "ancient strata" of Japanese thought, on the assumption that enduring features of Japanese society were sustaining economic growth. Amino Yoshihiko, the most influential Japanese historian from the 1970s, disputed the standard paradigm of Japanese society—rural communities engaged in paddy-field rice agriculture—and demonstrated the importance of nonfarming occupations such as commerce and fishing, showing that trade and transportation via coastal waters and rivers had created a national market. Although both Maruyama and Amino were critical of social oppression as well as of Japan's colonialism and aggression in East Asia, they were interested in the vitality and energy that drove modernization. Maruyama noted that Japan's communal-style society had a semi-open functional rationality, while Amino emphasized its diversity and dynamism. For them to conclude that openness and diversity

characterized ancient Japan suggests that even Maruyama and Amino favored a cultural essentialist explanation of rapid economic growth.

It is clearly impossible to show that distinctive aspects of modern and contemporary Japanese society existed in earliest times, or to prove such a thesis historically. But European history provides two valuable insights: (1) new phenomena tend to be created freely from an existing tradition and then take root, and (2) in the formative period of the modern nation-state, legitimacy based on ancient folk or ethnic traditions is a powerful truth of the new nationalism. In the transition to a modern society, Japanese, too, re-created a premodern artifact; "invented tradition," the term used by Eric Hobsbawm and others, is applicable to Japan.

It is my contention that in the case of Japan, new institutions were molded to fit the nation-state and affected social norms and individual attitudes far more than the government system and advanced civilization imported from the West. Western stimuli were incorporated into the invented tradition, but the prototype was unrecognizable, facilitating the transformation.

Critics of the emperor system have considered it the embodiment of feudal elements and backwardness, the antithesis of modern enlightenment. They often affix adjectives like "ancient" and "Asian" to denote its extreme repression of individuality and autonomy.

Defenders asserted that the monarchy was an immutable tradition and spiritual pillar for Japanese; since World War II, they have stressed that the throne is a cultural device unrelated to aggression and militarism. From this standpoint, the merger of religious ritual and government administration (*saisei itchi*) at the start of the Meiji period (1868–1912) and the ultranationalism from 1931 to 1945, when Japan invaded China and went to war against the Allied Powers, were deviations from the original imperial tradition. The emperor's status in the 1947 constitution—a "symbol of the State and of the unity of the people" under popular sovereignty and democracy—is consistent with tradition, say the monarchists.

Both the critics and supporters describe the institution in value-laden terms and offer a suprahistorical explanation of the monarchy, in my view. Of course, one can treat the monarchy as an institution by showing its ancient origins; however, when particular historical moments are examined in detail we find a very different reality in each era. For example, there is an enormous difference between an emperor who was not permitted to leave the Imperial Palace, the case for more than two hundred years from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, and an emperor who toured the country in military uniform surrounded by generals and martial pomp. In the Tokugawa period (1600–1867) emperors were permitted only a ritual role in a restricted space; from the Meiji period emperors were at the pinnacle of absolute authority over political and military affairs. Historians must examine the specific conditions and causative forces behind this amazing transformation. . . .

[Hijiya-Kirschnereit, ed., *Canon and Identity*, pp. 167–69]

THE ASIA-PACIFIC WAR IN HISTORY AND MEMORY

Like the Meiji Restoration, World War II appeared in Japanese historical consciousness as a break in time, suggesting the end of one era sharply sundered from the beginning of another, as if history could start "anew." History, of course, could do no such thing, and the illusion of rupture only made questions of continuity and change that much more pressing. People tended to see everything before the two epochal events as leading toward them, as in the (inevitable) decline of the Tokugawa shogunate culminating in the Restoration and the (inevitable) rise of fascism culminating in war and defeat. It took a long time for historians to reconnect the nineteenth century across the divide of 1868 and the twentieth century across that of 1945, all the while arguing among themselves about what had changed and what had not—and what they thought ought to have changed, according to their particular version of the tale of modernity.

But the war was different from the Restoration, not least in its catastrophic outcome. The so-called reckless war was taken as a judgment not only on the conflict itself but on the whole of Japan's modern history, strengthening the widespread feeling of need for a "new beginning." This was one reason why John Dower described the Japanese as "embracing defeat" under the Allied Occupation, which followed unconditional surrender in 1945. This embrace included reflecting on the prewar past and recounting the war in such a way that its story could serve the postwar future. This meant identifying the actors and factors responsible for the conflict and reforming the conditions that had made war possible. In the original narrative that emerged in 1945, the war was told as a cataclysm brought on the Japanese people by a misguided leadership acting within a flawed political, social, and ideological system. Once the leaders were replaced, the system reformed, and the Peace Constitution established, the existence of a peaceful and prosperous Japan seemed to validate the original story of the war as a bad past now replaced by a good present. As chapters 46 and 47 make clear, postwar Japanese continued to speak as if 1945 marked an epochal moment in their history. Whether conservative politicians were celebrating the economic rise of the "new Japan" or progressive intellectuals were criticizing democracy and Cold War geopolitics for resembling the old Japan too closely, the postwar myth of a new beginning retained its power.

Although the postwar myth nurtured identity, it created problems for history and memory. This was not because people forgot the war or refused to speak of "war responsibility" (*sensō sekinin*). On the contrary, the debates about responsibility began immediately and recurred frequently. The original war story of a people victimized by their leaders was underscored by American Occupation reforms and dramatized in the Tokyo war crimes tribunal, which tried twenty-eight of these leaders for aggressive war and atrocities. The renunciation-of-war clause in the constitution and the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki symbolized the nation's postwar mission for peace. The problem, then, was not

collective amnesia but the all-too-simple story enshrined in public memory of the war. It focused on Pearl Harbor and the atomic bomb but not on Manchuria and the Nanjing massacre, assigned responsibility to the leadership but not to the people, and told of the victims of war in Japan but not in Asia.

The historians had their work cut out for them as they sought to disturb the comforts of memory with the complications of history. Progressive historians and intellectuals, who had dominated the scene for so long, led this effort. Politically, they held high hopes for postwar democracy (or the democratic revolution), only to be continually disappointed. They were for peace and against nuclear weapons, and they opposed the Cold War politics of the U.S.–Japanese alliance. They resisted the conservative consensus that upheld the original war story and protested the government's version of the war as it appeared in national textbooks. They never lacked antagonists, or "revisionists" who repeatedly tried to replace the "reckless war" with a "holy war" of national pride. From the mid-1940s to the late 1990s, historians engaged in research and public activism to foster a deeper and more responsible understanding of the war. The success they began to achieve toward the end of the century owed as much to changes in the world—in particular, the end of the Cold War and the rise of the importance of Asia—as to their own intellectual tenacity and political commitment.

MARUYAMA MASAO

In the months immediately after the defeat, Maruyama Masao, together with many others, wrote impassioned diagnoses of the structural flaws that had led the imperial state to fascism, imperialism, and war. His influential formulations included the evocation of a "system of irresponsibility," which referred all agency upward to the emperor; the hypothesis of "fascism from above," brought about by premodern survivals in a "sham constitutional system"; and, from his famous 1946 essay excerpted here, the concepts of "transfer of oppression" and "the interfusion of morality and power," referring to the vertical hierarchy of power and the concentration of supreme value in the emperor. Maruyama's structural critique of Japanese history stressed the primacy of society over the independence of the individual, an independence he regarded as the only possible basis for genuine democracy.

"THE LOGIC AND PSYCHOLOGY OF ULTRANATIONALISM" (CHŌKOKKASHUGI NO RONRI TO SHINRI)

We are faced, then, with a situation that might be described as the rarefaction of value. The entire national order is constructed like a chain, with the emperor as the absolute value entity, and at each link in the chain the intensity of vertical political control varies in proportion to the distance from the emperor. One

might expect this to be ideal soil for the concept of dictatorship, but in fact it was hard for this concept to take root in Japan. For the essential premise of a dictatorship is the existence of a free, decision-making agent, and this is precisely what was lacking in our country. From the apex of the hierarchy to the very bottom it was virtually impossible for a truly free, unregulated individual to exist. Society was so organized that each component group was constantly being regulated by a superior authority while it was imposing its own authority on a group below.

Much has been made of the dictatorial or despotic measures exercised by the Japanese military during the war, but we must avoid confusing despotism as a fact or a social result with despotism as a concept. The latter is invariably related to a sense of responsibility, and neither the military nor the civilian officials in Japan possessed any such sense.

This emerges in the question of responsibility for starting the war. Whatever may have been the causes for the outbreak of war in 1939, the leaders of Nazi Germany were certainly conscious of a decision to embark on hostilities. In Japan, however, the situation was quite different: although it was our country that plunged the world into the terrible conflagration in the Pacific, it has been impossible to find any individuals or groups that are conscious of having started the war. What is the meaning of the remarkable state of affairs in which a country slithered into war, pushed into the vortex by men who were themselves driven by some force that they did not really understand?

The answer lies in the nature of the Japanese oligarchy. It was unfortunate enough for the country to be under oligarchic rule, and the misfortune was aggravated by the fact that the rulers were unconscious of actually being oligarchs or despots. The individuals who composed the various branches of the oligarchy did not regard themselves as active regulators but as men who were, on the contrary, being regulated by rules created elsewhere. None of the oligarchic forces in the country could ever become absolute; instead, they all coexisted, all of them equally dependent on the ultimate entity [the emperor] and all of them stressing their comparative proximity to that entity. This state of affairs led one German observer to describe Japan as *Das Land der Neben-einander* (the land of coexistence), and there is no doubt that it impeded the development of a sense of subjective responsibility. . . .

In the absence of any free, subjective awareness, an individual's actions are not circumscribed by the dictates of conscience; instead, he is regulated by the existence of people in a higher class—of people, that is, who are closer to ultimate value. What takes the place of despotism in such a situation is a phenomenon that may be described as the maintenance of equilibrium by the transfer of oppression. By exercising arbitrary power on those who are below, people manage to transfer in a downward direction the sense of oppression that comes from above, thus preserving the balance of the whole.

This phenomenon is one of the most important heritages that modern Japan received from feudal society. . . .

With the emergence of our country on the world stage, the principle of "transfer of oppression" was extended to the international plane. . . . Just as Japan was subject to pressure from the Great Powers, so it would apply pressure to still weaker countries, a clear case of transfer psychology.

[Maruyama, "The Logic and Psychology of Ultranationalism," trans. adapted from Maruyama, *Thought and Behavior in Modern Japanese Politics*, pp. 16–18]

IENAGA SABURŌ

His own experience and helplessness in the face of what he called the "evils of war" turned the historian Ienaga Saburō (1913–2002) into a lifelong crusader for a fuller understanding of the "Pacific War." He noted the irony in the title of this 1968 book, which he wrote in part to correct the simple story that began with the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941 and ended with the atomic bombings and surrender in 1945. The Americans had decreed the change in name to the Pacific War, which was the war they had fought against Japan. Ienaga was urging his countrymen to remember the war in China, beginning with the Manchurian incident in 1931 and escalating into total war in 1937. To make the point of sustained continental aggression, historians used the term "fifteen-year war," but the public knew only the "Pacific War." For this reason, Ienaga decided to stay with the familiar name despite its inaccuracy. Around the fiftieth anniversary of the end of the war in 1995, a new term, "Asia-Pacific War," gained currency. The expanded name had the signal advantage of including Asia, which was the place, after all, where Japan began the war and where Asians fought it. In the following passage, Ienaga's characterizations of the Tokyo war crimes trial and the constitution reflected widely held progressive views.

THE PACIFIC WAR (*TAIHEIYŌ SENSŌ*)

The terms "Manchurian Incident," "China Incident," and "Greater East Asia War" were both official and popular usage until Japan's defeat in 1945. "Incidents" became war with the start of hostilities against the United States and England on December 7, 1941, and the government designated the expanded conflict the Greater East Asia War. The new name included the fighting in China since 1937 but did not retroactively encompass the Manchurian Incident, the Chang Tso-lin Incident, the Nomonhan Incident, and the other covert

operations and military clashes of the 1930s. They were thought of by the public as disparate events separate from the larger conflict.

Japan's leaders, however, regarded all the fighting after the Manchurian Incident in September 1931 as one war. Major General Kawabe Torashirō stated in 1940 that "Many reasons may be cited for the China Incident, but I think it was an extension of the Manchurian Incident, which continues to the present." Colonel Mutaguchi Ren'ya, a regimental commander at the clash which started the China Incident, said in 1944, "I am responsible for the Greater East Asia War. I fired the first shot at the Marco Polo Bridge and started it." To these professional soldiers, from the Manchurian Incident to the Greater East Asia War was one continuous conflict. Civilian premier Konoe Fumimaro, in a February 1945 report to the emperor, echoed this view: "The Manchurian and China Incidents were provoked, the hostilities expanded, and we were finally led into the Greater East Asia War."

Premier Tōjō Hideki's explanation at the Imperial Conference on December 1, 1941, when the decision to go to war against America, England, and the Netherlands was made, contains the following passage about the consequences of accepting American demands: "Japan will be forced to withdraw completely from the Asian continent. Our status in Manchukuo will be jeopardized. All our successes in China will be completely lost." War with the United States and England was inevitable in order to defend Manchukuo, which was established as a result of the Manchurian Incident. The highest national leadership thereby confirms that the Greater East Asia War began with the push into Manchuria. The conflict was acclaimed as a "holy war" and enthusiastically supported in Japan. The great mass of the public sincerely believed in the cause. A small number of people, however, either because they saw it as an "imperialistic war" or for other reasons, were critical or opposed the hostilities. This dissent was completely suppressed; the attitudes and opinions openly expressed or published until August 1945 showed only total support for the war.

Japan's defeat and the Allied Occupation changed the name and interpretations of the war. On December 15, 1945, the term Greater East Asia War was prohibited; it was replaced by Pacific War (Taiheiyō sensō). . . . The term Pacific War reflects the fact that to America the Pacific was the main battlefield. . . .

The [Allied] Occupation's assessment of the conflict as an illegal war planned by Japanese militarists is well known; reforms of Japan were predicated on this assessment of war responsibility. The IMTFE (International Military Tribunal for the Far East) called it a war of aggression in violation of international law and a criminal act involving inhumane conduct contrary to the rules of war. Several Japanese leaders were brought to trial; those thought most responsible were designated class-A war criminals, found guilty, and sentenced to death. The tribunal was criticized on both moral and legal grounds by the defense attorney Kiyose Ichirō, by Justice Radhabinod Pal in his minority opin-

ion, and by others. The main objections were that the victors were ignoring their own responsibility for the war and unilaterally blaming only the losers and that the penalties were based on an ex post facto law, contrary to the legal principle that both crime and punishment should be specified in the law. If the Japanese people of their own volition had determined legal responsibility for the war, these objections would not have been raised, and it should have been possible to reach a clearer judgment. No such attempt was made, however, and the problem of legal responsibility for the war was limited to a moot issue: the legitimacy of the IMTFE. The basic issue—war responsibility—was obscured in legalistic charges of "victor's justice" and never resolved. . . .

The preamble to the postwar constitution states that the Japanese people "resolved that never again shall we be visited with the horrors of war through the action of government." The renunciation of war and war-making capacity in article 9 of the constitution bespeaks a judgment about World War II. . . . When a draft of the constitution was published, although a majority of the public did not fully understand its peace provisions, there was no opposition to the proposed law. Indeed, the reaction was favorable because most Japanese had personally experienced the loss of loved ones, the bombing, or near starvation. Their passionate hatred of war was a cry from the heart by a people who had been misled: it was not the path of glory they found but the "horrors of war." Some of the ruling elite feigned compliance with Occupation policies and the new constitution while sabotaging them, but the public had no reason to dissemble. Their approval was genuine.

[Ienaga, *The Pacific War*, trans. Baldwin, pp. 246–51]

THE IENAGA TEXTBOOK TRIALS (*IENAGA SABURŌ KYŌKASHO SAIBAN*)

Ienaga Saburō's best-known effort on behalf of undistorted national history was the thirty-year-long series of lawsuits that he brought against the government for its censorship of history textbooks. Ienaga had been writing high-school history texts since 1952 when, in 1963, the Ministry of Education demanded deletions in the sections about the war, removing even previously permitted terms such as the once ubiquitous "reckless war." From 1965 to 1997, Ienaga and the legions of historians supporting him challenged the textbook approvals system as unconstitutional. The verdicts went against Ienaga in upholding the constitutionality of the system, but over the years the courts yielded on important historical points, admitting, for example, that the existence of the biological-warfare Unit 731 had been established as historical fact and could be included in the texts.

When the ministry changed Japan's continental "invasion" to an "advance" in another of Ienaga's submissions, it set off the 1982 "textbook flap" between China and

Japan. Even as Ienaga lost his final suit in the late 1990s, textbook issues were again dogging diplomatic relations with China and South Korea. Indeed, inadequate or inaccurate textbook treatments of colonial rule in Korea and wartime atrocities in China figured prominently in what Asian officials now called Japan's "history problem." Meanwhile, however, progressive historians had succeeded in including once forbidden topics like Unit 731, the Nanjing massacre, and the "comfort women" in the middle- and high-school texts of the early 1990s. It was these inclusions that aroused conservatives to another outburst of textbook nationalism beginning in 1996. The right-wing Association to Create New Textbooks promoted the so-called Liberalist View of History; the Ministry of Education responded by softening or removing the new treatments of the Nanjing massacre and other facts of war and empire; and the Chinese and South Korean governments angrily denounced Japan in yet another "textbook controversy" in 2001. When it came to imperialism and war, the domestic politics of national history had international implications.

The Errors of Prewar Japanese History Education

In the education we received in the prewar period, Japanese history was whitewashed in the extreme—with no mention whatsoever of social contradictions or mistakes that Japan committed. We learned only a sanitized and superficial history. Postwar education must be different. Because we received such a blinkered education, we were unable to prevent the tragedy of the disastrous "fifteen-year war."

To keep this from happening again, we will honestly reflect on Japan's errors even as we acknowledge its distinguished traditions and put them in service of the development of a better Japan. At the same time, we believe that as a nation we should not avert our gaze from its contradictions but instead boldly confront and resolve them. Resolving social contradictions and improving the lot of the people were blind spots in prewar history education. In my view, the greatest flaw was the lack of any reflection on the errors made by Japan itself.

The Definition of True Patriotism

For example, the constitution contains a statement resolving that "never again shall we be visited with the horrors of war through the action of government," thus squarely confronting Japan's errors and acting not to repeat them. Far from bringing harm to Japan, this is the path of true patriotism required by the constitution. . . .

The mission of history education lies in the people's becoming clearly aware of political errors and rectifying them. The lesson we must learn is that if we do not do so, tragedy will occur again. This, I believe, is genuine patriotism; trying to foster patriotism by whitewashing Japanese history is a terrible mistake.

My Anguish over the Restrictions on Textbooks and the Grave Abuses of Textbook Approval

For someone like me for whom writing is a vocation, it causes considerable mental anguish to have my work suppressed for reasons that make no sense to me. Of course, I appreciate having my errors pointed out and am not so foolish as to refuse such attention. But I absolutely cannot tolerate being coerced by the authorities to write something I find unacceptable. . . .

The harm caused by an inappropriate action of individual writers or teachers is confined to their sphere of influence, but the officials' authority of national approval extends to the whole system. Moreover, while the errors of individuals can be corrected through mutual criticism, the errors of the authorities can be repaired only through the enormous efforts and costs of trials like this one. As I said earlier, my own experience with the standardized history texts controlled by the prewar state authorities left me with lifelong aftereffects. And it wasn't only me but millions of people in my generation who were victims of the same evil. . . .

Motives for the Lawsuit

I am a member of the prewar generation, and because of that reckless war, millions of my countrymen suffered wretched deaths in the wilds of the continent, the depths of the sea, and the recesses of the jungle. And they died miserable deaths in air raids and atomic bombings. Fortunately, I survived. But I was unable to make any effort for the sake of my ancestral country to stop the reckless war, and I feel heartfelt remorse for the sin of having been a futile bystander to the tragedy of my country. If I were to die today without opposing educational policies that extol war and, under subordination to America, drive Japan toward war, on my deathbed I would ask why I had once again done nothing to prevent it. I never want to repeat the experience of such remorse. Although I am a single citizen with little power, I embarked on this lawsuit with the desire to atone for even a tiny fraction of the sin of not having resisted the war.

[Ienaga, *Ienaga Saburō kyōkasho saiban*, pp. 2–7; CG]

ŌE KENZABURŌ

The atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki on August 6 and 9 and the emperor's radio announcement of Japan's surrender on August 15, 1945, constituted two of the most powerful symbols in Japanese public memory of the war. The emperor evoked the bombings as a reason for accepting the terms of surrender, speaking of "a new and most cruel bomb" that could result in the "obliteration of this Japanese nation" and the "total extinction of human civi-

lization." Afterward, the atomic bombs justifiably supported the story of the Japanese as victims, on the one hand, and provided the grounds for postwar Japan's commitment to pacifism, on the other. Over the years, the anniversaries of Hiroshima, Nagasaki, and the surrender became the main dates of national commemoration of the war, establishing the narrative sequence of "atomic bombs, surrender, peace" in official ceremonial.

But the atomic bombings also propelled Japan's strong antinuclear movement and, in the context of the Cold War, the opposition of the left to the Japanese–American alliance and to Japan's rearmament. Ōe Kenzaburō (b. 1935), a novelist and Nobel laureate, had been affected by the violence of war as a young boy.[4] Later, in his role as a prominent public intellectual, he remained steadfast in his commitment to the original progressive vision of postwar peace and democracy. He wrote *Hiroshima Notes* in 1965, the year after he published his most famous novel, *A Personal Matter* (*Kojinteki na taiken*), each dealing in very different ways with the atomic bombs and the antinuclear activities of the time. Like the artists Toshi and Iri Maruki, the cartoonist Nakazawa Keiji (the author of *Barefoot Gen*), the poet Kurihara Sadako (see chap. 46), and many others, Ōe emphasized the real victims of the bomb, the *hibakusha*, and the importance of Hiroshima and Nagasaki for all humankind. These intellectuals literally painted and wrote the experience of the atomic bombs into postwar Japanese memory.

By the 1990s, the national and human story of the bombs had finally come to include other victims, such as the many Koreans and Korean-Japanese *hibakusha* who suffered both the bombings and the subsequent decades of discrimination. Meanwhile, post–Cold War debates about constitutional revision, nuclear weapons, and regional security once again challenged the way the atomic bombs would be remembered, or forgotten.

HIROSHIMA NOTES (*HIROSHIMA NŌTO*)

. . . In this age of nuclear weapons, when their power gets more attention than the misery they cause, and when human events increasingly revolve around their production and proliferation, what must we Japanese try to remember? Or more pointedly, what must I myself remember and keep on remembering? . . .

. . . In such a time as this, I want to remember, and keep on remembering, the thoughts of the people of Hiroshima—the first people and the first place to experience full force the world's worst destructive capability. Hiroshima is like a nakedly exposed wound inflicted on all mankind. Like all wounds, this one

4. See Ōe's short story "The Catch" (Shiiku) and chap. 46.

also poses two potential outcomes: the hope of human recovery and the danger of fatal corruption. Unless we persevere in remembering the Hiroshima experience, especially the thoughts of those who underwent that unprecedented experience, the faint signs of recovery emerging from this place and people will begin to decay and real degeneration will set in. . . .

In the broadest context of human life and death, those of us who happened to escape the atomic holocaust must see Hiroshima as part of all Japan, and as part of all the world. If we survivors want to atone for the "Hiroshima" within us and give it some positive value, then we should mobilize all efforts against nuclear arms under the maxims "the human misery of Hiroshima" and "the restoration of all humanity." Some people may hold to the fairy-tale view, in this highly politicized age, that the new acquisition of nuclear arms by one country actually advances the cause of nuclear disarmament. Since the world has in fact taken the initial step forward in that direction, there may be some ultimate possibility of completely eradicating nuclear weapons. . . .

. . . To put the matter plainly and bluntly, people everywhere on this earth are trying to forget Hiroshima and the unspeakable tragedy perpetrated there. We naturally try to forget our personal tragedies, serious or trifling, as soon as possible (even something as petty as being scorned or disdained by a stranger on a street corner). We try not to carry these things over to tomorrow. It is not strange therefore, that the whole human race is trying to put Hiroshima, the extreme point of human tragedy, completely out of mind. Without bothering to thumb through public school textbooks, we know that grownups make no effort to convey their memories of Hiroshima to their children. All who fortunately survived, or at least luckily suffered no radiation injury, seek to forget the ones who, even now, are struggling painfully toward death. Forgetting all these things, we go on living comfortably in the crazy world of the late twentieth century. . . .

It was in the summer of 1960 that I first visited Hiroshima. Although at that time I had not yet begun to understand Hiroshima, I had one clear intimation of it. A short essay that I wrote for the Chūgoku newspaper included this passage: "Today I visited Hiroshima and attended the A-bomb Memorial Ceremony. It was a precious experience for me. I still feel it is. The impact of that experience will grow and deeply influence me. During the fifteen years since the bombing, I passed the springtime of my life. I should have visited Hiroshima earlier; the earlier, the better. But it was not too late for me to visit there this year."

This intimation became reality. Hiroshima has, indeed, become the weightiest and most influential factor in my thinking. I often dream very suffocating, painful dreams. For instance, in a certain place at high noon in midsummer, I see a small, strained, middle-aged man in his pajamas and robe with his head held erect like an Awa doll, and he speaks in a scarcely audible voice. In this dream, I listen to his voice and realize that in a few months he will die, wasted away by an A-bomb disease.

But the human tragedies I witnessed in Hiroshima—even if seen only by a

traveler's eye, and though I do not have the courage to turn hopeless tragedy into something of positive value—at least made clear to me wherein lies the human dignity of the Japanese people.

In Hiroshima, I met people who refused to surrender to the worst despair or to incurable madness. I hear the story of a gentle girl, born after the war, who devoted her life to a youth caught in an irredeemably cruel destiny. And in places where no particular hope for living could be found, I heard the voices of people, sane and steady people, who moved ahead slowly but with genuine resolve. I think it was in Hiroshima that I got my first concrete insight in human authenticity, and it was there also that I saw the most unpardonable deception. But what I was able to discern, even faintly, was altogether only a small portion of an incomparably larger abominable reality still hidden in the darkness. . . .

[Ōe, *Hiroshima Notes*, trans. Toshi and Swain, pp. 90, 98–99, 168–69]

FUJIWARA AKIRA

The resurgence of controversy in the 1990s about Japanese war memory sparked a new wave of nationalist revisionism centered on the liberalist view of history, which glorified the "holy war" and criticized the depiction of wartime atrocities in textbooks and public discourse. In response to this latest rash of denials of the Nanjing massacre and justifications of the "comfort women," the progressive historians once again took up the tools of history to dispute the manipulations of memory. This was nothing new for them: already in 1982, the historian Fujiwara Akira (1922–2003) and his colleagues had established the Nanjing Massacre Research Group in reaction to the "textbook flap" with China. The studies they produced over the years made it increasingly difficult for "Nanjing deniers" to assert that the "rape of Nanking" in 1937/1938 had never occurred, prompting them to shift their tactics but not their position. The historians reacted by persisting in pursuit of the facts, their public impact aided now by vocal outrage in Asia and the United States.

Historians played a similar role in regard to the comfort women. It became difficult for the Japanese government to continue to deny its involvement in military sex slavery after the historian Yoshimi Yoshiaki found documents that proved it in 1992.[5] While the combination of historical research and victims' testimony did not silence the revisionists, it did bring the stories of the comfort women and the Nanjing massacre into the media spotlight for all to see. And judging by opinion polls, many Japanese believed their eyes.

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5. Yoshimi, *Comfort Women*.

HOW TO VIEW THE NANJING INCIDENT (*NANKIN JIKEN O DŌ MIRU KA*)

Sixty years have passed since imperialist Japan began its total war of aggression in China in July 1937 and, in November of that year, committed large-scale atrocities during the occupation of Nanjing, the Chinese capital. . . .

In Japan today, some forces still refuse to acknowledge the war of aggression and persist in affirming and glorifying the war. And these war glorifiers focus particularly on denying the facts of the Nanjing massacre. Just as Nazi glorifiers tried to deny Auschwitz, the symbol of German war crimes, their Japanese counterparts are vehement deniers of the Nanjing massacre, which symbolizes the war crimes committed by Japan. Now, sixty years later, researchers must investigate the Nanjing incident in order to stop these denial arguments and demolish the glorification of war. . . .

When Japan accepted the Potsdam Declaration and surrendered in August 1945, the state officially acknowledged the war of aggression and the Nanjing massacre committed by the Japanese army. The Potsdam Declaration denounced Japanese aggression and specified the punishment of war criminals. After the surrender, the International Military Tribunal for the Far East convened in Tokyo. In November 1948 the court handed down its judgment that the war was a war of aggression for which Japan was responsible, and it also acknowledged that 200,000 people had been massacred in Nanjing. Then, in article 11 of the San Francisco Peace Treaty concluded in San Francisco in 1951, Japan signaled its acceptance of the judgments of the war crimes trial about the war of aggression and the Nanjing massacre. And because most Japanese, having experienced the horrors of war, welcomed the Peace Constitution and were deeply critical of the war, they, too, accepted the treaty.

But this provision was disregarded almost as soon as the treaty came into effect. Because the postwar purge of public officials was lifted around the same time, right-wing politicians, journalists, former military officers, and right-wing activists returned to politics in force. The affirmation and glorification of the war began with a publishing boom in war books and the assault on history textbooks for being critical of the war.

As a result, the pursuit of war responsibility in Japan remained inadequate and insufficient in the extreme. . . . And the exoneration of the emperor for the administrative convenience of the Occupation played a role as well, while most of the politicians, industrialists (*zaibatsu*), and bureaucrats also survived in place. Because those responsible for the war returned to the forefront of politics after the treaty went into effect, it was to be expected that they had no desire either to condemn the war they had made or to speak of atrocities they had committed. . . .

One focus of the present movement of politically motivated historical revi-

sionism is the denial of the facts of the Nanjing massacre. In order to counter the views of these war glorifiers and "liberalists" who distort history for their own purposes, it is up to us to make the facts clear. However abhorrent these events are to Japanese, that they occurred is a fact, and only by confronting these facts can they become "lessons for the future." . . .

Recently the denials of the Nanjing massacre have centered on the question of numbers. At the beginning, the war glorifiers had labeled the massacre as an "illusion" or a fiction, but this view was completely bankrupted by advances in scholarly research. So now they are reduced to arguing about the number of victims, to the effect that because the numbers are small, it was not a massacre. This debate limits the time frame and geographic extent of the events in order to calculate as small a number of victims as possible, [calculations refuted by recent scholarly works in both China and Japan]. . . .

. . . Yet another question that must be addressed is why Japanese became the perpetrators. Believing in emperor-system militarism, poisoned by sexism and ethnocentrism, without offering any resistance whatsoever, they became the perpetrators of a massacre. Understanding the conditions that made this possible is essential to preventing such offenses of history from ever happening again.

[Fujiwara, *Nankin jiken o dō miru ka*, pp. 7–13; CG]

KOBAYASHI YOSHINORI

The most influential example of liberalist revisionism was surely the thick comic book *On War* by the popular cartoonist Kobayashi Yoshinori (b. 1953). Published in 1998, it sold 500,000 copies within a few months, arousing great enthusiasm among its readers, many of whom were young people who knew little about the war and found the book exhilarating, and great concern among progressive Japanese and many Asians, who knew quite a lot about the war and found the book repugnant.

Kobayashi introduced the war with a critique of postwar Japanese society gone soft from too much peace and too little devotion to the nation, egged on by progressive intellectuals and the media that supported them. Against this, Kobayashi celebrated the patriotic sacrifice of "our forefathers" willing to die for their country and of the "comfort women," who "consoled the Japanese soldiers." Nostalgic for the spirit of the *kamikaze* pilots, Kobayashi rehearsed the reasons for their brave deaths in defense of Japan's waging a "just war" against Western imperialists. Filled with descriptive detail and personal stories based on soldiers' diaries and other sources, the comic book persuaded many young readers of the "truth" of its history of national "pride" and "the thrill of war." Here was an antistory to the dominant narrative of a "reckless war," de-

signed to rouse nationalism in the present by rewriting the "Tokyo war crimes trial view" of the past.

ON WAR (SENSŌRON)

[*P. 1292, TOP*] . . . Soon after the war began, Japan decided on the name "Greater East Asia War," and the Japanese fought the Greater East Asia War. After the war, General Headquarters (GHQ) [of the Occupation] prohibited the term "Greater East Asia War" and created the name "Pacific War" in order to deny the principles and ideals of the "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere." So even now, we use "Pacific War," a term that did not exist at the time but suited the convenience of the United States [after the war].

[*UPPER RIGHT*] Our opponents were the Communist army led by Mao Zedong and the Nationalist army led by Chiang Kai-shek in continental China, and the United States, the Netherlands, Great Britain, France, and others.

[*UPPER LEFT, ABOVE*] The "Pacific War" of the textbooks implies that we fought only the United States.

[*UPPER LEFT, BELOW*] It makes more sense to say "Greater East Asia War," even if the name did come later, because Japan fought for the tremendous idea of creating a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere in Asia.

[*LOWER RIGHT*] Some people label others as "right-wing" just for saying "Greater East Asia War," but that doesn't bother me. Since "Greater East Asia" means "greater" "East Asia," it makes the scene of battle clear.

[*LOWER LEFT*] In any case, that this small island country waged a war of such a scale without regard for its own status is more than amazing, it's thrilling. To express it in the feelings of innocent boys, it was "great"! . . .

[*P. 1293, UPPER RIGHT*] And still, to the whites of the discriminatory Western powers who regarded the colored races only as lowly monkeys and colonized East Asia. . . .

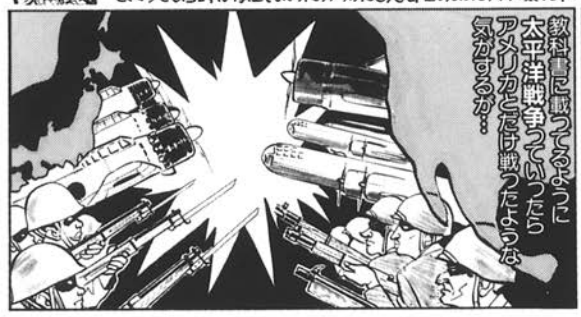
[*UPPER LEFT*] Applause for the Japanese army that stuck it to them!

[*LOWER*] At the outset of war, the Japanese army appeared extremely powerful. In Malaya and at Singapore, a British and Indian army of 130,000 men could not stop the 40,000-man Japanese army. Although an allied army of 50,000 British, Dutch, and Australia soldiers defended Bandung in Indonesia, a Japanese army of only 750 men charged and forced them to surrender. . . .

[Kobayashi, *Sensōron*, pp. 28, 30; CG]

日本は開戦直後に戦争名称を「大東亜戦争」と決定、日本人は「大東亜戦争」と戦った。戦後GHQは「大東亜共栄圏」の理念、理想を否定するために「太平洋戦争」という名称を作り「大東亜戦争」というの呼称の使用を禁止した。そして今でも、当時は存在しなかったアメリカにとって都合のいい呼称「太平洋戦争」が使用されているのである。

相手は支那(中国)大陸の
毛沢東率いる中共軍
蒋介石率いる国民党軍
アメリカ・オランダ・イギリス
フランスなどである



教科書に載ってるように
太平洋戦争ていったら
アメリカとだけ戦ったような
気がするが…

日本はアジアに
大東亜共栄圏を作ろう
という とんでもない構想を
後づけにせよ掲げて戦ったので
大東亜戦争
と呼んだほうが わかりやすい

中には「大東亜戦争」と
聞いただけで
右翼とレッテル貼り
してくる人もいるが
知ったこっちゃない

「大東亜」のほうが
大・東アジア
だから 戦場が
わかりやすいのだ

なにしろ
こんな小さな島国が
身のほど知らずながら
こんなスケールの大きい
戦争をやってしまったって
ことが 驚きというか
痛快である

無邪気に男の子の
感覚で言えば
グレイトなのである

それでも
有色人種を下等なサル
としか思ってなくて
東アジアを植民地にしていた
差別主義欧米列強の
白人どもに…
目にもの
見せてくれた
日本軍には
拍手なのである!
開戦当初
日本軍は
それはそれは
ものすごく
強かったらしい
マレー・
シンガポールでは
13万の英印軍が
4万の日本軍を
止められなかったし
インドネシアの
バンドン要塞には
5万の英蘭豪連合軍が
いたのに
たった750人の日本軍が
突入して
白旗揚げさせたのだ!

いやしくも
日本においては
常日ごろから
女たちも
国防の重要性を
しっかりィ――
兵隊さんたちが
御国の為に
命を捧げて
くださるという
のです
せめて 安心して
出発していただける
ように お世話を
いたしましょう
それこそが
私たち
銃後婦人の
務めでは
ありませんか！
国防は台所から!!
大日本國防婦人
慰問袋献納

みなさんも知ってる
でしょう
出征前日の
中尉の妻が
自害した話を
夫が 心おきなく
戦場に行ける
ようにという
心づかい
まさに
武人の妻の
鑑(かがみ)では
ありませんか!!
先の大戦で
なにゆえ ドイツが
敗北したか
台所をあずかる
女たちが
物資不足に
文句を言って
男たちの足を
ひっぱったからである
白の軍団

ゴ～ン
ゴ～ン
ゴ～ン

ISHIZAKA KEI

Over the years, many comics depicted the progressive views of the war that so angered Kobayashi Yoshinori. A well-known example from 1991, originally serialized in the youth comic *Yangu janpu* in the 1980s, was created by Ishizaka Kei (b. 1956) with the ironic title "A Just War," glossed in English as "Goodwar Is Badwar." In this excerpt, she offers the home-front view, the part of the original war story that focused on the hardships of women and children during the war. When Shōwa Hall, the national museum commemorating the war, finally opened in 1999 after twenty years of contentious debate, the same home-front story occupied nearly the entire exhibit. In contrast, Ishizaka presented a critical view of what the war had meant to women.

A JUST WAR
(*TADASHII SENSŌ*)

The White Legions

[*P. 1295, RIGHT*] [Local leader (man)]: I assume you've all heard about the lieutenant's wife who committed suicide the day before he was to leave for the war.

She wanted her husband to be able to go to battle without leaving worries behind.

Isn't this the paragon of a warrior's wife!!

[*LEFT*] Why did Germany lose the last war?

Because the women in charge of the kitchen dragged the men down, complaining of material hardship.

[*P. 1294, RIGHT*] And so in Japan, women must be firm about the importance of national defense to their daily lives.

[*LEFT*] [Woman, wearing sash of the Greater Japan Women's National Defense Association]: Our soldiers sacrifice their lives for the nation.

At least let's care for them so they can leave with their minds at ease.

Isn't that our duty as the women of the homefront!

National Defense begins in the kitchen!!

[*P. 1296, UPPER RIGHT AND CENTER*] [Song] "I am the pink flower [woman of Japan] blooming on the homefront; Off to war, off to war, be bold and brave."

[*UPPER LEFT*] Well, that's over. Thanks for the good work.

[*CENTER, ABOVE*] For us who believed in the words "holy war" and did not doubt them. . . .

[*CENTER, BELOW*] How could we imagine . . . the horrible things that happened on the continent?

[*BOTTOM*] My mother often recalled the past . . . and said that life then was the most fulfilling for her.

[*P. 1297, UPPER RIGHT*] As a bride from a poor farm family, she felt inferior . . . and must have had a rough time for many years.

[*UPPER LEFT*] After Father went to war and died an honorable death in battle . . . Mother was finally recognized as a woman in her own right.

[*BOTTOM*] Oh Mrs. Hattori, what a shame.

[Ishizaka, *Tadashii sensō*, pp. 154–55, 166–67; CG]

TWENTIETH-CENTURY DESIGN STAMPS

The dominant narrative of the war appeared nearly unchanged in this series of special commemorative stamps issued in 2000, at the end of the twentieth century. Note the dates marked in public memory; the cultural icons; and the

20世紀デザイン切手 第9集

20 世紀 Century

①

②③

「杉原千畝副領事がビザ発給」から

❶ 杉原千畝副領事がビザ発給：
肖像とユダヤ人に発給したビザ（通過査証・部分）とイスラエル政府より贈られたメダル

❷ 国民学校始まる：教科書「ヨミカタ」の挿絵（部分）

❸ 真珠湾攻撃・太平洋戦争勃発：
真珠湾上空を飛ぶ日本軍の飛行機

❹ 高村光太郎が詩集「道程」で第一回帝国芸術院賞：
肖像と初版本の中扉題字と詩（部分）

❺ 昭和新山：噴煙を上げる昭和新山

④⑤

⑥⑦

⑧

❻ 広島被爆：広島の原爆ドーム

❼ 長崎被爆：長崎の平和祈念像

❽ 終戦：戦艦ミズーリ号の上で行われた降伏文書の調印式

⑨⑩

高村智恵子 作「パンジー」（紙絵）

❾❿ 黄金バット：（左）紙芝居「黄金バット」・加太こうじ画
（右）マンガ「黄金バット」・永松健夫画

平成12年4月21日　大蔵省印刷局製造

inclusion of Sugihara Chiune, the so-called Schindler of Japan, honored for saving Jews from the Holocaust. Note, too, the absences, or silences, in the story.

NO. 9: 1940–1945

1. Vice Consul Sugihara Chiune Issues Visas [1940]
   Portrait of Sugihara, with visa issued to European Jews for transit through Japan and the medal presented to Sugihara by the Israeli government
2. [Wartime] "national schools" begin [1941]
   Illustration from the textbook *Yomikata*
3. Attack on Pearl Harbor and outbreak of the Pacific War [December 8, 1941]
   Japanese military aircraft flying over Pearl Harbor
4. Takamura Kōtarō's poetry collection *Dōtei* [*Journey*] awarded the first Imperial Japanese Art Academy Prize [1942]
   Portrait, with title lettering and poem from the first edition
5. The new mountain Shōwa [1943]
   The new mountain Shōwa erupting
6. The atomic bombing of Hiroshima [August 6, 1945]
   The Atomic Bomb Dome at Hiroshima
7. The atomic bombing of Nagasaki [August 9, 1945]
   The Peace Prayer Statue, Nagasaki
8. End of the war [August 14, 1945]
   Ceremony signing articles of surrender aboard the USS *Missouri* [September 2, 1945]
9. *The Golden Bat*
   Illustration by Kata Kōji from the children's picture-card show (*kami-shibai*) of *The Golden Bat*
10. *The Golden Bat*
    Illustration by Nagamatsu Takeo from the comic *The Golden Bat*
    [*right*] Illustration of papercut of "pansies" by Takamura Chieko

[Ministry of Finance, Printing Bureau, *20-seiki dezain kitte*, 2000, no. 9; CG]

RETHINKING THE NATION

Both history writing and popular historical consciousness shifted during the last two decades of the twentieth century. As is almost always the case, several trends converged to produce these changes. The first was what historians called "the

end of postwar historiography," in reference to the Marxist history writing that had occupied so prominent an academic place since the end of the war. Marxist categories of analysis now seemed less useful, and debates about the Meiji Restoration seemed more tedious than in earlier years. At the same time, recent trends in social and cultural history directed scholarly attention away from socioeconomic structures like state monopoly capitalism to the lived experiences of everyday life. In part an outgrowth of people's history, these interests combined with contemporary social concerns to focus history writing on questions of gender, ethnic minorities, and people on the social margins at home and in the colonial empire abroad.

Second, ideas of modernity, which determined the way that historians viewed the past, also had changed as Japanese grappled with the unfamiliar notion of living in postmodern times. Ever since the Meiji period, the modern had been conceived in comparison with Western exemplars as a condition that Japanese were striving to achieve in accordance with the imperatives of some universal scheme. Now they confronted less a failed modernity than a completed one, and like that modernity or not, it forced them to think about history differently. The assumptions of universal progress, whether linear or dialectical, no longer seemed so sturdy a guide to a future for which there were "no more models" to establish a ready-made comparative frame. In conservative circles, this development was taken as proof of Japan's having "overtaken the West" by virtue of a superior civilization. A new wave of popular civilizational histories appeared in the 1990s that echoed their Meiji counterparts of a century earlier, except that the West was now omitted in a story that attributed the achievement of Japanese modernity entirely to indigenous cultural factors. Meanwhile, many historians were critical both of this sort of growing nationalism and of the nature of Japan's "completed" modernity. Criticism of modernity was, of course, nothing new for progressive historians, as they wrote against the main narratives of national history in ways that reflected the changing times.

The changing relations between Japan and Asia particularly affected their views, constituting the third determinant of the shift in historical thinking in the last years of the century. With the end of the Cold War, the long laserlike focus on U.S.–Japanese relations gave way to a wider and more complicated view of the world. After four decades of relative neglect—or, in the case of war memory, repression—Asia finally reappeared on Japan's political and economic agenda. Historians turned to the study of empire, bringing the experience of the peoples of Manchuria, Taiwan, Korea, and the South Seas into the purview of a national history that had been almost entirely "Japanese" since 1945. They explored ancient connections and commonalities between Japan and Asia, writing about "Japanese history as seen from the seas" to show the close economic and cultural links that had existed since earliest times. As a counterpart to this stress on regional over national history, they de-nationalized the past internally

as well, emphasizing regional differences within Japan that the modern narrative of the nation-state had all but entirely erased.

Yet even this writing against received views of national history bore the unmistakable marks of history written under the sign of the nation-state. "Japan," however expanded and inclusive, still remained the subject of the historical sentence, and the imperial institution, however historicized and de-mythologized, remained the touchstone of Japanese identity even for its strongest critics. However linked to its regional past, the nation still remained rhetorically separated, a question of Japan *and* Asia rather than of a common transnational history. Thus at the end of the twentieth century, history writing and popular consciousness in Japan, as in nearly every place else, were still national and, in this sense, still modern: a continuation of the Meiji project to rethink the nation's future through rewriting its past.

AMINO YOSHIHIKO

Amino Yoshihiko (1928–2004) was the scholar most closely associated with the new trends in social and cultural history in the 1980s and 1990s. Certainly he was the most famous, with more than 140 books, countless television appearances, and a noticeable influence on popular culture, including the huge animated-film (*anime*) success, *Princess Mononoke*. The 1997 feature incorporated Amino's unorthodox views of the importance of ethnic minorities into the history of a country relentlessly described as homogeneously "Japanese."

A medieval historian, Amino traversed the central terrain of postwar history writing during his long career. He joined the Association of Historical Studies as an activist Marxist historian after the war and worked as a ethnographic researcher for an institute inspired by Yanagita Kunio's interest in the lives of ordinary people. Like the people's historians, he considered such inquiry both a truer account of the past and a means to combat the power of the modern state and its emperor system. Writing against the national grain, Amino contested the ideological link among rice, the emperor, and "Japan" by focusing on "nonagriculturists" who had been extruded to the social margins by the Tokugawa political and taxation system. These included the people who made their living in the mountains and from the sea, as well as itinerant artists, artisans, and outcasts, who, in Amino's view, occupied a spatial and social zone of freedom in the borders between the rice-growing villages—a freedom that was lost with the establishment of the modern state, which wrote them, and women, out of its history.

Amino also sought to disaggregate "Japan," the unitary historical subject, into its distinctive regional histories, especially the division between eastern and

western Japan, only part of which, he argued, had belonged to "Japan" proper in early times. At the same time, he linked these regions to areas in Asia both across nearby seas and at farther-flung ports of maritime trade. As the following excerpt shows, Amino contested even the most hallowed myths and institutions, from rice and race to the emperor and the folk.

"DECONSTRUCTING 'JAPAN' "

One Country, One Name

It is self-evident that neither Japan nor the Japanese people existed prior to the use of the name "Japan" (*Nihon*), and needless to say, the name of the country is a central problem in "the discourse on Japaneseness" (*Nihonron*). Yet it is a problem that has not been squarely confronted in previous discussions about "Japan." . . . There are few states like Japan, whose name is neither a place name, a dynastic title, nor the family or clan name of a royal line. . . .

The generally accepted view among ancient historians today . . . emphasizes the usage of Nihon by the envoy sent to Tang China in the first year of Taihō [701] . . . however, it is important to note the close correlation between the time when the name "Japan" was adopted and when the appellation *tennō* (emperor) came into systematic use. . . . This would suggest that "Japan" and *tennō* have been inseparably linked from earliest times.

There are also all sorts of theories, and no consensus, as to the meaning of "Japan." Most widely held is the view that emerged in the Heian period, which identified the "prince of the place where the sun rises" mentioned in the *Sui-shū* with the Eastern *tennō* (emperor) of the *Nihon-shoki*, holding that Japan was so named because, looking eastward from the Tang Court, it was where the sun rose. If one adopts this view, it means that the name "Japan" has a Tang or at least a Chinese continental perspective. . . . [One scholar] has also noted the working of a deep-rooted tendency on the part of the society of the archipelago to "see its essence in terms of the sun and the direction from which it rises," a tendency also evident in "the creation of the mythology of imperial authority."

Thus the name Nihon signifies a natural phenomenon or orientation and is neither the name of the place of origin of the dynastic founders nor that of a dynasty or tribe. . . . Probably nowhere else, at least in East Asia or Europe, is there to be found a royal or imperial house without a clan or family name, while, as we have noted above, the name of the country itself, Nihon, is inextricably linked to the *tennō* institution. . . .

Nihon itself is a purely historical construct, and for that reason we should firmly reject historical images rooted in the "In the beginning were the Japanese" sort of framework that is still widely adhered to. . . .

"One Race," "One Nation"?

The "island-country theory" and the "rice monoculture theory" stem from a view of "Japan" as having been from ancient times a "unified state" peopled by one highly homogeneous race.

The "original Japanese," who are different in character from neighboring peoples and have been living in the Japanese archipelago since the Jōmon period, are our ancestors. The culture and way of life centering on rice-cultivation spread from Western Japan during the Yayoi period and was widely adopted by these people. From this emerged the state with the name "Japan," headed by the emperor. Despite various vicissitudes, this country Japan (*Nihonkoku*) has continued to the present, and the Japanese people (*Nihonjin*) who comprise it have undergone a distinct historical development without suffering any major invasion or conquest by neighboring peoples. . . .

Yet this "common knowledge" is no more than a fantasy based to a considerable degree on distortions. In particular, it is a historical fabrication which has almost entirely purged the unique society—including the Ainu—which existed in Hokkaido and northern Tōhoku; it also ignores the formation and development of the Ryūkyū kingdom in the Okinawan islands. Furthermore, it embodies a perspective that entirely overlooks the numerous attempts to establish a state separate from that of Kinai (Yamato), attempts that were made not only on the main islands of the archipelago—Honshū, Shikoku, Kyūshū—territories which constituted the main reach of Nihonkoku ("Japan")—but also in regions like northern Kyūshū and the Tōhoku–Kantō region in the Northeast of the country. Indeed, the situation that obtained in these regions indicates the coexistence of several separate states. . . .

. . . These considerations, however, cannot, I believe, alter the fact that a difference between East and West Japan (taking the division along the central structural line [the geological fold that runs down the center of Japan's main island]) has existed throughout history, perhaps from as early as Neolithic times. . . . This means that even in the early Yayoi period in Western Japan and the Jōmon period in Eastern Japan, two discrete societies existed side by side. . . .

In Western Japan there were [areas], which although differing among themselves maintained links with the Korean peninsula and the Chinese mainland, but may be regarded as a distinct region . . . and "Okinawa," which was an independent region maintaining its own communications beyond the Japanese archipelago. At the same time, a network of sea communications grew up between the people living along the Japan Sea, the Seto Inland Sea, and the Pacific coast. They maintained links with the regions listed above, and probably also expanded their networks beyond the Japanese archipelago. . . .

Suffice it to say that the argument that from Jōmon times there has been in Japan a "single race" and a "single state" is a baseless fabrication. An appreci-

ation of this makes any simplistic linear periodization of the Japanese archipelago problematic, to say the least. It is also obvious that, historically, views of the emperor and likewise of "Japan" have been far from homogeneous throughout the Japanese archipelago.

[Amino, "Deconstructing 'Japan,'" trans. McCormack, pp. 122–25, 132–34]

KANO MASANAO

The expanded narrative of Japanese history brought the Ainu and Okinawa into the main story not merely as territorial margins incorporated and "nationalized" by the Meiji state but as independent histories of distinctive cultural depth and complexity. The modern history of Okinawa served to relativize the canonical national history, which was in fact the history of the mainland. Even the chronologies were different: for Okinawa, annexation by the Meiji state in 1879, not the Meiji Restoration, began the modern period; and whereas "Japan" regained its independence after the postwar Occupation in 1952, Okinawa remained under direct U.S. military rule until 1972.

Among his many subjects as a leading scholar of people's history, Kano Masanao (b. 1931) studied new religions, popular historical consciousness, women, and the cultural history of Okinawa, including the life and work of Ifa Fuyū, whose *Old Ryūkyū* (*Koryūkyū*) is excerpted earlier in this chapter. In his book *Is "Tori-shima" Included? ("Torishima" wa haitte iru ka?* 1988), Kano challenges the Japanese to break out of the geographical and historical constraints of a mainland- and elite-centered national history.

IS "TORI-SHIMA" INCLUDED? ("TORISHIMA" WA HAITTE IRU KA?)

[In 1962, I heard a lecture by the writer Shimao Toshio whose words inspired me.] He said, "Looking at all sorts of Japanese maps, you see that they include [the islands of] Tane and Yaku but usually omit any islands farther south. This is not just because the maps don't have enough space. It is because deep in our consciousness we still feel that it is all right to take them out." South of the Satsunan islands, which include Tane-shima and Yaku-shima, lie the Amami and Ryūkyū archipelagoes, and Shimao's words reflected the feelings of someone who lived on Amami-ōshima.

But Shimao did not stop there. He transposed to Amami a problem that affects all of Japan. "I want to be rid of the feeling," he said, "that when one draws a map of Amami, for example, it is perfectly fine to leave out Tori-shima to the west of the Toku-no-shima islands." . . . He then replaced this geographical consciousness with historical consciousness and said, "At the same time, I believe

we must rectify our way of thinking that because these places exist at the margins of Japanese history or of the Japanese people that it is all right to leave them out." In this, he articulated a philosophy utterly contrary to that of "writing off" [those on the margins of history]. These thoughts were a revelation for me.

Now, I ask, is "Tori-shima" included in our history writing?

[Kano, *"Torishima" wa haitte iru ka*, p. 10; CG]

ARANO YASUNORI AND COLLEAGUES

The project of rethinking Japanese history in the context of Asia generated considerable dynamism and revision of received notions of national history. Scholars breached the lines drawn in universities since the 1890s among Japanese, Asian, and Western history and proposed regional and transnational approaches. They intervened in the once sacrosanct ideological precincts surrounding the origin of the emperor and the Japanese people to connect them to Korea. They showed that definitions of Asia changed over time and that conventional periodizations of Japanese history had to be revised to include larger regional developments like the decline of the China-centered tribute system. They also challenged the idea of the closed-off country (*sakoku*) so long associated with Tokugawa Japan. Arano Yasunori (b. 1946) proposed instead the dual concept of, first, a "Japan-centered order of civilized and barbarian," which replaced the earlier Sinocentric order and had four gates open to the world (Ezo, Satsuma, Tsūshima, and Nagasaki), and, second, the "ban on going abroad," which placed trade and travel in the control of the shogunal state. Neither, he argued, was designed to close off the country, but to keep its commerce with Asia and the world under state control.[6]

As coeditors of the series *The History of Japan in Asia* (*Ajia no naka no Nihonshi*), Arano and his colleagues introduced the imperatives of replacing Japan in Asia in terms of the political context and scholarly approaches typical of the 1990s.

THE HISTORY OF JAPAN IN ASIA (AJIA NO NAKA NO NIHONSHI)

Japanese behavior seems always to return to the pattern of "Escape from Asia, Enter Europe" [in Fukuzawa Yukichi's famous formulation]. On the other hand, the tendency to concentrate Japanese identity in the singular Emperor remains strong. One cannot underestimate the potential of the combination of

6. Arano, *Kinsei Nihon to higashi Ajia*.

these two tendencies to lead Japanese once again into nationalism and discrimination against [the rest of] Asia.

Now that we realize that even the firmest of national boundaries are not immutable, it is essential to break free of the mode of thinking that puts national interest above all else and to envision instead a free and multidimensional exchange among different peoples (*minzoku*) and regions (*chiiki*). In this we must not regard Asia with condescension or single out one or two countries as models but move toward proper relations based on dispassionate and independent views. Toward this end we must trace the historical development of Japan's relations with Asia in both directions: "Japan in Asia" (e.g., the characteristics and roles of Japan in Asia, Japanese who advanced into Asia) and "Asia in Japan" (e.g., Asian characteristics within Japanese society and Asians who became part of Japanese society). This history is necessary if we are to ascertain the legacies that still affect Japanese views of Asia. In this series of volumes, we concentrate on the premodern period. With contemporary historiographical concerns in mind, we situate our basic point of view in three contexts:

I. Ethnos

Japanese must now overcome their tendency to assume that "nation equals emperor" and instead establish themselves first as an ethnic subject and then engage in independent and equal interchange with other ethnicities (*minzoku*). We have to apply a different logic to rethink those peoples who were forced as subordinates to collude with the state on the basis of the illusion of the homogeneous nation-state. Then we must reconstruct the aspects of exchange, fusion, and opposition between Japanese and other ethnicities. Rather than use the concept of ethnicity (*minzoku*) that is premised on the existence of the "nation-state," we take the term "ethnos" from cultural anthropology because it is relatively free of the framework of the state and the limitations of a particular historical period.

II. Region

We do not regard the connections between Japan and Asia solely in terms of international relations. Instead we use the framework of a regional space that transcended national borders, which allows for a concrete grasp of the diverse exchanges carried out by such people as monks, pirates, and merchants. We approach the "region" in terms of national subregions with distinctive characteristics (e.g., Kyūshū and its relations with the China Sea rim region). We also examine how moments of interethnic exchange and fusion existed beyond the control of the state and what kinds of conflict such exchanges engendered within states.

III. Comparison

Conventional methods of "comparative history" have tended either to attribute Japan's backwardness to some abstract "Asian characteristics" or to emphasize the inevitability of Japan's "modernization" in terms of its resemblance to Europe. This bias reflected Japan's "Escape from Asia" (*datsua*) orientation. In contrast, there have been only meager achievements in studies comparing Japan with Asian countries, except in such areas as early institutional history (e.g., the *ritsuryō* system). On the basis of objective comparison and mindful of mutual connections, we seek a historical grasp of the commonalities and differences between Asian nations and ethnic societies and those of Japan and the interrelations that determined them.

[Arano et al., eds., *Ajia to Nihon*, vol. 1 of *Ajia no naka no Nihonshi*, pp. ii–iii; CG]

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CSJC *Congshu jicheng*. 1,384 titles in 2,000 vols. Shanghai, 1935–1937.

GXJC *Guoxue jiben congshu*. Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1932?–1939?

NKBT *Nihon koten bungaku taikei*. 100 vols. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten,ep 1958–1968.

NKSS *Nihon kyōiku shi shiryōsho*. 5 vols. Compiled by Nihon kokumin seishin bunka kenkyūjo. Tokyo: Kokumin seishin bunka kenkyūjo, 1937.

NKST *Nihon kindai shisō taikei*. 24 vols. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1988–1992.

NKZ *Nihon koten zenshū*. 266 vols. Tokyo: Nihon koten zenshū kankōkai, 1925–1944.

NST *Nihon shisō taikei*. 67 vols. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1970–1982.

SBBY *Sibu beiyao*. 537 titles in 1,372 fascs. Shanghai: Zhong guo shuju, 1927–1935.

SKQS *[Wenyuan ge] Siku quanshu*. 1,500 vols. Taibei: Taiwan shangwu yinshu guan, 1983–1986.

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